

*John Lingard.*

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*History of England*

ABRIDGED;

WITH A CONTINUATION, FROM 1688 TO 1854.

By JAMES BURKE, Esq., A.B.

TO WHICH IS PREFIXED A

*Memoir of Dr. Lingard, and Marginal Notes,*

By M. J. KERNEY, A.M.

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SECOND EDITION.  
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# PREFACE.

DR. LINGARD'S History of England is so well known, and its reputation so universally established, that it is deemed unnecessary to enter into any lengthened commentary on its merits.

For more than a quarter of a century, this work has been before the public; it has passed through the fiery ordeal of hostile criticism, yet not a single statement, penned by its author, has been proved to be erroneous. The ease and classical purity of its style has ever been admired; but in all the higher and more essential qualifications of history, in full and impartial details, in clear and methodical arrangement, in deep and patient research, it stands without a rival.

No writer ever labored with greater assiduity than Dr. Lingard to dispel the prejudices of his countrymen, and to diffuse the light of truth over the annals of his country. Hume may please, and Macaulay may fascinate, but if we seek to gain a correct view of those events which lie far back in the dim vista of English history; if we desire to be fully instructed in the rise, progress, and development of those institutions which form the basis of the British empire, or seek to gather reliable information in relation to the religious institutions of the country in former ages, we must turn to the truthful pages of Lingard.

Previously to the appearance of his great work, the people of England were comparatively strangers to the true history of their own country. The public mind had been perverted by the fictions of former writers; it had drunk deeply at the polluted fountains of historical knowledge; but it remained for Dr. Lingard to expose the errors of previous historians, to destroy their theories, and to dissipate the prejudice of ages.

Not only was Lingard a truthful historian himself, but he pointed

out to others the duties of a historian, as the reader may learn from the following extract given in his own emphatic language:

“Admit no statement merely upon trust, but weigh with care the value of the authorities on which you rely, and watch with jealousy the secret workings of your own personal feelings and prepossessions. Such vigilance is a matter of necessity to every writer of history, if he aspire to the praise of truthfulness and impartiality. He must withdraw himself aloof from the scenes which he describes, and view with the coolness of an unconcerned spectator the events which pass before his eyes, holding with a steady hand the balance between contending parties, and allotting to the more prominent characters that measure of praise or dispraise which he conscientiously believes to be their due. Otherwise, he will be continually tempted to make an unfair use of the privilege of the historian; he will sacrifice the interests of truth to the interests of party, national, religious, or political. His narrative may still be brilliant, attractive, picturesque; but the pictures which he paints will derive their coloring from the jaundiced eye of the artist himself, and will, therefore, bear no very faithful resemblance to the realities of life and fact.”

The work, however, in its original form, is too voluminous for general circulation, and thus limited in the sphere of its usefulness. A compendious edition has been frequently called for; at length the desideratum has been supplied. The following Abridgment, which has been carefully prepared from the latest edition of the larger work, published under the supervision of its distinguished author, will be found to contain all the important and most interesting portions of the original, while its price will place it within the reach of all classes in the community. It embodies the spirit, and retains the language of the original, except when the change of a word was found necessary for a proper connection of the different parts.

The Continuation has been compiled by an author long and favorably known to literature. It passes over a period fraught with events of the deepest interest, and faithfully and impartially records the most important transactions.

The Sketch of the British Constitution, the Abstract of Geôgraphy of England in Saxon times, the List of Eminent Natives, and the Marginal Notes, will add much to the interest of the work, and will be found useful to the reader by way of reference.

BALTIMORE, *January 1, 1855.*

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# SKETCH

OF THE

## CONSTITUTION OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE.

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THE British Empire consists of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland (together with several adjacent small islands), and of colonial possessions of vast extent in different parts of the globe. The constitution is monarchical, but the powers of the sovereign are limited by certain restrictions which tend to preserve the liberty of the subject, and to maintain the balance of power between the different classes in the state. The supreme authority is vested in the Parliament, which consists of the King (or Queen), the House of Lords, and the House of Commons. A queen-consort or prince-consort does not possess, as such, any political power according to law.

The Sovereign alone can summon parliament to meet, and he alone can prorogue or dissolve it. He is at the head of the executive power in the empire, and all magistrates are considered as deriving their authority from him. To him, also, belongs the creation of peers, the appointment of officers in the army and navy, governors of colonies, and all ministers of state. He alone can declare war, make peace, or enter into treaties with foreign nations. It is a maxim among writers on the constitution that "the king can do no wrong;" which means that the law has not provided any tribunal before which he could be tried for any alleged offence. But there are circumstances which would cause the sovereign to forfeit his legal right to the allegiance of the people; such as levying war upon his subjects, seeking to collect taxes not voted by parliament, or (according to the present laws) ceasing to be a member of the Protestant church. The sovereign is the head of that church in England, and (though a form of election is gone through) appoints the bishops of the establishment.

The Ministry (sometimes called the cabinet) consists of those officers of state to whose hands the sovereign deposes the task of managing the various public departments. Although they are appointed by the crown, they are liable to impeachment for departing from the constitution, and may be legally punished for such misconduct. They seldom continue

to hold office when defeated on any leading question of public policy; for, if parliament were opposed to their continuance in power, the *supplies* (as the taxes are called) could be refused, and the national business brought to a stand-still. The first Lord of the Treasury is generally called the prime minister and sometimes the premier, and is usually, but not always, the leader of his colleagues. The Lord Chancellor presides in the court of chancery, and is the speaker of the House of Lords. The Chancellor of the Exchequer attends to the business of taxation, causing to be prepared estimates of the amount of money required for the public service, and endeavouring to raise such money, by obtaining the sanction of parliament to the various branches of taxation. There are secretaries of state for the home department, the colonies, foreign affairs, and war, upon each of whom, as well as upon several other ministerial officers, important duties devolve. The council, which is called the privy council, consists of all who have been called upon to join in consultation with the sovereign, and they are styled "right honourable." They are, however, now so numerous, and so many are (from ministerial changes) opposed to the policy of those who are in office, that (except on certain occasions) only a few are summoned to take part in deliberation. The sovereign is in Ireland represented by the Lord Lieutenant, under whom there is a secretary of state for Ireland, but no political steps are taken by the Irish portion of the government without the sanction of the ministry in general.

The House of Lords consists of all the English peers, of twenty-eight Irish peers, elected for life, and of sixteen Scotch peers, who are only elected for each parliament. The members of the House of Lords are either spiritual or temporal. The spiritual lords are the archbishops and bishops, those from Ireland sitting in rotation. The sovereign may create peers as often as he pleases, but this prerogative is not frequently used. The House of Lords cannot, according to the constitution, originate bills referring to taxation. There are at present four hundred and forty members of the House of Lords, including twenty-eight peers from Ireland, and sixteen from Scotland. A peer cannot be tried for any crime except by peers. The House of Lords is the highest court of justice, and appeals from other courts are frequently tried there; but it is seldom that any except the peers who have been connected with the legal profession, take part in the judicial proceedings. A peer may vote by proxy by leaving a written authority with another peer.

The House of Commons consists of six hundred and fifty-eight members, of whom one hundred and five represent Ireland and fifty represent Scotland. The House of Commons is presided over by a chairman, who is called the Speaker; but when a certain form of debate called committee takes place, some other member occupies the chair. The speaker takes no part in the debates, and only votes when the members in a division are equal. The mode of proceeding adopted, when it is sought to make a new act of parliament, is as follows: The proposer

obtains formal leave to bring in the measure, which, before it becomes law, is called a Bill. The bill is "read" three times, but only a few words are read out, for the members know its contents, as all bills are printed at an early stage. Between the second and third readings, an examination of each clause of the bill takes place, in what is called a Committee of the whole House; and it is at this period that alterations can be made in the details of the bill. When a bill has received three readings in the House of Commons, it must go through the same process in the House of Lords. Any bill, except one involving taxation, may originate in the House of Lords and receive its three readings there first. If alterations be made in the House of Lords in a bill which has passed the House of Commons (or *vice versa*), the alterations must be reported to the house where the measure originated; and, if the changes be not agreed to, the bill drops. This, however, is seldom the case, as a compromise generally takes place between the two houses. The bill, having received three readings in each house, next obtains the royal assent (which may be refused, but seldom is), and then becomes the law of the land, and is termed an Act of Parliament.

Members of parliament are free from arrest, except in criminal cases. They must, with certain exceptions, be legally entitled to £600 a year if representing counties, and £300 if representing boroughs, which respective amounts are termed their qualification. Scotch members, and some others, do not require a qualification. Prorogation of parliament means the closing of the session, and generally takes place in August for about six months; but the prorogation is nominally for a much shorter period, so that the houses may assemble, if public business should require that course. Each session is opened and closed by a royal speech, either personally delivered by the sovereign, or read by the Lord Chancellor, under a royal commission. A dissolution of parliament takes place when the members are sent back to their constituents (as the electors are called), in order that the opinion of the country may be taken on the question, as to whether the same men ought to continue to constitute the House of Commons. This must, by law, take place each seventh year; but, in practice, the interval is much shorter.

The revenue is the name given to the sums of money annually raised for the purpose of defraying the expenses of the various public departments. The revenue (not including extraordinary war supplies) is about fifty millions sterling. A large portion of this (about thirty millions sterling) goes to pay the interest on the national debt, which is now about eight hundred millions sterling. The national debt grew up by degrees during the last hundred and sixty years, in consequence of the ordinary revenue of the country not being sufficient to meet the immense expenditure of the numerous wars, in which England was engaged. The revenue is partly obtained by taxes levied on certain articles imported or exported, and this branch of the public income is called the customs. The excise consists of those taxes which are levied on articles manufac-

tured for home use. Large sums are also brought into the national treasury from duties, called stamp duties, imposed on legal documents, and from the direct taxation of certain articles of luxury. At present there is also a tax levied on the property, or income, of all those who are worth more than £100 a year.

The civil list is the name given to the expenditure which is allotted for the personal support of the sovereign and household. It is now £385,000, with power to the crown to grant pensions to the amount of £1200 a year.

The army and navy, of course, absorb a large portion of the revenue; in time of peace about sixteen millions sterling. A standing army is illegal, and, therefore, an act called the "Mutiny Act" is passed annually, to authorize the keeping up of such a force. The army, in time of peace, consists of about 100,000 men.

The religion of the state is Protestant, and the sovereign must, by act of parliament, be of that religion. In England and Ireland, the state church is governed by archbishops and bishops. In Scotland, Presbyterianism is the state church, and there are no prelates. In Lower Canada, the Catholic prelates are paid by the state; in Malta, the Catholic religion is the state church; while in the Cape of Good Hope, it is Presbyterianism.

The legal tribunals of the country are guided by the statute law (acts of parliament), and the common law which is not written, but which has been handed down as the custom of several centuries.

The principal court for civil suits is the court of common pleas. The court of king's (or queen's) bench, which was at first only a criminal tribunal, and the court of exchequer, which was designed only to decide in cases concerning the revenue, have become civil courts by means of fictions in their respective modes of procedure. The court of chancery, presided over by the lord chancellor, administers the law of equity. Courts under these designations sit both in Westminster and in Dublin. There are also courts of assize, which, in England, perform six provincial circuits, twice a year. Minor cases, criminal as well as civil, are judged by bodies of provincial magistracy, who meet in every county once every quarter of a year. Besides the civil and criminal tribunals, there are ecclesiastical courts, which have jurisdiction in matters connected with marriage, wills, &c., and adopt the principle of the old canon law. There are also courts of admiralty, which decide questions between persons of different nations, according to the code of civil law recognised throughout Europe.

The law in Ireland and in Scotland differs in detail from the law of England, but the principles are mainly the same.

Such are the leading features of the British Constitution. For minutest details the student must consult the numerous valuable works which have been published on the subject.



DISTINGUISHED NATIVES  
OF  
GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

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*8th Century.*

Bede, called the Venerable, ecclesiastical historian.

*9th Century.*

Alfred the Great, legislator, commander, poet, and musician.

1214. Roger Bacon, the father of modern experimental philosophy.

1324. William of Wykeham, munificent ecclesiastic and architect, born at Wykeham, Hants.

1328. Geoffrey Chaucer, the father of English poetry, born in London.

1480. Sir Thomas More, statesman and philosopher, born in London.

1506. George Buchanan, poet, philosopher, historian, and politician, born in Dumbar-  
tonshire.

1551. Sir Philip Sidney, writer of romance, poet, statesman, and soldier, born at Pens-  
hurst, in Kent.

— James Crichton, whose accomplishments of mind and body obtained him the ap-  
pellation of the "Admirable," born in Scotland.

1552. Sir Walter Raleigh, poet, statesman, historian, and naval captain, born at Dudley,  
in Devonshire.

1553. Edmund Spenser, poet and politician, born at East Smithfield, in London.

1554. Fulk Greville, Lord Brooke, philosopher and statesman, the friend of Sir Philip  
Sidney, born in Warwickshire.

1557. George Chapman, dramatic poet, and first English translator of the works of Homer.

1561. Francis Bacon, Lord Verulam, philosopher, born in London.

1563. Michael Drayton, pastoral and descriptive poet, born in Warwickshire.

1564. William Shakspeare, the poet of all nature, born at Stratford-upon-Avon.

1572. Inigo Jones, architect, born in London.

1574. Ben Jonson, the learned comic dramatist, born in Hartshorn-lane, near Charing-  
cross.

1576. John Fletcher, dramatic and lyric poet.

1578. William Harvey, discoverer of the circulation of the blood, born at Folkstone, Kent.

1581. Edward Herbert, Lord Herbert of Chisbury, philosopher and biographer, born at  
Montgomery Castle.

1584. John Selden, the most learned wit of England, born at Salvington, in Sussex.

1585. Philip Massinger, dramatic poet, born at Salisbury.

1599. Oliver Cromwell, statesman and general, born at Huntingdon.

1600. Samuel Butler, a witty satirist, born at Strentham, in Worcestershire.

1605. Sir Thomas Browne, antiquary, born in London.

— Edmund Waller, poet, born at Cole's Hill, Herts.

1608. John Milton, the great English epic poet, and writer of politics and polemics, born  
in Bread street, Cheapside.

1618. Abraham Cowley, poet and essayist, born in London.

1620. Andrew Marvell, wit, poet, and politician, born at Hull.

Year unknown. Jeremy Taylor, an eloquent English divine, born at Cambridge.

1631. John Dryden, poet, born at Aldwinkle, near Oundle, in Northamptonshire.
1632. John Locke, philosopher and politician, born at Wrington, in Somersetshire.  
— Sir Christopher Wren, architect, born at Knoye, in Wiltshire.
1642. Sir Isaac Newton, the founder of the present system of mundane philosophy, chronologer, and perfecter of optics.
1644. William Penn, the illustrious founder of Pennsylvania, born in London.
1656. Edmund Halley, astronomer, born in London.
1660. Daniel De Foe, novelist, born in London.
1664. Matthew Prior, poet, born in London.
1667. Jonathan Swift, satirist and politician, born in Dublin.
1671. William Congreve, the most witty of dramatists, born in Staffordshire.  
— Sir Richard Steele, wit, essayist, and dramatist, born in Dublin.
1672. Joseph Addison, essayist, born at Milston, in Wiltshire.  
— Henry St. John, Viscount Bolingbroke, politician and philosopher, born at Battersea.
1684. Dr. George Berkeley, Bishop of Cloyne, a profound metaphysician, born in Ireland.
1688. Alexander Pope, poet, born in London.  
— John Gay, poet and dramatist, born at or near Barnstable, in Devonshire.
1689. Samuel Richardson, novelist, born in Derbyshire.
1698. William Hogarth, the inventor of moral satiric painting, born in London.
1700. James Thomson, the poet of the Seasons, born at Ednam in Roxburghshire.
1706. Samuel Johnson, philologer and essayist, born at Litchfield.
1707. Henry Fielding, novelist, born at Sharpam, in Somersetshire.
1711. David Hume, philosopher and historian, born at Edinburgh.
1713. Laurence Sterne, comic romancer, born at Clonmel, in Ireland.
1716. David Garrick, actor and reformer of the stage, born at Hereford.  
— Thomas Gray, lyric poet, born in London.
1720. Tobias Smollett, novelist and poet, born on the banks of the Leven, in Scotland.  
— William Collins, lyric poet, born at Chichester.
1726. John Howard, philanthropist, writer on prisons and lazarettos, born at Hackney.
1728. Captain James Cook, the great navigator, born in Yorkshire.
1729. Oliver Goldsmith, poet, essayist, dramatist and novelist, born at Elfin, in Ireland.
1730. Edmund Burke, orator and politician, born at Dublin.
1731. William Cowper, poet, born at Berkhamstead.
1737. Edward Gibbon, historian, born at Putney.
1752. Thomas Chatterton, an extraordinary youth, born at Bristol.
1771. John Lingard, the great Catholic historian of England, born (5th February) at Winchester.

During the last seventy or eighty years a large number of men, of very great talent, have added to the literature of these countries, while in the senate and at the bar several distinguished orators appeared.

The principal poets of this period were, Robert Burns, the great Scottish lyricist; Lord Byron (author of *Childe Harold*, and other poems); Sir Walter Scott (author of the *Lake*, *Marmion*, &c.); Thomas Campbell (author of the *Pleasures of Hope*, several beautiful odes, &c.); Thomas Moore (author of *Lalla Rookh*, the *Irish Melodies*, &c.); James Hogg, the "*Etrick Shepherd*" (author of the *Queen's Wake*, &c.); Percy Bysshe Shelley (author of several poetical works displaying much genius, but of an infidel tendency); Charles Wolfe (author of a beautiful dirge on Sir John Moore, and a few other poems); Samuel Rogers (author of the *Pleasures of Memory*, &c.); Keats (author of *Endymion*, &c.); Maturin (author of *Bertram*, &c.); Professor Wilson (author of *Isle of Palms*, &c.); Robert Southey, William Wordsworth, Dr. Moir, ("*Delta*"), Alfred Tennyson, James Montgomery, Robert Montgomery, D. F. M'Carthy, and several other writers, who principally contributed to periodical literature.

The period we have named was remarkably rich in oratory. Succeeding to the age of Lord Chatham, Henry Flood, and Edmund Burke, followed Charles James Fox, Henry Grattan, William Pitt, Richard Brinsley Sheridan, George Canning, William Wyndham, Lord Plunket, John Philpot Curran, Lord Erskine, Charles Kendal Bushe, Peter Burrows, William Wilberforce, William Huskisson, Daniel O'Connell, Richard Shiel, Lord Brougham, Sir James Mackintosh, Thomas Babington Macaulay, Sir Robert Peel, and many others who, at the Bar or in the Senate, displayed considerable powers of eloquence.

In polemical literature, Dr. Doyle, the Catholic Bishop of Kildare; Dr. Wiseman, Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster; Dr. Dixon, Catholic Primate of all Ireland; Dr. Mac Hale, Archbishop of Tuam; Dr. Newman, Rector of the Catholic University; Dr. Miley (author of "History of the Papal States"); and many others have produced works of great learning and eloquence.

In prose, light literature, Sir Walter Scott (author of the Waverley novels) holds the first place. Sir Edward Bulwer, Gerald Griffin, John Banim, Charles Dickens, William Carleton, W. M. Thackeray, Samuel Warren, Charles Lever, and some others have produced works of fiction, giving evidence of great talent.

In history and politics, Lingard's volumes appeared, as also the writings of Roscoe, Alison, Jeffrey, Macaulay, Hazlitt, William Cobbett, and others.

In the fine arts, Lawrence, Chantrey, Pugin, Hogan, and others produced some beautiful works, and in theoretical and practical science, a large number of eminent men appeared. John Kemble, Edmund Kean, Mrs. Siddons, and several other less distinguished, but excellent performers, supported the credit of the drama.

A great deal of female talent was developed during the last half century; Miss Edgeworth, Mrs. Hemans, Miss Strickland, Lady Morgan, and several other female writers having contributed largely and ably to literature.

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#### GEOGRAPHY OF ENGLAND UNDER THE SAXONS.

THE various parts of Britain in which the Saxons and their confederates spread themselves were as follows:

- The JUTES—Kent, the isle of Wight, and part of Hampshire;
- The SOUTH SAXONS—Sussex;
- The EAST SAXONS—Essex, Middlesex, and the south of Hertfordshire;
- The WEST SAXONS—Surrey, Hants, Berks, Wilts, Dorset, Somerset, Devon, and part of Cornwall;
- The EAST ANGLES—Norfolk, Suffolk, Cambridge, and Ely;
- The MIDDLE ANGLES—Leicestershire;
- The NORTH MERCIANS—Chester, Derby, and Nottingham;
- The SOUTH MERCIANS—Lincoln, Northampton, Rutland, Huntingdon, Bedfordshire, Hertfordshire, Bucks, Oxfordshire, Gloucestershire, Warwickshire, Worcestershire, Herefordshire, Staffordshire, and Shropshire;
- The NORTHUMBRIANS, who were the DEIRI—Lancaster, York, Westmoreland, Cumberland, Durham;
- The BERNICIANS—Northumberland, and the south of Scotland, between the Tweed and the Frith of Forth.

## KINGS AND QUEENS OF ENGLAND.

TABLE OF THE KINGS OF ENGLAND,  
FROM THE ACCESSION OF EGBERT TO THE NORMAN CONQUEST.

Began to reign.	A.D.	Reign'd Years.	Began to reign.	A.D.	Reign'd Years.
SAXONS.					
Egbert, . . . . .	827	10	Edward the Martyr, II.	975	3
Ethelwolf, . . . . .	858	20	Ethelred the Unready, II.	978	38
Ethelbald, . . . . .	857	3	Edmund Ironsides, II.	1016	1
Ethelbert, . . . . .	860	6	DANES.		
Ethelred I., . . . . .	866	5	Canute, . . . . .	1017	19
Alfred, . . . . .	872	29	Harold, . . . . .	1036	3
Edward the Elder, . . . . .	901	24	Hardicanute, . . . . .	1039	2
Athelstan, . . . . .	925	15	SAXONS RESTORED.		
Edmund I., . . . . .	940	6	Edward the Confessor, III.	1041	25
Edred, . . . . .	946	9	Harold II., . . . . .	1066	1
Edwy, . . . . .	959	4			
Edgar, . . . . .	955	16			

TABLE OF KINGS AND QUEENS OF ENGLAND,  
FROM THE CONQUEST.

	Began to Reign.	To whom Married.	Reigned Years.
William I., the Conqueror, . . . . .	1066	Matilda of Flanders, . . . . .	21
William II., . . . . .	1087	Never married, . . . . .	13
Henry I., . . . . .	1100	Matilda of Scotland, . . . . .	35
Stephen, . . . . .	1135	Matilda of Boulogne, . . . . .	19
LINE OF PLANTAGENET.			
Henry II., . . . . .	1155	Eleanor of Guienne, . . . . .	34
Richard I., . . . . .	1189	Berengaria of Navarre, . . . . .	10
John, . . . . .	1199	Earl Montague's daughter, Hawissa of Gloucester, and Isabella of Angouleme, . . . . .	17
Henry III., . . . . .	1216	Eleanor of Provence, . . . . .	56
Edward I., . . . . .	1272	Eleanor of Castile, and Mary of France, . . . . .	35
Edward II., . . . . .	1307	Isabella of France, . . . . .	19
Edward III., . . . . .	1372	Philippa of Hainault, . . . . .	50
Richard II., . . . . .	1377	Ann of Bohemia, and Isabella of France, . . . . .	22
Henry IV., . . . . .	1399	Mary Bohun, and Joanna of Navarre, . . . . .	13
Henry V., . . . . .	1413	Catharine of France, . . . . .	10
Henry VI., . . . . .	1422	Margaret of Anjou, . . . . .	38
Edward IV., . . . . .	1461	Elizabeth Wideville, . . . . .	22
Edward V., . . . . .	1483	Never married, . . . . .	—
Richard III., . . . . .	1483	Anne Nevill, . . . . .	2
LINE OF TUDOR.			
Henry VII., . . . . .	1485	Elizabeth of York, . . . . .	23
Henry VIII., . . . . .	1509	Catherine of Arragon, . . . . .	37
		Anne Boleyn, . . . . .	—
		Jane Seymour, . . . . .	—
		Ann of Cleves, . . . . .	—
		Catharine Howard, . . . . .	—
		Catherine Parr, . . . . .	—
Edward VI., . . . . .	1547	Never married, . . . . .	6
Mary I., . . . . .	1555	Philip, King of Spain, . . . . .	5
Elizabeth, . . . . .	1558	Never married, . . . . .	44
LINE OF STUART.			
James I., . . . . .	1603	Ann of Denmark, . . . . .	22
Charles I., . . . . .	1625	Henrietta of France, . . . . .	24
Charles II., . . . . .	1660	Catherine of Portugal, . . . . .	24
James II., . . . . .	1685	Anne Hyde, and Maria D'Esté of Modena, . . . . .	4
William III., and Mary II., . . . . .	1689	Mary, daughter of James II., . . . . .	13
Ann, . . . . .	1702	George of Denmark, . . . . .	12
LINE OF HANOVER OR BRUNSWICK.			
George I., . . . . .	1714	Sophia of Zell, . . . . .	12
George II., . . . . .	1727	Wilhelmina of Anspach, . . . . .	33
George III., . . . . .	1760	Charlotte of Mecklenburgh, . . . . .	60
George IV., . . . . .	1820	Caroline of Brunswick, . . . . .	10
William IV., . . . . .	1830	Adelaide of Saxe Meiningen, . . . . .	7
Victoria, . . . . .	1837	Albert of Saxe Gotha, . . . . .	—

## THE PRESENT ROYAL FAMILY.

VICTORIA, OF THE UNITED KINGDOM OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND, QUEEN, Defender of the Faith. Her Majesty is the only child of the late Prince Edward, Duke of Kent, fourth son of King George III., who died 23d Jan., 1820; was born at Kensington Palace 24th May, 1819, baptized on 24th June following by the name of ALEXANDRINA VICTORIA, and ascended the throne of these realms on the death of her royal uncle, King William IV., 20th June, 1837; was crowned at Westminster Abbey 28th June, 1838; married at the Chapel Royal, St. James's Palace, 10th Feb., 1840, to Prince FRANCIS ALBERT AUGUSTUS CHARLES EMANUEL, second son of Ernest Frederick Anthony Charles Louis, late Duke of Saxe Coburg and Gotha, born 26th Aug., 1819, Grand Master of the Order of the Bath, Field-Marshal in the Army, Colonel of the Grenadier Guards and Rifle Brigade, P. C., Lord Warden of the Stanaries, Chief Steward of the Duchy of Cornwall, Governor and Constable of Windsor Castle, and Master of the Trinity House. Her Majesty has issue,

1. Victoria Adelaide Mary Louisa, Princess Royal, born at Buckingham Palace, 21st November, 1840.
2. Albert Edward, Prince of Wales and Earl of Chester, Prince of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, Duke of Saxony, of Cornwall and Rothesay, Earl of Carrick, Earl of Dublin, Baron of Renfrew, Lord of the Isles, and Great Steward of Scotland, Knight of the Most Noble Order of the Garter, born 9th November, 1841; heir apparent to the Crown.
3. Alice Maud Mary, born 25th April, 1843.
4. Alfred Ernest Albert, Prince of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, Duke of Saxony, and Prince of Coburg and Gotha, born 6th August, 1844.
5. Helena Augusta Victoria, born 5th May, 1846.
6. Louisa Caroline Alberta, born 18th March, 1848.
7. Arthur William Patrick Albert, born 1st May, 1850.
8. Leopold George Duncan Albert, born 7th April, 1853.

THE QUEEN'S MOTHER, Victoria Maria Louisa, Duchess of Kent, aunt to the Duke of Saxe Coburg and Gotha, born 17th August, 1796; married first, 21st December, 1803, Emich Charles, Prince of Leiningen, who died 4th July, 1814. Issue—Charles, Prince of Leiningen, born 12th September, 1804; Princess Feodore, born 7th December, 1807. Remarried 29th May, 1818, to Edward, Duke of Kent, who died 23d Jan., 1820. Issue—The Queen.

## HER MAJESTY'S COUSINS:

- I. Issue of the late Ernest Augustus, Duke of Cumberland (King of Hanover), born 5th June, 1771, who died 18th November, 1851:
  1. George Frederick Alexander Charles Ernest Augustus, Duke of Cumberland, George V., King of Hanover.
- II. Issue of the late Adolphus Frederick, Duke of Cambridge:
  1. George William Frederick Charles, Duke of Cambridge, born 26th March, 1819.
  2. Augusta Caroline Charlotte Elizabeth Mary Sophia Louisa, born 19th July, 1822, married 28th June, 1843, to Frederick William Gustavus, Grand Duke of Mecklenburg-Strelitz.
  3. Mary Adelaide Wilhelmina Elizabeth, born 27th November, 1823.

The first part of the history is a general account of the state of the world at the beginning of the world. It is divided into three parts: the first part is a general account of the world at the beginning of the world; the second part is a general account of the world at the beginning of the world; the third part is a general account of the world at the beginning of the world.

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The third part of the history is a general account of the world at the beginning of the world. It is divided into three parts: the first part is a general account of the world at the beginning of the world; the second part is a general account of the world at the beginning of the world; the third part is a general account of the world at the beginning of the world.

MEMOIR  
OF  
THE REV. DR. LINGARD.

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JOHN LINGARD, the subject of the present memoir, was descended from an ancient family in Hampshire, England, and was born in Winchester, on the fifth of February, 1771. At an early age, he displayed those qualities of mind which so eminently distinguished him in after life. The quickness of his intellect, the mildness of his disposition, his ready obedience to his parents and superiors, the sincere piety which marked his whole demeanor, recommended him, at an early period, to Bishop Challoner, who had resolved to assume the expense of his education; but the death of that eminent man prevented the execution of this benevolent design.

In Bishop Tolbot, however, the successor of Dr. Challoner, the youthful Lingard found a patron and a friend. The penetrating mind of this prelate was not long in discovering in Lingard abilities far above his years; and he

immediately determined to carry out, in his regard, the designs of his predecessor. Accordingly, in 1781, he sent him to the English College at Douay. In this venerable institution, young Lingard soon realized the promise of his earlier years. With a mind clear and methodical, added to an industry that nothing could overcome, he mastered every difficulty which presented itself in his studies; and having, with distinguished honor, completed his course of humanities, he entered the school of Theology in the autumn of 1791.

The disturbed condition of France about this period filled the students and professors of Douay with just apprehension and alarm. The dark cloud, which had been so long gathering, was about to burst upon the country, and the time-honored College of Douay, which had been justly styled "the nurse of martyrs and the bulwark of faith," was marked out for destruction. Already scenes of violence had been repeatedly committed. Twice had the garrison of the town broken loose, and numbers of the peaceful and unoffending citizens were hurried to the gibbet; and the excesses of the soldiery intruded within the very walls of the college. Often were their bayonets pointed at the breasts of the students, and repeatedly were their swords drawn over the heads of the superiors.

On one occasion, Lingard narrowly escaped with his life. He had entered the town at the moment the infuriated populace were dragging to execution the unfortunate Mons. Derbaix. Lingard, prompted by feelings of sympathy for a friend and an acquaintance, and forgetful of



the danger by which he was surrounded, approached the crowd and inquired the cause of the present proceedings. His dress soon attracted the attention of the rabble; the cry of *La Calotte*, and afterward, that of *Le Colotin à la lanterne*, soon admonished him of his danger. He turned and fled with the utmost precipitation; and the fleetness of his steps alone saved him from the fury of his pursuers.

These acts of violence, which now grew daily more alarming, admonished the inmates of the college of the danger of their position. For some time, however, they confided in their character as British subjects, and trusted for protection to the provisions of the treaty of commerce, and to the presence of an ambassador in Paris; but the last ray of confidence was dispelled by the declaration of war between England and France, which took place shortly after the execution of the unfortunate Louis XVI. Immediately after this event, the College at Douay was forcibly occupied by a body of armed men, and the students and professors were removed, first to Escherquin, and afterward confined at Dourlens.

Previously to this occurrence, many of the more prudent of the community, foreseeing the danger which was about to break upon them, privately withdrew from Douay and escaped to England. Among these was young Lingard. The fugitives, after various migrations, settled at Crook Hall, in the vicinity of Durham, and formed themselves into a seminary under the presidency of the Rev. Thomas Eyre, and there resumed their collegiate exercises.

In the early part of the year 1795, the remnant of the

community, which had been detained at Dourlens, was released from a tedious confinement, and in company with sixty-two of their brethren from the College of St. Omer's, the remaining students and professors of Douay arrived in England. Shortly after their arrival, a portion of the community settled in Hertfordshire; but the more numerous body proceeded to the north, and obtained an asylum at Crook Hall, which had been previously occupied by the students who had made their escape during the early part of the troubles in France.

In the quietude of Crook Hall, Lingard continued and completed his course of Theology, and was ordained priest by Bishop Gibson, on the 6th of May, 1795. Shortly after his ordination, he received the appointment of vice-president of the seminary at Crook Hall, and for many years filled the chair of both Natural and Moral Philosophy.

Though removed from the dangers by which they were surrounded at Douay, Lingard and his companions found their situation at Crook Hall by no means agreeable. They were subjected to innumerable privations and hardships, owing to the confined dimensions of the house, its limited accommodations, its bleak and uncomfortable apartments. Of the sacrifices which they made, and of the expedients to which they were compelled to resort, many interesting incidents are related. But they were men who had been inured to labor and to suffer; they had been taught in a school where confessors lived; from which martyrs had gone forth to confirm, with their blood, the

doctrines of the Church of God. To these men, sufferings, privations, or comforts were alike indifferent. Indeed, it was owing to the expedients by which the inmates of Crook Hall at once sought to improve their minds, and elevate themselves above the discomforts of their situation, that we are indebted for the first, and one of the most interesting literary labors of Dr. Lingard.

During the winter evenings, the professors and students at Crook Hall were accustomed to assemble together for the purpose of literary entertainment. At these meetings, each in his turn furnished an original essay on some moral, scientific, or historical subject, according to the taste or ability of the writer; these were read for the entertainment or amusement of the company. Lingard, whose mind had been accustomed, from an early period, to dwell upon the antiquities of his country, embodied his thoughts on this subject in a series of detached papers, which he read to his companions at their evening entertainments. As the exercises advanced, the interest of his audience grew more and more intense. The depth of his researches and the extent of his reading excited their surprise and admiration; and when the series drew to a close, they united, with one accord, in urging him to mould the detached parts into a regular form, and publish them as a continued history. For some time his modesty prevented him from yielding to their request; at length, however, the importunity of his friends prevailed, and the work, since known as "The Antiquities of the Anglo-Saxon Church," was committed to the press. This work treats of the establishment of the faith among the

Anglo-Saxons, of the origin and progress of the monastic institute, of the government of the church, of the religious practices of the people, of the learning, the literature, and the laws of the Anglo-Saxon times. It was first published in 1806, and so great was the demand for it, that several successive editions were immediately called for. In 1844, the work was revised and enlarged by the learned author, and a new edition given to the public.

In 1808, the community removed from Crook Hall to the more commodious establishment at Ushaw. Lingard accompanied his brethren to their new home, and for several years continued to lend the institution the aid of his ability and his zeal. The great literary abilities of Dr. Lingard now began to attract general attention, and several literary institutions made him the most flattering offers to attach him to their service. He had been repeatedly solicited by Bishop Moylan to accept the presidency of the College at Maynooth, and was subsequently urged by Bishop Poynter to accept a similar honor in reference to Old Hall. But these honors he respectfully declined; and, preferring a course more agreeable to his habits and disposition, he withdrew from Ushaw in the fall of 1811, and retired to the secluded mission of Hornby.

Previously to this period Dr. Lingard had conceived the design of the great work which was to crown the pyramid of his fame. From the time of the publication of his "Anglo-Saxon Church," his friends had urged him to undertake the publication of a general history of his country. For various reasons, he hesitated to embark in

a work which might prove injurious to the interests of the college; and during his residence at Ushaw he seems to have almost abandoned the idea. But with his removal to Hornby, the subject was again revived. His new situation allowed him time to pursue his studies with but slight interruption from his professional duties; and he began, without delay, to prepare the materials for his future history. From the commencement of the work, he had resolved to take nothing on credit, but had determined to examine original documents, whenever it could be done, no matter how much labor it might cost him. When we reflect on the nature of the work, and the extent of period over which it had to pass, we may readily conceive the labor to which it subjected its author. But no research, however tedious, no investigation, however difficult, could exhaust his patience, or shake his perseverance. Day after day, he might be seen in the British Museum, or in the archives of the State, examining original papers, and making such extracts as he deemed important, for the great work on which he was engaged.

During the spring of 1817, Lingard visited Rome, being commissioned by Dr. Poynter to negotiate matters of much importance. He was received at Rome with every mark of courtesy, and was entirely successful in the object of his mission. During his stay, the archives of the Vatican were open to him by the orders of Cardinal Consalvi, who on all occasions manifested toward him the utmost kindness and respect. Lingard readily availed himself of the privilege thus extended to him, to examine many original docu-

ments which he anticipated would materially aid him in the prosecution of his work; but the confusion into which every thing had been thrown by the French Revolution, prevented him from obtaining all the information he desired.

On his return to England, he applied himself with redoubled energy to the prosecution of his history, which he was now preparing for the press. During the year 1819, he entered into a contract with a Mr. Mawman, of London, for the publication of a portion of the work; and in the early part of the following year, the first three volumes, extending to the end of the reign of Henry VII., were given to the public. In the succeeding year, the fourth volume, containing the reigns of Henry VIII. and Edward VI., was published. The remaining volumes appeared at intervals, and in the spring of 1830 the work was brought to a close.

In the mean time the reputation of the work had increased with the appearance of each succeeding volume. At home and abroad it was hailed with approbation by scholars of every class. Its reception at Rome bordered on enthusiasm. Dr. Gradwell, president of the English College, writing to Lingard, says: "The fourth volume of your history arrived here about three weeks ago, to the joy of the whole house. As soon as we have finished it, it is engaged by the Scotch College; then by Father O'Finan, of the Irish Dominicans; then by Monsignor Testa, the Pope's Latin Secretary, and many others. Their eagerness is extreme. . . . For my own part, I never read a volume of history with so much pleasure.'

Of the estimation in which the author was held by the Pope, Pius VII., we may judge from the following facts. On the 24th of August, 1821, shortly after the reception of the fourth volume of his history in Rome, he caused a brief to be issued, in which, after a recital of his labors in the cause of religion, and in defence of the authority of the Holy See, he conferred on him the triple academical laurel, and created him Doctor of Divinity, and of Canon and of Civil Law.

Several editions of his history were shortly called for in England, and various translations of it were widely circulated in France, Germany, and Italy. By a special decree of the University of Paris, it was ordered that a copy should be placed in the library of every college in France; and that copies should be distributed as prizes to the students in philosophy and rhetoric. While the great literary abilities of Dr. Lingard became the universal theme of admiration, he himself studiously avoided every mark of distinction, and rejected every attempt to withdraw him from his seclusion at Hornby. In 1825, he paid a second visit to Rome, where he was again received with every mark of distinction, especially by the Pope, Leo XII. The pontiff used every persuasion to engage the learned author to take up his residence at Rome, and on one occasion asked him if there were nothing that he could bestow on him, that could induce him to comply with his request. Lingard referred to his history, and the necessity of his being in England to enable him to complete it. At his departure, Leo, as a testimonial of his high regard, gave him the gold

medal, which etiquette then generally confined to cardinals and princes. In the following year, the Pope strongly indicated his desire of raising the English historian to the cardinal dignity. Dr. Lingard, on receiving intelligence of this rumor, wrote immediately to his friend Testa in Rome, earnestly requesting, that if the report which had reached him were true, to use his influence with the pontiff to divert him from his design. This letter he concluded in the following words: "I cannot bear the idea of expatriating myself, and much less, of shackling myself with all the formalities of the court of Rome."

With the completion of his History of England, the literary fame of Dr. Lingard became established throughout Europe. In his retirement at Hornby, he was consulted by scholars from the continent, as well as by those of his own country, who sought the aid of his learning and his counsel. To answer the numerous letters addressed to him on almost every subject, became in itself an onerous duty; yet his energy, his diligence and activity were always equal to the task; to each correspondent, however humble, he returned a satisfactory and punctual reply. His industry was untiring. Even when far advanced in years, each succeeding day found him as actively engaged as in the vigor of youth and manhood. Three different times, he thoroughly revised his History of England, and in each successive edition he gave to the world the result of his later studies. The last revision of this work was completed in 1849, when it was published in ten octavo volumes.

This was the last effort of his great and powerful mind;



his long life was drawing to a close; hence, in the preface to the last edition of his history, he alluded to the declining state of his health, and observed: "That a long and painful malady, joined to the infirmities of age, had already admonished him to bid a final adieu to those studies with which he had been so long familiar." During the spring of 1851, his infirmities greatly increased, and on Easter Monday of that year he was taken seriously ill. For two months he grew gradually worse, and before the end of June all hopes of his recovery had vanished. As the hour of his dissolution approached, he withdrew himself more and more from all earthly objects, and fixed his mind upon that future world to which he was hastening. He spoke of his approaching end with the utmost calmness and resignation, and looked forward with humble confidence to the moment which would terminate his earthly career, and open to his view the scenes of eternity. For two weeks previous to his death, each succeeding day seemed about to be his last. At length, on the morning of the 17th of July, having received all the rites of the Church, he calmly expired, in the 81st year of his age.

Few men in private life had more warm and personal friends than Dr. Lingard. In conversation he was the delight of all who heard him. The buoyancy of his mind, the ingenuity of his wit, the rich store of anecdote always at his command, rendered his company at all times agreeable, and won the admiration of all who approached him. By the simplicity of his manners, by the benevolence of his disposition, and by the warmth of his heart, he endeared

himself to all who knew him. His death, therefore, was deplored by the large circle of his friends as a domestic calamity. His society was courted not only by the members of his own church, but by persons of almost every creed, with whom he lived on terms of the most familiar and unreserved intercourse. Ardently attached to the faith of the Catholic Church, he sought on all occasions to extend the influence of its divine precepts; not, however, by angry disputation with his Protestant neighbors, but by the mildness of his disposition, the modesty of his deportment, and the unobtrusive practice of those virtues which adorn the character of the Christian. Indeed, no man ever labored more zealously than Dr. Lingard to moderate the bitterness and to remove the prejudice of Protestants. This seems to have been the great aim of all his writings. "For my own part," says he, on one occasion in writing to a friend, "I conceive that he who contributes to remove prejudice now, lays the groundwork of conversion hereafter; for prejudice, in general, indisposes Protestants not only from yielding to argument, but even from listening to it.

During the progress of his history, and after its completion, the great abilities of Dr. Lingard were displayed in various other literary labors. His letters, addressed to the editor of the *Newcastle Courant* on the subject of Catholic loyalty, published at a moment of great political excitement, are an able refutation of the libels and slanderous imputations brought against his Catholic countrymen. His "Tracts," written during the Durham Contro-

versy, place him among the ablest polemical and controversial writers of his day. His "Reviews of the Anti-catholic Publications of Lord Kenyon;" his "Strictures on Dr. Marsh's Comparative View of the Churches of Rome and England," and his "Observations on the Laws and Ordinances of Foreign States relative to the Religious Concerns of their Catholic Subjects," are masterly productions, and marked by that force of reasoning and power of argument, that elegance and clearness of style, which so eminently distinguished him as a writer. In 1836, he published his "Translation of the Four Gospels," and in 1840 his "Catechetical Instructions" were printed; this work forms an able abridgment of the whole body of moral and controversial divinity.

But it is in connection with the history of his native country, that the name of Dr. Lingard is destined to take its place in the literary annals of future ages. To do justice to this great work would far exceed the limits of the present memoir of its author. The best comment, however, that can be passed upon its merits will be found in the universal estimation in which it is held, by scholars of every class and of every country. The classical purity of its style has ever been admired. But in all the higher qualities which adorn a history; in the fulness of its details, in the lucid arrangements of its parts, in its deep research and patient investigation; in its power to elicit and in its honesty to state the truth, it stands unrivalled. Its impartiality is proverbial. Clothed with the invincible armor of truth, the learned author fearlessly exposed the errors of former his-

torians, destroyed their theories and dissipated the prejudices of ages.

Before the appearance of Dr. Lingard's history, the Protestants of England were almost inaccessible to argument. Writer had succeeded writer in the same track of misrepresentation, until fiction had almost assumed the substance of reality. The public mind was perverted; it had drunk profusely of the polluted fountain of historical knowledge; it held its own views, and maintained its own prepossessions; and every effort heretofore made to remove its prejudices had, in general, only tended to confirm them. But Dr. Lingard induced his countrymen to read, and taught them to think, to doubt, to inquire. "I succeeded," he says, in one of his letters, "in awakening the curiosity of some minds in the universities; in provoking doubts of the accuracy of their preconceived opinions; in creating a conviction that such opinions were unfounded. The spirit of inquiry was excited; it made gradual progress; and led, in the result, to that movement which we have seen."

From the many encomiums pronounced upon this great work by men of the highest order of talents, we select the following. Cardinal Wiseman, in a late number of the *Dublin Review*, thus speaks of the History of England and of its learned author:—

"It is a providence that, in history, we have had given to the nation a writer like Lingard, whose gigantic merit will be better appreciated in each successive generation, as it sees his work standing calm and erect amidst the shoals of petty pretenders to usurp his station. When Hume

shall have fairly taken his place among the classical writers of our tongue, and Macaulay shall have been transferred to the shelves of romances and poets, and each shall thus have received his true meed of praise, then Lingard will be still more conspicuous as the only impartial historian of our country. This is a mercy indeed, a rightful honor to him who, at such a period, worked his way, not into a high rank, but to the very loftiest point of literary position."



THE  
HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

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CHAPTER I.

Roman Britain.

Cæsar twice invades Britain—The British Tribes—Their manners—Religion—Government—Gradual Conquest of Britain by the Romans—Its state under the Emperors—Conversion of the Natives to Christianity—The Romans abandon the Island.—From A. C. 54 to A. D. 449.

IT is to the pen of a Roman general that we are indebted for our first acquaintance with the history of Britain. Julius Cæsar had in three years conducted his legions from the foot of the Alps to the mouth of the Rhine. From the coast of the Morini he could descry the white cliffs of the neighboring island, and the conqueror of Gaul aspired to the glory of adding Britain to the dominions of Rome. On the 20th of August, Cæsar invades Britain, and returns to Gaul. in the fifty-fifth year before the Christian era, Cæsar sailed from Calais with the infantry of two legions, and, in a few hours, cast anchor before the spot now occupied by the town of Deal. The beach was gained after a short struggle with the natives, whose untaught valor yielded to the arms and discipline of the Roman soldiers. Cæsar's camp was however soon afterward attacked; and, though the assault was unsuccessful, the Roman general felt that his position was insecure, and having received an illusory promise of submission from a few of the natives, he hastened with his army back to Gaul, and spent the following winter in active preparations for renewing the attempt to subjugate Britain.

In spring the Roman army, consisting of five legions and two

Cæsar invades Britain a second time, and subdues the island.
 thousand cavalry, sailed from Gaul in eight hundred ships. The Britons retired to the woods, whither Cæsar pursued them. The natives defended the country with vigor, but avoided a general engagement with the Roman army. At length, however, they were tempted by apparently favourable circumstances to attack Cæsar with their entire force. Being defeated, many of the British tribes returned to their homes, and Cassibelaunus, king of the Cassii, the chief of the allies, was left to support the whole pressure of the war. This chieftain, by repeated victories over his neighbors, had acquired high renown among the natives; but, in opposing Cæsar, he had to contend not only with the foreign enemy, but with the jealousy and resentment of his own countrymen. After a severe struggle he was defeated, and sued for peace. Cæsar willingly listened to the application for peace, as he wished to return to Gaul before the autumnal storms would set in. A treaty binding Cassibelaunus to pay tribute to Rome was accordingly entered into, and Cæsar with his army crossed over to Gaul in September. The citizens of Rome celebrated with joy the victories of their favorite general; but the expedition had as yet produced only petty results, for although the Britons had promised to pay tribute to Rome, Cæsar was not master of one foot of British ground.

It is proper that we should here give some account of the manners and customs of the ancient Britons, as far as they can be gleaned from the works of Cæsar and other writers, who employed their industry in the investigation of this subject shortly after the Roman invasion. It appears that, about the commencement of the Christian era, the population of the whole island comprised above forty tribes, of which a few possessed a pre-eminence of power. Those tribes which are described by Cæsar, dwelt near the Thames, and were of Belgic origin. Though far removed from the elegance and refinement of the Romans, these tribes might almost claim the praise of civilization in comparison with the inhabitants of some other portions of the island. Their dress was of their own manufacture: a square mantle covered a vest and trousers, or a deeply plaited tunic of braided cloth; the waist was encircled with a belt; rings



adorned the second finger of each hand, and a chain of iron or brass was suspended from the neck. Their huts resembled those of their Gallic neighbours; a foundation of stone supported a circular wall of timber and reeds, over which was thrown a conical roof pierced in the centre for the twofold purpose of admitting light and discharging smoke. In husbandry they possessed considerable skill; they had discovered the use of marl as a manure; they raised more corn than was necessary for their own consumption; and, to preserve it till the following harvest, they generally stored it in the cavities of rocks. But beyond the borders of the southern tribes, these faint traces of civilization gradually disappeared. The midland and western nations were unacquainted with either agriculture or manufactures. Their riches consisted in the extent of their pastures and the number of their flocks. With milk and flesh they satisfied the cravings of hunger, and clothed in skins they bade defiance to the inclemency of the seasons. But even sheep were scarcely known in the more northern parts; and the hordes of savages who roamed through the wilds of Caledonia often depended for support on the casual produce of the chase. They went almost naked, and sheltered themselves from the weather under the cover of the woods, or in the caverns of the mountains.

The superior civilization of the southern tribes was attributed, by historians, to their intercourse with the strangers whom the pursuits of commerce attracted to their coasts. When the Spanish ores began to be exhausted, the principal supply of tin was sought from the mines of Britain. The first who exported this metal from the island were certain Phœnician adventurers from Cadiz. They endeavored to conceal their knowledge of the situation of the source of so valuable a branch of commerce, but the Phœnicians of Carthage succeeded in discovering the "Cassiterides, or Tin Islands," as Britain was called. The Greek colonists of Marseilles came next, and by successive navigators the trade was at last thrown open to different nations. In return for tin, the Britons received salt for the preservation of provisions, earthenware for domestic use, and brass for the manufacture of arms and ornaments. The enterprise of the foreigners quickened the industry of the natives, and

The tin mines of Britain. The country called *Cassiterides* or *Tin Islands*.

if we may credit a contemporary and well-informed writer, the British exports, at the commencement of the Christian era, comprised corn, cattle, gold, silver, tin, lead, iron, skins, slaves, and dogs.

A strange practice, that of painting the body, seems to have prevailed in many parts of the island. For this purpose, the southern tribes employed a blue dye extracted from wood. Custom of painting the body prevails. Connected with this custom was the still more barbarous practice of tattooing, so long in use among the more northern Britons. At an early age, the outlines of animals were impressed with pointed instruments in the skin; a strong infusion of woad was rubbed into the punctures, and the figures, expanding with the growth of the body, retained their original appearance through life.

The religion of the natives was that of the Druids, who adored, under different appellations, the same gods as the Greeks and Romans. The religion of the natives: their mode of worship. On the oak they looked with peculiar reverence. This monarch of the forest, from its strength and durability, was considered as the most appropriate emblem of the divinity. The tree and its productions were deemed holy; to its trunk was bound the victim destined for slaughter, and of its leaves were formed the chaplets worn at the time of sacrifice. If it chanced to produce the misletoe, the whole tribe was summoned; two white heifers were immolated under its branches; the principal Druid cut the sacred plant with a knife of gold, and a religious feast terminated the ceremonies of the day. The Druids were accustomed to dwell in huts and caverns amid the gloom of the forest. There, at the hours of noon or midnight, when the deity was supposed to honor the sacred spot with his presence, the trembling votary was admitted within a circle of lofty oaks, to prefer his prayer and listen to the responses of the minister. In peace they offered the fruits of the earth; in war they devoted to the god of battles the spoils of the enemy. In the hour of danger, human sacrifices were deemed the most efficacious. The Druids professed to be the depositaries of a mysterious science far above the comprehension of the vulgar. Their schools were opened to none but the sons of illustrious families. Such was their fame that the Druids of

Gaul, to attain the perfection of the institute, did not disdain to study under their British brethren. The Druids professed to be acquainted with the native power and providence of the divinity; with the figure, size, formation, and final destruction of the earth; with the stars, their position and motions, and their supposed influence over human affairs. To medicine, as far as it was connected with the use of a few plants, they also had some pretensions. They taught the immortality of the soul, but to this great truth they added the absurd fiction of transmigration. The Druids exercised the most absolute dominion over the minds of their countrymen. By their authority peace was preserved; in their presence passion and revenge were silenced; and at their mandate contending armies consented to sheath their swords. Civil controversies were submitted to their decision, and the punishment of crimes was reserved to their justice. Religion supplied them with power; for disobedience to them was followed by excommunication. A particular class among the Druids was distinguished by the title of bards. The bard was both poet and musician. Every chieftain retained one or more in his service, who attended in his hall, eulogized his bounty and valor, and sang the praises and the history of their country. The bard accompanied the chief and his clan to battle; to the sound of his harp they marched against the enemy, and in the heat of the contest they animated themselves with the hope that their actions would be renowned in song, and transmitted to the admiration of posterity.

The Druids: their power.

The bards: their employment.

The form of government adopted by the British tribes has scarcely been noticed in history. In some tribes, the supreme authority appears to have been divided among several chieftains; in most, it had been intrusted to a single individual; but in all, the people continued to possess considerable influence. With respect to the succession, there are instances in which the father had portioned his dominions among his children, and others in which the reigning prince left the crown to his widow, who both exercised the more peaceful duties of royalty, and with arms in her hands conducted her subjects to the field of battle. In the absence of any fixed notions of suc-

cession, it is probable that power would frequently supply the place of right, and the weaker state fall a victim to the ambition of a more warlike neighbor. The Britons were torn by intestine factions, and it was this rancorous hostility among themselves which hastened their subjugation to the power of Rome.

Such were the Britons, who by their bravery baffled the attempts of the first and most warlike of the Cæsars. From the time which elapsed between Cæsar's final return to Gaul from Britain, and the reign of the emperor Claudius, (about a century,) the Britons retained their independence. Augustus thrice announced his intention of completely annexing Britain to the

The conduct of Augustus and Tiberius in regard to Britain. A. D. 21.

Roman Empire. On one occasion an embassy from the inhabitants averted this danger; on the others it was prevented by more pressing demands upon the attention of the Romans at home. Augustus, however, levied some duties on the trade between Britain and Gaul. Tiberius pretended that the empire was already too extensive, and sought to justify his own indolence by the policy of Augustus. In opposition to the conduct of Tiberius, his nephew and successor,

The foolish conduct of Caligula.

Caligula, exhibited to the world a farce worthy of that childish prince. Cymbeline, the most powerful of the successors of Cassibelaunus, banished his son Adminus, who repaired to Rome, and, as if Britain had been his patrimony, surrendered the island to Caligula. The emperor hastened with a large army to Gaul, arrayed his legions on the coast near Boulogne, rowed out to sea in the imperial galley, returned precipitately, and gave the signal for battle. The soldiers inquired where was the enemy, but Caligula informed them that they had that day conquered the ocean, and commanded them to collect its spoils, the shells on the beach, as a proof of victory. He then returned to Rome, to give himself the honors of a triumph.

The empty pageantry of Caligula was soon succeeded by the real horrors of invasion. Instigated by a British chief, who had been expelled from his native country, the emperor Claudius sent four legions to Britain, under the command of Aulus Plautius. The Britons made a determined resistance, under the command of

Britain again invaded under the emperor Claudius: Caractacus defeated, and led captive to Rome. A. D. 50.

Caractacus, son of Cymbeline, but gave way before the emperor, who, having arrived from Rome, put himself at the head of the troops. Claudius, on leaving Britain, invested Plautius and Vespasian (afterward emperor) with the command of the Roman army, and returning to Rome, entered that city in triumph. Caractacus continued to resist the Roman generals, but being defeated by Ostorius Scapula, who had succeeded Plautius, his family fell into the hands of the enemy, and he himself was delivered up in chains to the Roman general by his stepmother, under whose protection he had hoped to elude the vigilance of his pursuers. The British prince was led captive through the streets of Rome; and, as he passed through the imperial city, he expressed his surprise that men who possessed such palaces at home should deem it worth their while to fight for the wretched hovels of Britain. Claudius, who (with his empress) was seated on a lofty tribunal, felt an honourable pity for his fallen foe, who walked after his captive family, and seemed to be by no means dispirited by misfortune. The emperor restored him to liberty, and is said to have even invested him with authority in Britain.

The Roman generals had still a brave enemy to contend with, for the Silures and other tribes who dwelt in the west maintained their ground with firmness against the invaders. The legions of Rome, however, pushed their arms victoriously even to the Isle of Anglesey. This island was the principal residence of the Druids, to whose influence was attributed the obstinate resistance which Britain offered to Rome. The defeat of the British at Anglesey gave a shock to the power of the Druids, from which it never recovered. Their altars were overthrown, their sacred groves fell beneath the axe of the legionaries, and their priests and priestesses were consumed in the flames which they had prepared for the destruction of their expected captives.

The Isle of Anglesey invaded, and the Druids destroyed.

When the Roman general was in Anglesey, a formidable insurrection broke out in Britain. Prasutagus, king of the Iceni, who inhabited the eastern counties, being an ally of Rome, left the emperor joint heir with his own daughters. The Roman procurator, however, seized on all the property; and when Boadicea, the widow of the king, ventured to remonstrate, she was scourged

as a slave, and the chastity of her daughters was violated. Incensed by these wrongs, Boadicea resolved upon revenge, and she found the British tribes ready to take the field against the power of Rome. The disaffection was general, for the insults and oppressions of the Romans were beyond endurance. The Britons, led by Boadicea, marched on London, already a populous and opulent mart. Suetonius Paulinus, the Roman general, hastened from Anglesey to quell the insurrection in the east, but being unable to protect London, he evacuated that town, which the Britons soon reduced to ashes. Verulam (now St. Albans) soon afterward experienced the same fate, and historians say that seventy thousand persons fell before Boadicea's army. Suetonius at last felt himself compelled to turn his face to the enemy, and, after a long and fierce battle, the Roman arms prevailed; a large number of the Britons were slain, several escaped, but Boadicea, though many offered still to cling to her fortunes, refused to survive the defeat she had met with, and terminated her eventful career by suicide.

The reputation of preceding Roman governors was obscured by the more splendid and more lasting fame of Cneius Julius Agricola, who extended the Roman sway throughout the greater portion of the island. He reformed the civil administration, established a more equitable system of taxation, listened with kindness to the complaints of the natives, and severely punished the tyranny of inferior officers. At his instigation the chieftains left the forests, and came to dwell near the Roman stations, where they learned to admire the refinements of civilization, and acquired a taste for improvement. Agricola resolved to distinguish his government by adding largely to the power of the Romans in Britain, and marched with a large army into the north. The Caledonians, under the command of Galgacus, endeavored to defend the passage of the Grampians, but without success. Agricola was victorious, and soon afterward (his period of governorship having expired) being succeeded by Lucullus, he returned to Rome, and retired into private life.

The Roman power continued for a long time after this period firmly established in Britain. The tribes which had submitted

made no attempt to recover their independence, and the Caledonians, humbled by their last defeat, were content to roam without molestation in their native forests. The successors of Agricola, instead of conducting the legions in the field, were employed in protecting the public tranquillity, in settling the details of the provincial government, and in assimilating the state of Britain to that of the other countries which had been incorporated in the empire. After about thirty years, however, from the departure of Agricola, the state of Britain had become so precarious in consequence of the frequent invasions of the Caledonians, that the emperor Hadrian placed himself at the head of the Roman troops in the island. He recovered some territory which had been lost, and built a fortification sixty miles in length from the Solway Frith to the mouth of the Tyne. During the reign of his successor, Antoninus, the northern tribes were repeatedly in arms, and Lollius, the governor of Britain, erected another fortification from the Forth to the Clyde, which, in honor of the emperor, he named the *vallum* of Antoninus.

The invasions of the Caledonians: the *vallum* of Antoninus. A. D. 146.

Some years afterward, the emperor Severus, although in advanced life, and in declining health, took the command of the Roman army in Britain for the purpose of endeavouring to subdue the northern tribes, who still continued to harass that portion of the island which had submitted to the power of Rome. He marched with a large army as far as the Frith of Cromarty, but gained no substantial advantage over the Caledonians. He returned to York, having lost a large part of his army, and set himself to devise means for the security of the southern provinces. With this view he built a solid wall of stone, a little to the north of the *vallum* of Hadrian, which was of earth. This wall was twelve feet high. It wound its course along valleys and over mountains, and some of its remains are viewed at the present day with feelings of astonishment.

The emperor Severus visits Britain: his labors there.

For more than seventy years from the reign of Severus, who died at York, Britain seems to have enjoyed comparative tranquillity. After this period of rest, the incursions of the Franks and Saxons began

The Franks and Saxons harass the shores of Britain. A. D. 284.

to harass the shores of Britain, and the distracted state of the empire prevented the emperors from sending large forces to defend the Roman possessions in the island. Dioclesian, however, sent some ships to restrain these northern nations, and gave the command of the Roman fleet, with the title of "Count of the Saxon shore," to an experienced officer named Carausius. It soon appeared that this officer was bribed by the enemy, and steps were taken to punish him. Carausius, however, induced the fleet to espouse his cause, and, sailing into a British harbour, he assumed the name of Augustus with the title of emperor, and set Rome at defiance. Constantius hastened to the British seas to oppose him, and succeeded in wresting from his sway Boulogne, and other parts of Gaul, of which he had made himself master. Carausius soon afterward fell a victim to treachery, being murdered by his

Constantius opposes the usurpation of Allectus.

minister, Allectus, who assumed his position. Constantius prepared to dethrone Allectus from his usurped sovereignty, and after some time spent in the necessary arrangement, sailed with a large fleet for the coast of Kent. On reaching Britain, he learned that Allectus was dead. Proceeding up the Thames he entered London, which had been rebuilt. He restored the imperial authority in Britain, resided in the island, and under his sway the natives enjoyed the benefit of a mild and equitable administration, till their happiness was disturbed by religious persecution.

At the distance of so many ages, it is impossible to discover by whom Christianity was first preached in the island. Some writers

By whom Christianity was introduced into Britain. A. D. 297.

have ascribed that province to St. Peter, others have preferred the rival claim of St. Paul; but both opinions, improbable as they are in themselves, rest on the most slender evidence—on testimonies, which are many of them irrelevant, all ambiguous and unsatisfactory. It is, however, certain that at a very early period there were Christians in Britain: nor is it difficult to account for the circumstance, from the intercourse which had long subsisted between the island and Rome. Within a very few years from the Ascension of Christ, the Church of Rome had attained great celebrity; soon afterward it attracted the notice and was honoured with the enmity of Claudius and Nero. Of the Romans whom at that period choice or ne-



cessity conducted to Britain, and of the Britons who were induced to visit Rome, some would, of course, become acquainted with the professors of the gospel, and yield to the exertions of their zeal. Both Pomponia Græcina, the wife of the proconsul Plautius, the first who made any permanent conquest in the island, and Claudia, a British lady, who had married the senator Pudens, are, on rather probable grounds, believed to have been Christians. But whether it was owing to the piety of these, or of other individuals, that the doctrine of Christianity was first introduced among the Britons, it appears to have made proselytes, and to have proceeded with a silent but steady pace toward the extremity of the island. The attention of the Roman officers was absorbed in the civil and military duties of their stations; and while the blood of the Christians flowed in the other provinces of the empire, the Britons were suffered to practise the new religion without molestation. There is even evidence that the knowledge of the gospel was not confined to the subjects of Rome. Before the close of the second century, it had penetrated among the independent tribes of the north.

It might have been expected that the British writers would have preserved the memory of an event so important in their eyes as the conversion of their fathers. But their traditions have been so embellished or disfigured by fiction, that without collateral evidence, it is hardly possible to distinguish in them what is real from what is imaginary. After deducting from the account of Nennius and his brethren every improbable circumstance, we may believe that the authority conferred by the emperor Claudius on Cogidunus, was continued in his family, that Lucius ("Leves maur," or the great light,) one of his near descendants, was a believer in the gospel, that he sent to Rome Fagan and Dervan, to be more perfectly instructed in the Christian faith; and that these envoys, having received ordination from Pope Eleutherius, at their return, under the influence of their patron, increased the number of the proselytes by their preaching, and established the British after the model of the continental churches. But independently of such authority, we have undoubted proof that the believers were numerous, and that a regular hierarchy had been instituted before

What we may believe concerning the introduction of Christianity.

the close of the third century. For, by contemporary writers, the Church of Britain is always put on an equality with the Churches of Spain and Gaul; and in one of the most early of the western councils, that of Arles, in 314, we meet with the names of British Bishops, Elborius of York, Restitutus of London, and Adelphius of Lincoln.

It has been observed that the British Christians had hitherto escaped the persecutions to which their continental brethren were repeatedly exposed. But, in the beginning of the fourth century, Dioclesian and Maximian determined to avenge the disasters of the empire on the professors of the gospel; and edicts were published, by which the churches in every province were ordered to be demolished, and the refusal to worship the gods of paganism was made a crime punishable with death. Though Constantius might condemn, he dared not forbid the execution of the imperial mandate; but he was careful, at the same time, to show by his conduct his own opinion of religious persecution. Assembling around him the Christian officers of his household, he communicated to them the will of the emperors, and added, that they must determine to resign their employments, or to abjure the worship of Christ. If some among them preferred their interest to their religion, they received the reward which their perfidy deserved—as Cæsar dismissed them from his service, observing that he would never trust the fidelity of men who had proved themselves traitors to their God. But the moderation of Constantius did not restrain the zeal of the inferior magistrates. The churches in almost every district were levelled with the ground; and of the Christians, many fled for safety to the forests and mountains; many suffered with constancy both torture and death. Gildas has preserved the name of Julius and Aaron, citizens of Caerleon-upon-Usk; and the memory of Alban, the protomartyr of Britain, was long celebrated both in his own country and among the neighbouring nations. But, within less than two years, Dioclesian and Maximian resigned the purple; Constantius and Galerius assumed the title of emperors; and the freedom of religious worship was restored to the Christian inhabitants of the island.

Edicts are published against the Christians in Britain, by Dioclesian and Maximian: the conduct of Constantius.

Constantius was married to Helena—whom our national historians represent as the daughter of a British prince—but when he was raised to the dignity of Cæsar, he was compelled to repudiate Helena for Theodora, the daughter-in-law of Maximian. Helena, however, had already borne him a son in Britain, known in history as Constantine the Great. The young prince was educated at Rome; but hearing that his father was ill, he fled to Britain, and reached York a few days before Constantius expired. His father recommended him to the soldiers, and he assumed the title of Cæsar. When Constantine became the acknowledged head of the Roman Empire, he placed Britain under the jurisdiction of the governor of Gaul, who appointed a deputy to reside on the island. Under Constantine and his immediate successors, Britain enjoyed more than fifty years of tranquillity; the aggressions of the barbarians were repressed, and industry and commerce were encouraged.

At length, however, the great fabric of the Roman power was shaken to its foundation, by the hordes of barbarians, who, issuing from the east and north, depopulated the fairest provinces, and poured like a torrent into the flourishing plains of Italy. The troops were recalled from distant places to defend the heart of the empire. The Picts and Scots (who inhabited the localities hitherto occupied by the Caledonians) availed themselves of the defenceless state of southern Britain, and harassed the natives with frequent incursions for a long period of time. The Picts were probably the same nation as the Caledonians, though under another name. The Scots were emigrants who crossed over to Caledonia from the north of Ireland, and subsequently gave a name to the northern division of Britain. These tribes maintained a hostile attitude toward the southern British for a long period. Sometimes, as for instance under Theodosius, who was called the deliverer of Britain, they were driven into their mountain fastnesses with great loss. They never, however, were totally defeated, and consequently when the British lost the protection of the Roman soldiers, the Picts and Scots were emboldened to attack them. When the British applied to Rome for aid, the emperor Honorius told them to provide for their own safety. The na-

Constantine becomes head of the Roman Empire.

The Picts and Scots.

The Britons left to provide for their own safety. A. D. 411.

tives then threw off all allegiance to the Roman emperor, deposed the Roman magistrates, took up arms, and succeeded in driving the Picts and Scots out of their territories. Several independent chieftains set up governments in Britain ; but for some time, at this period, we lose accurate sources of historical information. The dissensions between the chieftains seem to have led to a continuation of civil war. Pestilence and famine aided the Picts and Scots in their renewed attack on a disorganized people, and at length one of the British kings, Vortigern, had recourse to an expedient which had ultimately the most important effects on the history of the island. This prince, learning that a Saxon fleet was cruising in the channel, made terms with its commanders, two brothers named Hengist and Horsa, who agreed to aid him in fighting his battles, and to depend for their reward upon future arrangements. They landed at Ebbsfleet, and were cantoned in the island of Thanet. This memorable event took place in the year 449 ; from which era historians date the total cessation of the influence of the Roman Empire on the affairs of Britain, and the earliest dawn of Saxon power in the island.

Hengist and Horsa, two Saxon chieftains, aid the Britons.

nel, made terms with its commanders, two brothers named Hengist and Horsa, who agreed to aid him in fighting his battles, and to depend for their reward upon future arrangements.

## CHAPTER II.

### Anglo-Saxons.

The Saxons found eight distinct Kingdoms—The Natives retire to the Western Coast—Reigns of the Saxon Bretwaldas, and of other Saxon Kings, down to Alfred—Account of the writers, Bede and Alcuin—Foundation of the English Monarchy under Egbert.—From A. D. 449 to A. D. 871.

For six years, Hengist and Horsa served Vortigern with fidelity : the Picts were taught to respect, and the Britons were eager to reward their valour. Hengist obtained leave to send for reinforcements from his own country. Several Saxon chieftains arrived in Britain ; and, at length, the number of their followers became an object of apprehension to the Britons. The refusal,

by the Britons, to supply provisions to the Saxons, was the occasion of an open rupture. A battle was fought at Aylesford, on the Medway. In this engagement Vortigern lost a son, and Hengist lost his brother, Horso. A second battle was soon fought, in which the Britons were defeated, and fled to London. The British power was not yet broken, however, for the natives for many years maintained a severe struggle with the Saxons. Hengist lived till the year 488, and then left the peaceable possession of Kent to his son Oisc.

The British writers attribute the loss of Kent to an attachment which Vortigern entertained for Rowena, the daughter of Hengist. These authors state that Vortigern married Rowena, and bestowed on Hengist the kingdom of Kent. Vortimir, however, the son of Vortigern, expelled the Saxons, and Hengist wandered for five years upon the ocean. At the death of Vortimir, his father, who was still alive, recovered the power which he had lost, and Hengist demanded the restoration of the territories of which Vortimer had deprived him. Three hundred deputies were appointed to settle the question, but during the conference all the British deputies were assassinated except Vortigern. He was detained in captivity, and in order to ransom him, the natives yielded to Hengist the south-eastern portion of Britain. Such is the British narrative, but it is contradicted by strong evidence, and seems to have been invented by the natives, to account for the settlement of the Saxons without admitting conquest.

While Hengist and his successors were content with Kent, a new band of adventurers landed, in the year 477, under the command of Ælla and his three sons, who, after several severe battles with the natives, succeeded, after thirteen years' warfare, in founding the kingdom of Sussex, or of the South Saxons.

Cerdic, with another band of Saxons, landed in the south-west, and by repeated victories extended the Saxon power in that part of the island, and founded the kingdom of Wessex, or of the West Saxons. A chief named Erkenwin landed on the north bank of the Thames, and founded the kingdom of Essex, or of the East Saxons.

Rupture between the British king and the Saxon chieftains. Battle fought at Aylesford.

Opinions of British writers.

Cerdic extends the Saxon power.

Within one hundred and fifty years from the arrival of Hengist, the natives had retired before their enemies from the coast to the mountains, and had left about half of South Britain in the possession of the Saxons. Eight Saxon kingdoms formed. A. D. 536. Eight new kingdoms had been formed: Kent, Sussex, Essex, East Anglia, Bernicia, Deira, Wessex, and Mercia. Sometimes the Saxon kingdoms are only considered seven; as Bernicia and Deira became united. These were in the north. Mercia comprised the interior of the island, as far as the mountains of Wales. East Anglia comprehended Norfolk, Suffolk, Cambridge, and Ely. We have already explained the situations of the other Saxon kingdoms. The Britons maintained a vigorous resistance, led by several distinguished chieftains, of whom Arthur has obtained the foremost place in renown, though of his history scarcely any thing is accurately known. Some of the Britons, to escape from the Saxons, crossed over to Armorica, which still retains the name of Bretagne.

Although the Saxon sovereigns were independent of each other, yet it generally happened that one monarch exercised a preponderating influence, and he was designated by the The Bretwalda, or Britain-wielder. title of Bretwalda, or "Britain-wielder." Seven Saxon kings had this honour: they were Ælla of Sussex, Cæwlin of Wessex, Ethelbert of Kent, Redwald of East Anglia, Edwin of Northumberland, (comprising Bernicia and Beira,) Oswald of the Bernician portion of Northumberland, and Oswio, the brother of Oswald.

The most distinguished of the monarchs entitled Bretwalda was Ethelbert, king of Kent, who reigned for fifty-six years. In his reign, Pope Gregory sends Augustine to convert the Saxons. Pope Gregory the Great sent Augustine to convert the Saxons with forty companions, landed on the Isle of Thanct. Ethelbert (whose queen, a Frenchwoman, was a Christian) received the missionaries under an oak-tree in an open field. Before Augustine were borne a silver cross and a banner representing the Redeemer; behind him, his companions walked in procession, while the air resounded with the anthems which they sang. Ethelbert received them courteously, permitted them to preach, but was not then converted. He even went so far as

to promise to support the missionaries at his own expense. They excited the admiration of all who came to visit them: the people approved of a religion which inspired such piety. The king viewed these feelings of his subjects with pleasure, and on the feast of Pentecost, in the year 597, he professed himself a Christian, and received the sacrament of baptism. On the following Christmas, ten thousand of his subjects followed the royal example. The pontiff was highly pleased with the success of Augustine, and wrote to Ethelbert, sending him presents. The king allotted Canterbury and the surrounding district to the missionaries, and Augustine became prelate. At this period also the see of Rochester was founded, and Ethelbert built suitable places of worship, besides converting the pagan temples into Christian churches. Augustine employed much of his time in endeavouring to restore among the British tribes the ancient discipline of the Church. The British Christian bishops met Augustine in Worcestershire, and conferred respecting some differences which existed in discipline between them and Rome. The points in dispute had reference to the time of celebrating Easter, and to the mode of administering baptism. The conference did not end satisfactorily. It is pleasing, however, to reflect, that there does not appear to have been even the smallest difference in doctrine between the tenets of the Christian bishops and the religion taught by Augustine.

Ethelbert published during his long and useful life many important laws, in order to regulate the administration of justice. A pecuniary fine was appointed <sup>Laws of Ethelbert.</sup> to each crime, and a criminal was compelled to make compensation to the violated justice of the country, as well as to the family of the injured party. The fine called *were* was the sum at which the life of each person was rated; that which was denominated *mund* was intended to protect individuals from insult, by providing for the security of each according to rank.

In addition to the history of the monarchs denominated "Bretwalda," the Anglo-Saxon annals are taken up with numerous details respecting those kings who did not obtain that distinctive appellation. The sovereigns of Northumbria, Mercia, and Wessex occupy the leading position. There is not much in this portion

of English history to interest the student, presenting, as it does, little more than one continued scene of perfidy, treason, and murder.

Amid this social chaos, it is pleasing to discover two distinguished scholars, Bede and Alcuin, whose literary superiority was acknowledged by their contemporaries, and to whose writings and exertions Europe was principally indebted for that portion of learning which she possessed from the eighth to the eleventh

Bede and Alcuin: their literary productions. century. Bede was a native of Sunderland, and was educated by the monks of Jarrow, on the banks of the Tyne. He studied every science which survived the ruin of the Roman Empire, and has astonished every reader of his works with the depth and variety of his attainments. His principal production was the "Ecclesiastical History of the Nation of the Angles." Bede died at Jarrow, in the year 733. Alcuin was a native of York; his literary reputation attracted students to him from Gaul and Germany, and subsequently led to his being invited to the court of Charlemagne, where he passed the principal portion of his life. His works consisted mostly of poems, essays on scientific and theological subjects, and letters to the leading characters of the age.

After numerous and protracted struggles, between the Saxon princes, for superiority, Egbert, king of Wessex, triumphed over

Egbert unites the Saxon kingdoms into one monarchy. The island invaded by the Danes. all opponents, and united the several Anglo-Saxon nations into one great and powerful monarchy. This was about the year 828. At this period,

Egbert, having obtained the sovereignty of almost the entire of England, saw himself assailed by a foreign and most dangerous enemy. The Danes who inhabited Jutland and the islands of the Baltic lived by piracy, and had frequently made descents upon the coast of England. They effected a landing on the banks of the river Dart, in the year 834, and plundered the country. In the following year they landed in Cornwall, and obtained the support of the Britons. A battle ensued between the Danes and Egbert, in which the Saxon king was victorious. This was the last exploit of Egbert, who soon afterward died, after a long, glorious, and fortunate reign. Egbert is always mentioned as the first king of England, as he was the first who united the Anglo-Saxon monarchies under one crown.



## CHAPTER III.

## Alfred the Great.

His Birth; Education; Accession to the Throne—His Contests with the Danes—His Reverses—His Success—His Victories—His Labours in favour of Literature—His Death.—A. D. 849 to A. D. 901.

WITH the name of Alfred, posterity has associated the epithet of "the Great." The kings, his predecessors, are chiefly known to us by their actions in the field of battle: it is the praise of Alfred that he was not only a warrior, but also the patron of the arts and the legislator of his people. *Their* history has been compressed into a few pages, but *his* merits will deserve a more detailed narration. Alfred was born at Wantage; Alfred born at Wantage, A. D. 849. he was the youngest of the four sons of Ethelwulf and Osburga, the daughter of Oslac. The beauty, vivacity, and playfulness of the boy endeared him to his parents, who affected to foresee that he would one day prove the chief ornament of the race of Cerdic. It was this partiality which induced the king to send him, when only in his fifth year, with a numerous retinue, to Rome, to be crowned by the pontiff, and afterward, when the royal pilgrim himself visited the apostolic city, Alfred was selected to accompany his father.

The Anglo-Saxons of this period had degenerated from the literary reputation of their ancestors. The thanes, dividing the time between their occupations of war and the pleasures of the chase, despised the tranquil pursuits of knowledge, and directed the attention of their children to those exercises which impart habits of strength, agility, and courage: Osburga, however, had the merit of awakening in the mind of Alfred that A passion for learning awakened in his mind. passion for learning by which he was so honourably distinguished from his contemporaries. Holding in her hand a Saxon poem, elegantly written and beautifully illuminated, she offered it as a reward to the first of her children whose proficiency should enable him to read it. The emulation of Alfred was excited; he ran to his master, applied to the task with diligence,

performed it to the satisfaction of the queen, and received the prize of his industry.

But soon, by the death of both parents, the education of the young prince devolved on his elder brothers, to whom the pursuits of literature were probably objects of contempt. His proficiency under their care was limited to the art of reading, from which he

His early education limited to the art of reading. could derive no other immediate advantage than the perusal of a few Saxon poems and books of devotion, written in the vernacular idiom. It proved, however, to him an acquisition of considerable importance, for it laid the foundation of his subsequent improvement; it urged his curiosity to explore those treasures of history and science which were locked up in the obscurity of a learned language, and it enabled him at a later period to apply with success to the study of the Latin tongue; but his health was then impaired by disease, his mind occupied with the cares of government, and in the company of his friends he often lamented that indulgence which had permitted him to throw away the years of his youth in pursuits and diversions from which he had reaped nothing but ignorance and regret.

When, upon the death of his brother, the unanimous voice of the West Saxons called Alfred to the throne, in 871, he at first declined that honour. His objections having been overruled, the Archbishop of Canterbury placed the crown upon his head. He

Alfred is called to the throne. The ravages of the Danes. was soon called upon to contend with the Danes, who had been for some time organizing their forces. Alfred induced them to quit the West Saxon territories for a valuable present. The king of Mercia also hoped to purchase the forbearance of the powerful Northmen, but when they had received his gifts they treated him with derision, and burnt down the monastery of Repton. The entire of the Anglo-Saxon territories soon became subject to the invaders, except the districts north of the Tyne and south of the Thames. Wherever they came their path was marked with the evidence of their cruelty; the abbey of Lindisfarne was reduced to ashes, while the bishop and monks fled to the mountains; at Coldingham, the nuns disfigured their faces with wounds in order to avoid the insults of the barbarians, and preserved their

chastity though they perished in the flames. In 876 the Danes under Guthrun invaded Wessex; Alfred opposed them, but observing their strength, thought it wiser to negotiate with the enemy. They broke through the most solemn engagements, and, marching rapidly in the night-time, they took possession of Exeter.

Alfred, unable to cope with the Danes on land, resolved to oppose them on the sea. He therefore speedily equipped a few ships, and manned them with some foreign adventurers. He soon succeeded in capturing a Danish ship of war, which circumstance elevated his hopes. Alfred obtained some other advantages over the enemy, and the Danes retired into Mercia. They soon, however, appeared again in Wessex, and Alfred being taken by surprise, (for Guthrun had adopted the unusual course of a winter campaign, when Alfred's troops were not under arms,) fled to a secluded retreat in Somersetshire, which was afterward known as Ethelingeay, or Prince's Island.

Alfred secludes himself in Somersetshire.

It is said that he was entertained one day, at this period of his life, in the cottage of a swineherd, and that his hostess desired him to watch some cakes which she was baking on the hearth: Alfred's mind was deeply occupied with other matters, and the cakes were burnt, for which he was severely reprimanded by the woman.

Alfred in his retirement carefully watched for some opportunity to expel the Danes. His hopes were roused by the tidings that a Saxon chief, Odun, had gained a victory over the Danes, and had captured their standard, on which was worked a raven, and to which they attached a superstitious importance. The spirit of the Saxons revived, and Alfred, by means of trusty messengers, invited his countrymen to meet him on a certain day, in Selwood Forest. On the appointed day the summons was cheerfully obeyed, Alfred was hailed as the avenger of his country, the wood echoed with acclamation, and every heart beat with the confidence of victory. Preparations were made without delay for an engagement with the Danes, who, under the command of Guthrun, were at no great distance. It is said by some historians that Alfred, disguised as a harper, visited the Danish camp, where he observed their negligence, and learned their ulterior objects. This story

He defeats the Danes at Ethandime. is disbelieved by many writers. The battle was fought near Ethandime, (now called Brixton,) and both armies displayed the most signal courage. The Danes were defeated and fled. Guthrun soon afterward surrendered, and, (according to treaty,) with thirty of his officers, embraced Christianity, Alfred being his sponsor. Guthrun retreated to Mercia, and afterward to East Anglia, and though solicited by the Danes to renew the war with Alfred, he remained faithful to his engagements with that monarch.

The retreat of Guthrun gave to Wossex a long respite from the horrors of war, and fifteen years of comparative tranquillity left Alfred at leisure to attend to the improvement and civilization of his people. The army claimed his first care; the desultory but incessant attacks of the Danes had demonstrated the necessity of organizing a force which should be ready to take the field at the first alarm, and to march to any part of the coast that was menaced with an attack; but at the same time the scarcity arising from the frequent suspensions of agricultural labor, showed the impolicy of collecting together the great mass of the population. Alfred adopted an improved plan, which, while it was calculated to oppose a formidable force to the descents of the Northmen, secured a sufficient supply of hands for the cultivation of the soil. The defence of the towns and cities was intrusted to the courage and fidelity of the inhabitants, under the direction of the king's Geref, or reeve; of the rest of the free population, the males were divided into two classes, to each of which was allotted in rotation a regular term of service. They were commanded by the king or the ealdorman of the county; and instead of pay, received from the national stores a proportionate supply of provisions.

The utility of fortifications had been sufficiently demonstrated by the example of the Danes, and the successful defence of Kynwith. By the orders of Alfred, a survey was made of the coast and navigable rivers, and castles were built in places the best fitted to prevent the landing, or to impede the progress of an enemy. Yet in this undertaking, of which the necessity was so apparent, he had to encounter numerous difficulties, arising from the prejudices

He attends to the improvement and civilization of his people.

He builds castles and fortifies the coast, to prevent the landing of the Danes.

and indolence of his people. In many instances the execution of the royal orders was postponed, in others the buildings were abandoned as soon as the foundations had been laid. But occasional descents of the Danes came in aid of the king's authority; those who had lost their property by their negligence were eager to repair the fault by their industry; and before the close of his reign, Alfred had the satisfaction to see more than fifty castles built according to his directions.

The first attempt which the king made to create a navy has been already mentioned. His success stimulated him to new exertions, and to acquire knowledge and to do honour to the naval profession, he often accompanied his squadrons in their expeditions. On one of these occasions he met four sail of Northmen; two were captured by boarding, and their crews put to the sword; the commanders of the other two, terrified by the fate His success over the Danes by sea. of their companions and their own loss, threw down their arms, and on their knees solicited mercy. On another occasion, the Saxon fleet surprised and captured thirteen sail in the river Stour; every man on board was massacred; but the same evening, the victors, in their return, were intercepted by a Danish squadron, and completely defeated. As soon as the king became acquainted with the arts of attack and the modes of defence practised by the northern nations, several improvements suggested themselves to his superior sagacity. He ordered ships to be built of larger dimensions than those of the Danes; their decks were higher, and their length double. The He increases the size of his ships. increased elevation gave his mariners an advantage over their enemies, who were compelled to direct their strokes upward, and the greater bulk of the vessels added to their stability in the water, while the Danish ships were agitated by the slightest motion. That their celerity might not be retarded by the additional weight, he augmented the number of the rowers, and gave to all his vessels thirty, to several more than thirty oars on a side. This fleet was so judiciously disposed in the different harbours, that the marauding squadrons of the barbarians found it difficult to approach or to abandon the shore with impunity.

From measures of defence against a foreign enemy, the king turned his attention to the domestic economy of the country.

During the long period of Danish devastation, the fabric of civil government had been nearly dissolved. The courts of judicature had been closed, injuries were inflicted without provocation and retaliated without mercy; and the Saxon, like the Dane, had imbibed a spirit of insubordination and a contempt for peace, and justice, and religion. To remedy these evils, Alfred restored, enlarged, and improved the salutary institutions of his forefathers, and from the statutes of Ethelbert, Ina, Offa, and other Saxon princes, composed a code of law adapted to the circumstances of the time and the habits of his subjects. But legislative enactments would have been of little avail had not the king insured their execution by an undertaking of no small difficulty, but which, by his vigilance and perseverance, he ultimately accomplished. The Saxon jurisprudence had established an ample gradation of judicature, which diverged in different ramifications, from the king's court into every hamlet in the kingdom; but of the persons invested with judicial authority very few were qualified for so important an office; almost all were ignorant, many were despotic; the powerful refused to acquiesce in their decisions, and the defenceless complained of their oppression. Both had frequent recourse to the equity of Alfred, who listened as cheerfully to the complaints of the lowest as of the highest among his subjects. Every appeal was heard by him with the most patient attention; in cases of importance he revised the proceeding at his leisure, and the inferior magistrates trembled at the impartiality and severity of their sovereign. If their fault proceeded from ignorance or inadvertence, they were reprimanded or removed, according to the magnitude of the offence; but neither birth, nor friends, nor power could save the corrupt or malicious judge; he was made to suffer the punishment which he had unjustly inflicted; and, if we may believe an ancient authority, forty-four magistrates were, by the king's order, executed in one year for their informal and iniquitous proceedings. This severity was productive of the most beneficial consequences; the judges were careful to acquire a competent degree of knowledge; their decisions became accordant to the law; the commission of crime was generally followed by the infliction of punishment, and

Alfred remedies the evils that had followed the invasion of the Danes.

Severity against corrupt judges.

theft and murder were rendered as rare as they had formerly been prevalent. To prove the reformation of his subjects, Alfred is said to have suspended valuable bracelets on the highway, which no one ventured to remove; and, as a confirmation, we are told that if a traveller lost his purse on the road, he would at the distance of a month find it lying untouched in the same spot. These are probably the fictions of a posterior age, but they serve to show the high estimation in which Alfred's administration of justice was held by our forefathers.

The decline of learning in the Saxon states had been rapidly accelerated by the Danish invasions; the churches and monasteries, the only academies of the age, had been destroyed; and at the accession of Alfred, Wessex could hardly boast of a single scholar able to translate a Latin book into the English tongue. The king, who from his early years had been animated with the most ardent passion for knowledge, endeavoured to infuse a similar spirit into all who aspired to his favour. For this purpose, he invited to his court the most distinguished scholars of his own and of foreign countries. Plegmund and Werfrith, Ethelstan and Werwulf visited him from Mercia; John, of Old Saxony, left the monastery of Corbie for an establishment at Ethelingey; Asser, of St. David's, was induced by valuable presents to reside with the king during six months in the year; and an honourable embassy to Hinemar, archbishop of Rheims, returned with Grimbold, the celebrated provost of St. Omer. With their assistance Alfred began, in his thirty-ninth year, to apply to the study of Roman literature, and opened schools in different places for the instruction of his subjects. It was his will that the children of every free man, whose circumstances would allow it, should acquire the elementary arts of reading and writing; and that those who were designed for civil or ecclesiastical employments should moreover be instructed in the Latin language.

It was a misfortune which the king frequently lamented, that Saxon literature contained no books of science: "I have often wondered," says he, "that the illustrious scholars who once flourished among the English, and who had read so many foreign works, never thought of transferring the most useful into their

He translates several works into the Saxon language.

own language." To supply the deficiency, Alfred himself undertook the task. Of his translations, two were historical and two didactic; the first were the "Ecclesiastical History of the English," by Bede, and the "Epitome" of Orosius, the best abridgment of ancient history then extant; both works calculated to excite and gratify the curiosity of his subjects. Of the others, one was meant for general reading, "The Consolation of Philosophy," by Boetius, a treatise deservedly held in high estimation at that period, and the second was destined for the instruction of the clergy, the "Pastoral of Gregory the Great," a work recommended both by its own excellence and the reputation of its author. Of this he sent a copy to every bishop in his dominions, with a request that it might be preserved in the cathedral for the use of the diocesan clergy.

In the arrangement of his time, his finances, and his domestic concerns, Alfred was exact and methodical; the officers of his household were divided into three bodies, which succeeded each other in rotation, and departed at the end of the month, the allotted period of their service; of each day he gave one-third to sleep and necessary refreshments, the remainder was divided between the duties of his station and works of piety and charity. His treasurer was ordered to separate his revenue into two moieties; the first he subdivided into three parts, of which one was destined to reward his servants and ministers, another to supply presents for the strangers who visited his court, and the third to pay the numerous bodies of workmen whom he employed. For he erected palaces in different parts of his dominions; repaired and embellished those which had been left by his predecessors, and rebuilt London and several other towns which the Danes had reduced to heaps of ruins. In all these undertakings we are told that he displayed an improved taste, and considerable magnificence. Among his artists were numbers of foreigners, attracted by his offers and the fame of his liberality; and by frequent conversation with them, he is said to have acquired a theoretical acquaintance with their professions which astonished the most experienced workmen. The other moiety of his revenue was parcelled out

The arrangement of his time, his finance and domestic concerns.



into four portions. One was devoted to the support of his school, his favorite project. Another was given to the two monasteries which he had founded, one at Shaftesbury for nuns, at the head of which he placed his daughter, Ethelgiva; another at Ethelinge for monks, which he peopled with foreigners, because the Danish devastations had abolished the monastic institute among his own subjects. The third portion he employed in relieving the necessities of the indigent, to whom on all occasions he was a most bountiful benefactor. From the fourth he drew the alms which he annually distributed to different churches. They were not confined to his own dominions, but scattered through Wales, Northumbria, Armorica, and Gaul. Often he sent considerable presents to Rome, sometimes to the nations in the Mediterranean and to Jerusalem: on one occasion to the Indian Christians at Meliapour. Swithelm, the bearer of the royal alms, brought back to the king several oriental pearls and aromatic liquors.

Alfred's prosperity was not destined to be unclouded in his latter years. In 893, the long peace which he had enjoyed was interrupted by Hastings, the most renowned of the sea-kings. This invader landed in Kent with a large force: Alfred marched against him, and after much labour and time succeeded in defeating him. Some of his soldiers settled in East Anglia and Northumbria, and the remainder returned to Normandy, where the colonists from the north of Europe had acquired a firm footing.

Alfred died on the 28th of October, in the year 901, leaving two sons and three daughters. He divided his lands among his sons, daughters, nephews, cousin, and wife; and left sums of money to the clergy, to the poor, and to the endowment of the church in which he would be interred. He strictly forbade his heirs from depriving of liberty those whom he had made free, directing that they should be permitted to serve any master they might choose.

Hastings invades Kent and is defeated by Alfred.

Death of Alfred. The division of his lands.

## CHAPTER IV.

## Anglo-Saxons.

*Continued.*

Edward—Athelstan—Edmund—Edrei—Edwy—Edgar—Edward the Martyr—  
Ethelred—Edmund Ironside.—A. D. 901 to 1016.

ALFRED was succeeded by his second son, Edward, but his cousin, Ethelwald, opposed his claim. The witenagemot, the great national assembly, overruled the pretensions of Ethelwald, and he took up arms; the northern Danes assisted him, and he marched with a considerable army against Edward. In one of the battles which ensued, Ethelwald was killed, and Edward was left at rest to direct his attention to two objects which he had much at heart. These two objects, the union of Mercia with Wessex, and the subjugation of the northern Danes, he in the course of some years effected. Entering Mercia at the head of an army, he took the reigning sovereign, the princess Elfwina, prisoner, sent her a captive to Wessex, abolished in Mercia all traces of separate government, and moulded the whole of the Saxon territories into one kingdom. Pursuing the same policy of conquest, he succeeded in subjugating almost all the Danish tribes to his control, and ultimately reduced the greater portion of England to his sway, while the Scots acknowledged him for their chief, and the princes of Wales paid him tribute. He died in 925, having established many religious foundations, the most important of which was the monastery of Winchester.

925. Athelstan; Edward left his crown by will to his son Athelstan, who is called by historians the first monarch of England, because he extended his power over the entire of the island. He was crowned at Kingston, by Athelm, archbishop of Canterbury. When Sightrie, the Danish king of Northumberland, died, Athelstan invaded his territories, and the Danish princes fled. One of them, Anlaff, soon afterward having collected Scotch and Irish troops, returned and gave battle to Athelstan at Brunanburgh, in Northumbria, where he was completely

routed, and Athelstan became monarch of all England. One of his sisters was married to Hugo, father of the founder of the royal line of Capet, in France. Athelstan died in 941, regretted by his subjects, and admired by surrounding nations. He was generous to the poor; he erected numerous churches; his charities were extensive, and he labored hard to secure for all his subjects the blessing of an impartial administration of justice.

Athelstan was succeeded by his brother, Edmund, who reigned six years, and was assassinated at a feast, by Leoff, an outlaw. The reign of Edmund was marked by war with the Danes, who had taken arms on the death of Athelstan, whose vigour had kept them in check. The war was varied in success, but ultimate victory fell to Edmund, and he transferred a large portion of the north of England to Malcolm, king of Scots.

941. Edmund: his reign is marked by his wars with the Danes.

The children of Athelstan being too young, his brother, Edred, was chosen king. He reigned ten years. His reign was principally distinguished by the final subjugation of Northumbria, which province rose in arms at this period for the last time, and was again subdued. Edred divided Northumbria into shires, and gave to one of his generals, Osulf, the title of earl of Northumberland. Much of the merit which historians attribute to Edred is due to his having followed the advice of his favorite ministers, Chancellor Turketul, and Dunstan, the abbot of Glastonbury. Turketul resigned the office of chancellor, and became abbot of the monastery at Croyland. Edred died after a reign of ten years, his constitution having been much enfeebled for a long time by a painful disease, from which he was scarcely ever free.

946. Edred: he subdues Northumbria; reigns ten years.

The elder of Edmund's two sons, Edwy, who had in 945 been passed over, as being too young for the throne, was now chosen king, by the unanimous voice of the national council. Although not more than seventeen years of age, Edwy's character was already marked by the violence of his passions. It is related that on the day of his coronation he abruptly left the company of the nobility and clergy, to keep an appointment with his favorite, Ethelgina, and her daughter, both of whom are accused by historians of

955. Edwy: a weak and profligate prince.

having sought to ingratiate themselves dishonorably with the young king. The nobles were indignant that their monarch should leave them for such company, and, at their request, Abbot Dunstan and the bishop of Lichfield persuaded, or, as some say, compelled the king to return to the banquet. Edwy retained a feeling of revenge for the affront thus put upon him, and, at the instigation of Ethelgina, persecuted Dunstan, who fled from his rage to Flanders. Edwy married, but as he did not abandon Ethelgina, the archbishop of Canterbury sent her out of England: she returned soon afterward, and was taken by the Mercians, who had revolted, and she was put to death. Edwy, who fled from the Mercians, took refuge in Wessex; and his brother, Edgar, being chosen king of Mercia, it was agreed upon that civil war should not be prolonged, but that the two brothers should reign at the same time, the Thames being the boundary of their respective dominions. Edwy died suddenly in 959, and the thanes of Wessex having offered the throne to Edgar, the two kingdoms were again united under the same monarch.

One of the first measures of Edgar was to recall Dunstan from exile. The abbot was appointed to the vacant see of Worcester, subsequently to that of London, and 959. Edgar: he recalls Dunstan. finally was made archbishop of Canterbury. Edgar has received the title of "peaceful;" as, during the sixteen years of his reign, he was never compelled to unsheath the sword against either a foreign or domestic enemy. He frequently, however, displayed his military resources, for the purpose of checking any tendency to war which the Danes might possess. Every year he sailed round the island with a fleet of three hundred and sixty ships; and this periodical parade had the effect of intimidating the northern chieftains. From the Welsh he exacted an annual tribute of the heads of three hundred wolves, instead of money; and thus he rapidly caused the entire extirpation of that ferocious race of animals. Kenneth, king of Scots, visited Edgar, for the purpose of asking the province of Lothian for the Scottish crown, and succeeded in his application. Edgar exhibited, in the internal administration of his kingdom, an example worthy of imitation; he reformed abuses, dealt out equal justice to rich and poor, and removed any grievances of

which the people complained. He also devoted much of his attention to ecclesiastical affairs; and, assisted by the prelates, effected many improvements in church discipline. Edgar was not crowned until he had been thirteen years on the throne; the ceremony was performed at Bath, with great splendor, and he afterward proceeded to Chester, where his barge was rowed down the Dee by eight tributary princes. Edgar died He died in 975. The story related of Elfrida. in 975, two years after his coronation. He was twice married; and of his second wife, Elfrida, the following story is told by the historian, William of Malmesbury, but by many the narrative is only deemed to be a mere romantic fable. This writer narrates that Elfrida was possessed of unparalleled beauty and accomplishments, and that Edgar commissioned Ethelwold, the son of his foster-father, Athelstan, to visit Elfrida's father, and report his opinion of the daughter. The heart of Ethelwold was captivated; he forgot his duty, wooed and married Elfrida; and, on his return, informed the king that although she might grace the house of a subject, she did not become the splendor of a throne. But the secret was quickly betrayed; it reached the ears of the king, and he announced to his astonished favorite that he intended to visit the bride. Ethelwold now disclosed the whole transaction to his wife, and entreated her to conceal her beauty from the eyes of the king; but Elfrida had ceased to love; and he appeared to her in the light of an enemy, who had deprived her of a crown. She received the king in her gayest attire, and employed all her art to engage the affections of her royal guest. Edgar was convinced of the perfidy of Ethelwold, and though he disguised his feelings for a time, he soon afterward, when they were hunting together, ran his spear through his body, and married Elfrida.

The two sons of Edgar were children at the time of their father's death: Edward, who was the elder of the two, was only thirteen, Ethelred was only seven. A 975. Edward the Martyr: he is assassinated. strong party, at whose head was Elgiva, the mother of Ethelred, opposed the accession of Edward; but, aided by Dunstan, the latter was chosen king. The young prince did not sway the sceptre for more than about four years. One morning, as he was hunting, he stopped at

Corfe Castle, the residence of his stepmother, Elgiva, and while drinking on horseback, he was stabbed by an assassin. He put spurs to his horse, but soon fell from the saddle through weakness, and, being dragged along by the stirrup, was killed.

At the age of ten years, Ethelred, the son of Edgar and Elgiva, succeeded to the throne. His reign was long and <sup>978. Ethelred succeeds to the throne.</sup> unfortunate. He never possessed the affection of his subjects, and the northern pirates, having discovered that there was no sympathy between the people and the king, soon renewed their depredations. The horrors of invasion were aggravated by several years of scarcity, by a contagious disease among the cattle, and by a dysentery most fatal to the human species. For many years the war between the Danes and Saxons raged throughout the land with varying success. To rid himself of his inveterate enemies, Ethelred planned and executed a measure which will cover his name with everlasting infamy. His officers in the several towns and counties received secret orders from him to make arrangements in their respective

<sup>He orders a massacre of the Danes.</sup> localities for a general massacre of the Danes on a certain day. The time fixed was the 13th of November, 1003, the festival of St. Brice. On that day a massacre of the Danes took place, aggravated by every insult and barbarity which national hatred could suggest. The Danish chief, Sweyn, on hearing of the massacre, in which one of the victims was his own sister, resolved on vengeance; and, in the following year, landed in England with a large force. For four years, war waged throughout England. Sweyn, having by numerous acts of fearful retaliation quenched his thirst for vengeance, consented to grant the Saxons peace, on receiving thirty-six thousand pounds of silver.

As it was soon felt that the enormous sums given to the Danes had never purchased more than a temporary cessation of hostilities, Ethelred resolved to equip a large fleet for the permanent defence of the coast. Accordingly, a very large armament was collected at Sandwich, and the king in person took the command. Differences, however, soon broke out among the officers, one of whom separated from the fleet, taking with him twenty ships. A violent tempest destroyed a portion of the fleet, and the armament be-

came useless. The Danes immediately reappeared on the coast, and recommenced their old system of plunder and massacre. Flushed with success, the Danes resolved on attempting not merely coasting depredations, but the conquest of the island. Several towns submitted to Sweyn; and Ethelred, in despair, fled to Normandy, in 1014. Sweyn soon died, and Ethelred returned, and being welcomed by the Saxons, who had regained some of their old spirit, he reascended the throne. Canute, the son and successor of Sweyn, fled from England, but in the following year returned with a very large force. Ethelred was then confined to bed, and, as his constitution was broken, he sank under this fresh stroke. His protracted and calamitous reign ended in 1016.

When Ethelred died, his son Edmund was proclaimed king. He opposed Canute with courage and boldness. A treaty was agreed to. England was divided between Canute and Edmund, but both kingdoms were obliged to pay the tax known as *Dane-geld*. Edmund soon died, having reigned only seven months. Canute then became sole monarch of the entire kingdom.

He dies after a calamitous reign, in 1016.

1016. Edmund Ironside is proclaimed king.

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## CHAPTER V.

### The Danes.

Canute—Harold Harefoot—Hardicanute.—A. D. 1016 to 1042.

THE first object of Canute was to strengthen his position on the throne. He feared the competition of Edward's children, and therefore sent them away to his half-brother, Olave, king of Sweden. One of these children, Edmund, died in his youth; the other, Edward, married Agatha, daughter of the emperor of Germany. Canute married Emma, the widow of Ethelred: he laboured hard, by paying attention to the administration of the laws and by impartial

1016. Canute: he labours to win the affections of his English subjects.

conduct, to win the affections of his English subjects. Canute frequently visited Denmark, and in 1026 he made a pilgrimage to Rome. He became master of Norway by force of arms. He possessed the good sense to despise the flattery of those courtiers who wished to persuade him that his will could control even the elements. On one occasion, as he was sitting on the shore, near Southampton, he, to show the folly of his flatterers, commanded the sea to respect its sovereign; the tide soon compelled him to retire, and he took the opportunity to read his flatterers a lecture on the weakness of earthly kings when compared with the power of that Supreme Being who rules the elements. Canute died in 1035, leaving by Emma a son, Hardicanute, and a daughter, Gunihlda; and by Alfgive two illegitimate sons, Sweyn and Harold. Sweyn became king of Norway, and Harold, surnamed Harefoot, succeeded Canute on the throne of England.

Although Harold was illegitimate, and although by marriage settlement Emma's children were to succeed Canute, yet the influence of a numerous and powerful party raised Harold to the throne. Hardicanute claimed his right, but civil war was averted by an arrangement which provided for a division of the kingdom. The sons of Emma by her first husband also claimed the throne, and one of them, Alfred, was tempted, by a forged letter of invitation, to come over from Normandy to assert his right; his troops were received in seeming friendship, but were soon taken prisoners, and almost all of them were put to a cruel death. Alfred was condemned to lose his eyes, and died from the effect of his sufferings. Harold died in 1040, having reigned only four years.

Emma had represented Hardicanute in England, as he was in Denmark, but when her son Alfred was killed, she fled to Bruges, and Harold had thus become the sole king in England. On receiving tidings of Harold's death, Hardicanute hastened to England, and was acknowledged as king. In revenge, he ordered Harold's tomb to be opened, and wreaked his vengeance on his lifeless remains. Hardicanute reigned only two years: he fell to the ground while drinking at a marriage festival. By his death the crowns of Denmark and England were separated.

1035. Harold Harefoot is raised to the throne, and dies in 1040.

1040. Hardicanute is acknowledged king; reigns only two years.



## CHAPTER VI.

## Saxon Line Restored.

Edward the Confessor—Harold the Second.—A. D. 1042 to 1066.

ON the death of Hardicanute, Edward, the son of Ethelred and Emma, succeeded to the throne, being called thereto by the voice of the citizens of London. The rightful heir was the son of Edmund Ironside, but he was in Hungary; frequently, however, had the English preferred the uncle to the nephew. Edward at the period of his becoming king was about forty years of age, twenty-seven of which he had spent as an exile in Normandy; he had solaced the hours of banishment with the pleasures of the chase and the exercises of religion, and he brought with him to the throne those habits of moderation and tranquillity which he had acquired in a private station. To preserve peace and promote religion—to enforce the ancient laws and to diminish the burdens of his people—were the chief objects of his government; but he possessed not that energy of mind nor that ferocity of disposition which perhaps would be necessary to command the respect and to repress the violence of the lawless nobles by whom he was surrounded. At Ethelred's accession, he found three powerful chieftains near the throne—Godwin, Leofric, and Siward. They possessed great power, and when united they were more than a match for the king, whose chief security lay in their mutual jealousies. The Danish families whose fidelity was doubtful were driven out of the kingdom. The treasures of the queen-mother were seized on account of her partiality to the Danes, and also because she was considered to have participated in the murder of Alfred, the brother of Edward; she, however, was permitted to retain her dower, and resided at Winchester, where she died in the year 1052.

Edward married in 1044, Editha, the daughter of Earl Godwin. It was with reluctance Edward consented to this marriage:

1042. Edward the Confessor is called to the throne: he marries Editha, daughter of the earl Godwin.

he declared that Editha might enjoy the honors of a queen, but not the rights of a wife—a declaration interpreted by some to mean that he had bound himself to a life of continency, but attributed by others to his rooted antipathy to Godwin and his family.

The hostile feeling which existed between the Danes and Normans (many of whom were now honoured with Edward's friendship) soon broke out in open war. Forces led by Godwin, Sweyn, and Harold, (Editha's brother,) marched against some Normans in Herefordshire. Blood, however, was not shed, for the insurgent troops abandoned their leaders, and the chiefs fled. The queen was imprisoned, as her family had been foremost in the revolt. William, duke of Normandy, was invited to England by the Norman families who had settled in the country, but finding on his arrival that his services were not required, he landed simply as a visitor, was kindly received by the king, and was dismissed with magnificent presents. The insurgent earls, Godwin and Harold, requested to be admitted to Edward's friendship, and sailed to London from Flanders. They were received into the royal friendship, their titles were restored to them, and Editha was released from captivity. To Sweyn, Edward was inexorable, as he had committed a deliberate murder; and the murderer repenting, went as a pilgrim to Palestine, and died in the province of Lycia. Godwin, however, did not long survive the fall of his enemies. It is related that at table with the king he observed, as a servant stumbled, and then recovered himself with

The remarkable death of Godwin. one foot: "See how one brother helps another;" and that Edward exclaimed, "Yes, and if my brother Alfred lived, he would now assist me." Godwin feeling the reproach, declared that he wished, if he were guilty of Alfred's death, the next morsel he ate might kill him; he put it into his mouth, and was choked. His earldom was given to his son Harold, the brother-in-law of the king.

The only foreign war in which Edward engaged was against Macbeth, the usurper of the throne of Scotland. He assisted Malcolm to obtain the throne, to which he was by hereditary right entitled. Edward was obliged to send an army against the Welsh, who had begun to attack the English who lived on the borders. Harold, who commanded the troops, obtained nu-

merous victories over the Welsh, and these mountaineers remained quiet for a long period.

Harold, by the course of events, was become the most powerful subject in England; he aspired to the throne, and thus attracted the jealousy of William of Normandy, who had the same object in view. Harold was on one occasion accidentally thrown, by shipwreck, on the coast of Normandy. William exacted homage from him, as his future lord, and Harold swore that he would aid in promoting the succession of William to the throne of England, on the death of Edward. Harold, on returning to England, found himself obliged to suppress an insurrection among the Northumbrians, who had revolted against his brother, Tostig. The latter was obliged to fly to Bruges, as the insurrection had gained ground; Harold succeeded in restoring tranquillity in the province, and returned to London. Edward died in a few weeks after Harold's return, having had the satisfaction of witnessing the completion of Westminster Abbey, which had been the great object of his solicitude during his latter years, and in which he was buried with royal pomp, a few days after the building was dedicated.

If we estimate the character of a sovereign by the test of popular affection, we must rank Edward among the best princes of his time. The goodness of his heart was The character of Edward. adored by his subjects, who lamented his death with tears of undissembled grief, and bequeathed his memory, as an object of veneration, to their posterity. The blessings of his reign are the constant theme of our ancient writers; not, indeed, that he displayed any of those brilliant qualities which attract admiration while they inflict misery; he could not boast of the victories which he had won, or of the conquests which he had achieved, but exhibited the interesting spectacle of a king negligent of his private interests, and totally devoted to the welfare of his people; and by his labors to restore the dominion of the laws, his vigilance to ward off foreign aggression, his constant and ultimately successful solicitude to appease the feuds of his nobles—if he did not prevent the interruption, he secured at least a longer duration of public tranquillity than had been enjoyed in England for half a century. He was pious, kind,

and compassionate; the father of the poor, and the protector of the weak; more willing to give than to receive, and better pleased to pardon than to punish. Under the preceding kings, force generally supplied the place of justice, and the people were impoverished by the rapacity of the sovereign; but Edward enforced the laws of his Saxon predecessors, and disdained the riches which were wrung from the labors of his subjects. Temperate in his diet, unostentatious in his person, pursuing no pleasures but those which his hawks and hounds afforded, he was content with the patrimonial demesnes of the crown, and was able to assert, even after the abolition of that fruitful source of revenue, the Dane-gelt, that he possessed a greater portion of wealth than any of his predecessors had enjoyed. To him, the principle that the king can do no wrong, was literally applied by the gratitude of his people, who, if they occasionally complained of the measures of the government, (and much reason they had to complain, on account of the appointment to bishoprics of aspiring and rapacious adventurers,) attributed the blame not to the monarch himself, of whose benevolence and piety they entertained no doubt, but to the ministers, who had abused his confidence or deceived his credulity.

It was, however, a fortunate circumstance for the memory of Edward, that he occupied the interval between the Danish and Norman conquests; writers were induced to view his character with more partiality from the hatred with which they looked on his successors and predecessors; *they* were foreigners, *he* was a native; they held the crown by conquest, he by descent; they ground to the dust the slaves whom they had made, he became known to his countrymen only by his benefits. Hence he appeared to shine with a purer light amid the gloom with which he was surrounded; and whenever the people under the despotism of the Norman kings had an opportunity of expressing their real wishes, they constantly called for "the laws and customs of the good King Edward."

On the death of Edward, the report was circulated that he had appointed Harold as his successor, and he was accordingly proclaimed king. William of Normandy claimed from Harold the performance of

1066. Harold the Second is proclaimed king, and defeats his brother.

his oath, but he replied that the oath had been extorted by force, and that he would not resign the crown to which he had been, by the free suffrages of the people, elected. Both then prepared for war. Harold had also to contend against his brother, Tostig, who sought to regain his power. Aided by Harald Hardrada, king of Norway, he invaded the north of England. Harold marched against the allied forces, and defeated them in the battle of Stamford Bridge, one of the most sanguinary engagements recorded in history. While rejoicing at this signal victory, Harold received intelligence that William of Normandy had landed on the coast of Sussex, with a large army. Harold proceeded without delay to the south, and fought with William the memorable battle of Hastings, which terminated, in 1066, the Saxon and Danish power in England, and led to the establishment of the Norman dynasty, from which the present royal family is descended.

The spot which he had selected for this important contest was called Senlac, nine miles from Hastings, an eminence opening to the south, and covered on the back by an extensive wood, [October 14.] As his troops arrived, he posted them on the declivity, in one compact and immense mass. In the centre waved the royal standard, the figure of a warrior in the act of fighting, worked in threads of gold, and ornamented with precious stones. By its side stood Harold, and his two brothers, Gurth and Leofwin, and around them the rest of the army, every man on foot. In this arrangement the king seems to have adopted, as far as circumstances would permit, the plan which had lately proved so fatal to the Norwegians, and which now, from the same causes, was productive of a similar result. Probably he feared the shock of the numerous cavalry of the Normans. Both men and horses were completely cased in armour, which gave to their charge an irresistible weight, and rendered them almost invulnerable to ordinary weapons. For the purpose of opposing them with more chance of success, Harold had brought with him engines to discharge stones into their ranks, and had recommended his soldiers to confine themselves, in close fight, to the use of the battle-axe—a heavy and murderous weapon.

A description of Harold's army before the battle of Hastings.

On the opposite hill, William was employed in marshalling his host. In the front he placed the archers and bowmen; the second line was composed of heavy infantry, clothed in coats of mail; and behind these the duke arranged, in five divisions, the hope and the pride of the Norman force, the knights and men-at-arms. That he would strive, both by words and actions, to infuse into this multitude of warriors, from different nations, an ardor similar to his own, is not improbable; but the two harangues which William of Poitou and Henry of Huntingdon have put into his mouth, may, with equal probability, be attributed to the ingenuity of the writers. This only we know from himself, that in the hearing of his barons, he made a solemn vow to God, that, if he gained the victory, he would found a church for the common benefit of all his followers. About nine in the morning the army began to move, crossed the interval between the two hills, and slowly ascended the eminence on which the English were posted. The papal banner, as an omen of victory, was carried in the front by Toustain the Fair—a dangerous honor, which two of the Norman barons had successively declined.

At the moment when the armies were ready to engage, the Normans raised the national shout of "God is our help," which was as loudly answered by the adverse cry of "Christ's rood, the holy rood." The archers, after the discharge of their arrows, retired to the infantry, whose weak and extended line was unable to make any impression on their more numerous opponents. William ordered the cavalry to charge. The shock was terrible, but the English, in every point, opposed a solid and impenetrable mass. Neither buckler nor corslet could withstand the stroke of the battle-axe, wielded by a powerful arm and with unerring aim; and the confidence of the Normans melted away at the view of their own loss, and the bold countenance of their enemies. After a short pause, the horse and foot of the left wing betook themselves to flight; their opponents eagerly pursued, and a report was spread that William himself had fallen. The whole army began to waver; when the duke, with his helmet in his hand, rode along the line, exclaiming, "I am still alive, and, with the help of God, I still shall

conquer." The presence and confidence of their commander revived the hopes of the Normans; and the speedy destruction of the English who had pursued the fugitives, was fondly magnified into an assurance of victory. These brave but incautious men had, on their return, been intercepted by a numerous body of cavalry, and on foot and in confusion, they quickly disappeared beneath the swords, or rather the horses, of the enemy. Not a man survived the carnage.

William led his troops again to the attack; but the English column, dense and immovable as a rock amid the waves, resisted every assault. Disappointed and perplexed, the Norman had recourse to a stratagem, suggested by his success in the earlier part of the day. He ordered a division of horse to flee; they were pursued, and the temerity of the pursuers was punished with instant destruction. The same feint was tried with equal success in another part of the field. These losses might diminish the numbers of the English, but the main body obstinately maintained its position, and bade defiance to every effort of the Normans.

During the engagement, William had given the most signal proofs of personal bravery. Three horses had been killed under him; and he had been compelled to grapple on foot with his adversaries. Harold also had animated his followers, both by word and example, and displayed a courage worthy of the crown for which he was fighting. His brothers, Gurth and Leofwin, had perished already; but as long as *he* survived, no man entertained the apprehension of defeat, or admitted the idea of flight. A little before sunset, an arrow, shot at random, entered his eye. He instantly fell; and the knowledge of his fall relaxed the efforts of the English. Twenty Normans undertook to seize the royal banner, and effected their purpose, but with a loss of half their number. One of them, who maimed with his sword the dead body of the king, was afterward disgraced by William for his brutality. At dusk the English broke up, and dispersed through the wood. The Normans followed their track by the light of the moon, when ignorance of the country led them to a spot intersected with ditches, into which they were precipitated, in the ardor of pur-

The bravery of William and Harold.

The death of Harold, and final defeat of the English.

suit. The fugitives, recalled by the accident, inflicted a severe vengeance on their adversaries. As William, attracted by the cries of the combatants, was hastening to the place, he met Eustace of Boulogne and fifty knights, fleeing with all their speed: he called on them to stop; but the earl, while he was in the act of whispering into the ear of the duke, received a stroke on the back, which forced the blood out of his mouth and nostrils. He was carried, in a state of insensibility, to his tent. William's intrepidity hurried him forward to the scene of danger. His presence encouraged his men; succours arrived; and the English, after an obstinate resistance, were repulsed.

Thus ended this memorable and fatal battle. On the side of the victors almost sixty thousand men had been engaged, and more than one-fourth were left on the field. The number of the vanquished and the amount of their loss are unknown. By the vanity of the Norman historians, the English army has been

The number of the slain: the inhumanity of William.

exaggerated beyond the limits of credibility; by that of the native writers it has been reduced to a handful of resolute warriors; but both agree, that with Harold and his brothers perished all the nobility of the south of England—a loss which could not be repaired. The king's mother begged, as a boon, the dead body of her son, and offered, as a ransom, its weight in gold; but the resentment of William had rendered him callous to pity, and insensible to all interested considerations. He ordered the corpse of the fallen monarch to be buried on the beach, adding, with a sneer: "He guarded the coast while he was alive; let him continue to guard it after death." By stealth, however, or by purchase, the royal remains were removed from this unhallowed site, and deposited in the church of Waltham, which Harold had founded before he ascended the throne.



## CHAPTER VII.

## Manners and Customs of the Anglo-Saxons.

EVERY account of the civil polity of the Anglo-Saxons must necessarily be imperfect, as we can only view the subject through the intervening gloom of eight centuries. The Saxons introduced into England the institutions to which they had been habituated in their original settlements, and modified as circumstances suggested. We shall here present the most prominent points, referring the advanced historical student to the chapter on Anglo-Saxon customs in Dr. Lingard's work.

Of Saxon institutions, the most important, and that which formed the groundwork of the rest, may be discovered among the Germans in the age of Tacitus. From him we learn that every chieftain was surrounded by a <sup>Saxon institutions.</sup> number of retainers, who did him honour in time of peace, and accompanied him to the field in time of war. To fight by his side they deemed an indispensable duty; to survive his fall, an indelible disgrace. It was this artificial connection—this principle which reciprocally bound the lord to his vassal, and the vassal to his lord—that held together the northern hordes when they issued forth in quest of adventure. They retained it in their new homes, and its consequences were gradually developed, as each tribe made successive advances in power and civilization. Hence, in process of time, and by gradual improvements, grew up the feudal system, with its long train of obligations, of homage, suit, service, purveyance, reliefs, wardships, and scutage. That it was introduced into England by the Norman conqueror, is the opinion of respectable writers; and the assertion may be true, if they speak of it only in its mature and most oppressive form; but all the primary germs of the feudal services may be descried among the Saxons, even in the earlier <sup>Feudal system: its introduction into England.</sup> periods of their government; and many of them flourished in full luxuriance long before the extinction of the dynasty.

The feudal doctrine was, that of all the ties which nature has

formed or society invented, the most sacred was that which bound together the lord and the vassal. By Alfred the breach of this solemn engagement was punished as a crime of the most disgraceful and unpardonable character—the offender suffering forfeiture and death. The obligations were reciprocal: the vassal served the lord, and the lord protected the vassal. The contract was cemented by oath, and was for the benefit of each.

The distinction of ranks among the Anglo-Saxons was (with a few shades of accidental difference) the same as in other nations of Gothic origin. The free population was divided into the *eorl*,

Distinction of rank among the Anglo-Saxons: the *eorl*, *ceorl*, and *cyning*.

or noble, and the *ceorl*, or ignoble. The *cyning*, or king, occupied the first place: he was lord of the principal chieftains, and, through them, of their vassals. The great tenants of the crown were summoned at Easter, Whitsuntide, and Christmas, to pay homage to the king. They appeared before him as dependants, while he was seated on his throne, with the crown on his head, and the sceptre in his hand. During eight days they feasted at his expense, and received presents on their dismissal. He exercised authority over the national forces by sea and land. He was supreme judge, and revised appeals from every court of judicature.

After the royal family, ranked the caldormen or earls. They governed districts called, then and still, their shires. Sometimes one powerful earl governed several shires. The earl led the men of the shire to battle, presided with the bishop in the courts of the shire, and enforced the administration of the laws. The *thanes* were a numerous and distinguished order of men, who possessed different rank and different privileges.

*Thanes and reeves.*

There were thanes of the king, called greater thanes, and thanes of the caldormen, called lesser thanes. The *reeves*, shire-reeve, (or sheriff,) port-reeve, and borough-reeve, were men appointed by the king to carry out the details of the administration of the law.

Among a people but lately emerged from barbarism, the administration of justice is always rude and simple; and though the absence of legal forms and pleading may casually insure a prompt and equitable decision, it is difficult without their aid to oppose the arts of intrigue and falsehood, or the influence of passion or prejudice. The proceedings before the Anglo-Saxon tribunals would not have suited a more advanced state of civilization: they

were ill calculated to elicit truth, or to produce con-  
 viction; and in many instances which have been Proceedings be-  
 fore Anglo Saxon  
 tribunals. recorded by contemporary writers, our more correct or more arti-  
 ficial notions will be shocked at the credulity or precipitancy of  
 the judges. The subject, however, is curious and interesting.  
 These ancient courts still exist under different names, and the in-  
 telligent observer may discover in their proceedings the origin of  
 several institutions which now mark the administration of justice  
 in the English tribunals.

In all the Anglo-Saxon tribunals the judges were the free  
 tenants, owing suit to the court, and afterward called its peers.  
 But the real authority seems to have resided in the president, and  
 the principal of his assessors, whose opinion was generally echoed  
 and applauded by the rest of the members. Their proceedings  
 were simplified and facilitated by a custom which has already been  
 mentioned. In all cases in which property, whether real or per-  
 sonal, was concerned; if a man claimed by gift or purchase; if  
 stolen goods were found in his possession, or he had forcibly en-  
 tered on the lands of others, he was bound to produce the testi-  
 mony of the court and witnesses before whom the transaction, on  
 which he grounded his own right, must, if it had been lawful,  
 have taken place. On this testimony in civil actions, the judges  
 frequently decided; but if either party advanced assertions of  
 such a nature that they could not be proved by evidence, he was  
 put on his oath, and was ordered to bring forward certain free-  
 holders, his neighbours, acquainted with his character and con-  
 cerns, who should swear that in their consciences they believed  
 his assertion to be true. The number of these was in many  
 cases fixed by the law, in others, left to the discretion of the court.  
 If the matter still remained doubtful, it became usual to select a  
 jury of free tenants, who left the court, deliberated among them-  
 selves, and returned a verdict, which decided the question.

In criminal prosecutions, the proceedings, though grounded on  
 the same principles, were in many respects different. It was  
 ordered by law, that as soon as the hundred-mote was assembled,  
 (the same probably held with respect to other simi-  
 lar tribunals,) the reeve, with the twelve oldest In criminal pro-  
 secution. thanes, should go out to inquire into all offences committed with-  
 in the jurisdiction of the court, and should be sworn "not to

foresay (present) any one who was innocent, not to conceal any one who was guilty." On their presentment, or on the accusation of the prosecutor and his witnesses, the prisoner was frequently condemned; if any doubt existed, his plea of not guilty was admitted, and after his lord had been called on to speak to his character on oath, he was at liberty to prove his innocence by the purgation of lada, or swearing, or the ordeal, or judgment of God. In the purgation by oath, he began by calling on God to witness

Purgation by oath. that he was innocent both in word and work of the crime laid to his charge. He then produced his compurgators, who swore that "they believed his oath to be upright and clean." It was required that these compurgators or jurors should be his neighbours, or resident within the jurisdiction of the court, freeholders who had never been arraigned for theft, nor ever convicted of perjury, and who were acknowledged for "true men" by all present. Their number differed according to the custom of the district, and was always increased if the testimony of the lord were wanting, or had proved unfavourable. They were sometimes appointed by the judges, sometimes drawn by lot, often brought into the court by the party himself—an indulgence which enabled him to rest his fate on the decision of his friends and dependants, whom he might already have prejudiced in his favour. In Wessex, he was permitted to choose thirty jurors, of whom fifteen were rejected by the judges; in East Anglia and Northumbria, he produced forty-eight, out of whom twenty-four were appointed by ballot. If they corroborated his oath by their own, in the form established by law, his innocence

Purgation by ordeal. was acknowledged. If, on the contrary, recourse was had to the ordeal, pledges were given for the trial, and the time was fixed by the court. As the decision was now left to the Almighty, three days were spent by the accused in fasting and prayer. On the third day, he was adjured by the priest not to go to the ordeal, if he were conscious of guilt; he was then communicated with these words: "May this body and blood of Christ be to thee a proof of innocence this day;" after which he again swore that he was guiltless of the crime of which he had been accused. The ordeals which were

Ordeals by water and by fire. most in use were those by hot water and fire. For the former a fire was kindled under a cauldron, in a remote part

of the church. At a certain depth below the surface, which was augmented in the absence of a favourable character from the lord, was placed a stone or piece of iron, of a certain weight. Strangers were excluded; the accuser and the accused, each attended by twelve friends, proceeded to the spot; and the two parties were arranged in two lines opposite each other. After the litanies had been recited, a person was deputed from each line to examine the cauldron, and if they agreed that the water boiled, and the stone was placed at the proper depth, the accused advanced, plunged in his arm, and took out the weight. The priest immediately wrapped a clean linen cloth around the part which was scalded, fixed on it the seal of the Church, and opened it again on the third day. If the arm was perfectly healed, the accused was pronounced innocent; if not, he suffered the punishment of his offence. In the ordeal by fire, the same precautions were employed in respect of the number and position of the attendants. Near the fire a space was measured, equal to nine of the prisoner's feet, and divided by lines into three equal parts. By the first stood a small stone pillar. At the beginning of the mass, a bar of iron of the weight of one or three pounds, was laid on the fire; at the last collect it was taken off, and placed on the pillar. The prisoner immediately grasped it in his hand, made three steps on the lines previously traced on the floor, and threw it down. The treatment of the burn, and the indication of guilt or innocence, were the same as those in the ordeal by hot water.

The crimes to which the Anglo-Saxons were principally addicted were homicide and theft. The right to inflict punishment devolved upon the family of the slain. The state affixed a certain *were* or pecuniary compensation for murder, according to the rank of the deceased. When the murderer was taken, (and to his arrest many difficulties were opposed, on account of the existence of places of sanctuary,) he could not be put to death for thirty days. If he by that time failed to pay or give good security for the *were*, he might be put to death by the relatives of the murdered man. If he gave security, the parties who guaranteed payment handed over the amount, in several instalments, to the relatives, and also paid to the immediate lord of the deceased, and to the king. Robbery

The crimes of homicide and theft: their punishment.

was a very general crime, although very severe laws were made to check it, and were rigidly enforced.

The sale and purchase of slaves publicly prevailed during the whole of the Anglo-Saxon period. These unhappy men were sold like cattle in the market, and there is reason Slavery among the Anglo-Saxons. to believe that a slave was usually estimated at four times the price of an ox. To the importation of foreign slaves no impediment had ever been opposed; the export of native slaves was forbidden under severe penalties. But habit and the pursuit of gain had taught the Northumbrians to bid defiance to all the efforts of the legislature. Like the savages of Africa, they are said to have carried off not only their own countrymen, but even their friends and relatives, and to have sold them as slaves in the ports of the continent. The men of Bristol were the last to abandon this nefarious traffic. Their obstinacy yielded, however, not to the severity of the magistrates, but the zeal of Wulstan, bishop of Worcester. That prelate visited Bristol several years successively; resided for months together in the neighbourhood; and preached on every Sunday against the barbarity and irreligion of the dealers in slaves. At last the merchants were convinced by his reasons, and in their guild solemnly bound themselves to renounce the trade. One of the members was soon afterward tempted to violate his engagement: his perfidy was punished with the loss of his eyes.

From the population of the country, we may pass to the inhabitants of the cities and boroughs, of which a few perhaps might The population of the cities and boroughs. be of recent origin, having sprung up under the protection of some powerful chieftain or celebrated monastery; but the greater part had existed from the time of the Romans, and successively passed into the hands of the Britons, Saxons, and Northmen. Of these, the more early history is lost in the gloom of ages: it is only toward the close of the Anglo-Saxon dynasty that we are able to discover some, and those but imperfect traces of their municipal polity, which seems to have been founded on the same principles as that which prevailed in the surrounding country. In both we discover the lord and the tenant; the lord with his reeve, his court, his right of tallage, and his receipt of rents, and fines, and forfeitures; and on the other hand, the tenant holding of the lord by every variety of

service, from that which was deemed honourable, to the lowest and most debasing. In the towns, however, this principle was variously modified, to meet the wants and conveniences of large masses of men congregated on one spot; and hence it happened that their inhabitants gradually acquired advantages denied to their equals in the country. They possessed the benefit of a market for the sale of their wares and merchandise; they were protected by their union and numbers from the depredations of robbers and banditti; and (which subsequently proved to them a source of incalculable benefit) they formed one body politic, with common rights and common interests. They had their hall or hanse-house, in which they met and deliberated; they exercised the power of enacting *by* (or *borough*) laws for the government and improvement of the borough; and they possessed by lease or purchase, houses, pasture, and forest lands, for the common use and benefit of the whole body. This gradually led to the emancipation of the inhabitants, for the lords chiefly valued their own rights on account of the income derived from them; and, therefore, they felt no objection to transfer the exercise of such rights to the burgesses themselves, in return for a large sum of money, or for a yearly rent during a certain term. Of such bargains, there are many instances in Domesday.

The larger towns were divided into districts, called in some places "wards," in some, "shires," and in others, "ferlings," or "quarters." Among the inhabitants, we meet with men of considerable wealth and influence, holding over their own property in the borough, and transmitting with it to their heirs the enviable jurisdiction of sac and soc. They had also their guilds or companies, consisting in some, and probably in all instances, of men of the same trade or profession, and possessing common property, and a common hall, for the purposes both of consultation and entertainment.

The principal magistrate was the provost, called the *wic-reeve*, to distinguish him from the *shire-reeve*, or reeve of the county. Whether he owed his situation to the nomination of the lord, or to the choice of the burgesses, is perhaps a doubtful question. The *wic-reeve* of the more populous towns is always mentioned as an officer of great importance, and sometimes numbered among the noblest in the land. It was

his duty to collect the revenue of the king or lord, to watch over his interests, and to exercise within the limits of the borough the same authority which the sheriff exercised within the shire. From the manner in which London, Winchester, York, Exeter, and some other places are casually mentioned by the most ancient chroniclers, it is plain that the inhabitants formed distinct bodies of men, not only possessing forms of municipal government, but also exercising considerable influence in matters of state.

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## CHAPTER VIII.

### William the First.

#### CONTEMPORARY SOVEREIGNS

*Popes.*  
Alexander III.  
Gregory VII.  
Victor III.

*Scotland.*  
Malcolm III.

*Germany.*  
Henry IV.

*France.*  
Philip I.  
*Spain.*  
Sancho II.  
Alphonso VI.

William is crowned—Goes to Normandy—Returns to England—Subjects and oppresses the Natives—Insurrection of the Normans—Rebellion of Robert, his son—His War with France—His Death and Character.—From A. D. 1066 to 1087.

WILLIAM THE FIRST, known in history as “the Conqueror,” was the illegitimate son of Robert II., duke of Normandy, and Herleva, daughter of an officer of the duke’s household. Although not born in wedlock, he was acknowledged duke by the Norman barons, on the death of his father, and afterward maintained his position by the sword. He married Matilda, the daughter of Baldwin of Flanders.

After the battle of Hastings, William, having secured Dover and some other important places, marched on London. The city had been fortified against him, and the Londoners had placed Edgar, surnamed “the etheling,” (meaning that he was of royal descent,) on the throne. William did not storm the walls, being either afraid of failure or unwilling to exasperate the citizens.



He laid waste the adjacent counties; and the Londoners, fearing his power, sent a deputation to him, with an offer of the crown, which he, after some appearance of hesitation, accepted. On the day of his coronation, when the representatives of the Normans and of the Saxons in Westminster Abbey were asked if they would have William for king, the response was so loud that the Norman guards outside thought, or pretended to think, that strife had commenced within, and immediately began to plunder the neighboring houses and massacre the people. Dreadful massacre of the people on the day of his coronation. William refused to allow the ceremony to be interrupted, although he was left alone with the clergy; for the laity of both nations rushed from the abbey on hearing of the events outside. William expressed much regret at the conduct of his troops, and issued stringent orders, having for their object the protection of the people from the soldiery. He also gave directions to all whom he appointed to public duties to act toward the English in a spirit of conciliation. He received several Saxon chiefs at his court, and paid particular attention to Edgar, on whom he bestowed an extensive property, as some compensation for the loss of his crown.

According to feudal customs, soldiers only served for a limited period, and several Normans were anxious to return to their own country. William feared that to permit this would lessen his power in England, and he accordingly made grants of estates to the Norman chieftains, who promised to remain with their followers. He himself crossed over to Normandy, to receive the congratulations of the Normans on his William goes to Normandy. winning a crown. In his absence from England he intrusted the government to Fitzosborn, a Norman leader, and to Archbishop Odo, who was William's half-brother. Their severe mode of government drove the English into revolt. The English revolt. The king returned, and with much trouble crushed the insurrection. The siege of Exeter alone cost him eighteen days, and even then the inhabitants obtained lenient terms. The king about this time sent for his wife, Matilda, and she was crowned queen-consort of England. William had to contend with very formidable risings in the north. A Danish fleet, under Canute, the son of Sveno, sailed up the Humber in 1069, and succeeded in taking York and defeating the Normans. The ancient

cathedral of York was accidentally burned shortly before the engagement.

When William heard of the defeat of his troops at York, he swore that he would have vengeance, and he marched with a large army to the north. He took York, and then proceeded to execute a system of revenge which has covered his name with deep disgrace. He dispersed his followers through the country, with orders to spare neither man nor beast, and also to destroy houses, corn, implements of husbandry, and whatever might be useful for the support of human life. His terrible orders were obeyed with fearful accuracy. It is said that one hundred thousand of the

He suppresses the revolt, and inflicts fearful vengeance on the inhabitants.

inhabitants fell victims to William's barbarous commands, and that the north of England for a long period presented the appearance of desolation and ruin. The English chieftains no longer opposed the power of William; risings, which had been general, ceased; but the king no longer wore the appearance of friendship to any of the natives. He carefully excluded them from all places of honour, emolument, or trust, and gave their lands to his followers. He soon afterward entered Scotland, in order to punish Malcolm, who had assisted his enemies; he overthrew the Scottish king, who threw himself on the mercy of the conqueror, and was permitted to retain his crown as vassal of the king of England. Edgar the etheling, whose sister was married to Malcolm, was at this time in Scotland. In endeavoring to cross over to France, he was wrecked on the coast of England. He sought a renewal of friendship with William, (from whom he had been estranged when the Normans became severe to the natives,) and William received him in a spirit of reconciliation, granting him a residence and a handsome pension. In 1086 this prince went to the Holy Land with two hundred knights.

William crossed over to Normandy in 1075, and during his absence some Norman barons in England, who had received smaller rewards than they considered themselves entitled to, rose in rebellion. William returned, and soon put down the insurrection. A Saxon noble, Waltheof, was put to death for not having divulged the conspiracy, of which he was cognizant, though he took no part in the

Rebellion in England during his absence in Normandy.

rebellion. William next led an army into Wales, and completely confirmed his power in that country.

In 1085, Canute, the son of Sveno, determined to claim the crown of England, as successor of his namesake, and being assisted by several northern powers, he collected a large fleet, in order to carry into execution his ambitious designs. Circumstances delayed the completion of his preparations, and a mutiny broke out in his fleet, the consequence of which was that the intended expedition was abandoned.

The last years of William's life were imbittered by dissensions among his sons. Robert (the eldest) was, when a boy, invested with the nominal government of Normandy, under Matilda, his mother; and when he grew up and claimed the duchy as a right, William gave him a peremptory refusal. Robert's hot temper received additional excitement from his brothers, William and Henry, who one day emptied a pitcher of water on his head from a balcony. Robert, in anger, rushed up stairs to attack his brothers, sword in hand; the king came to the spot, and separated his sons. Robert withdrew, and commenced Robert rebels against his father. to levy war upon his father, whom he considered as partial to the younger princes. Having been defeated, he wandered throughout France for five years, and at last settled in the castle of Gerberoi, which he had received from the king of France. William besieged the castle, and it is related that during the siege the father and son were, on one occasion, engaged in single combat, without knowing each other. Robert wounded his father. William soon withdrew, not being able to take the castle, and through the mediation of Matilda, the father and son became reconciled.

Excessive corpulence rendered it necessary for William to submit to a course of medicine, and he was confined to his bed for part of the last year of his life. When he recovered he carried war into the territories of the king of France, who William declares war against the king of France. had spoken deridingly of William's illness. He took the tower of Mantes, and set it on fire. William's horse trod on some hot ashes, and making an effort to extricate himself, he threw the king violently on the pommel of the saddle. William received a wound, which in a few weeks proved fatal. During his last illness he assembled his prelates and barons, and

bequeathed Normandy to Robert, as that territory was William's by descent. To England he said he had no title but that which the sword gave him, and he would leave the decision as to who should rule that country to God; but he hoped that his second son, William, would obtain it. To Henry, his youngest son, he left five thousand crowns; and when he complained of the comparative smallness of his portion, the king told him (and it proved to be a prophetic statement) to remain quiet, and that he would in time possess the portions of both his brothers. The king was advised to order the liberation of the prisoners whom he held in custody, and with some reluctance he consented. On the 9th September, 1087, in the city of Rouen, William the Conqueror, whose memorable life caused so important an alteration in the affairs of Europe, breathed his last. He died saying, "I commend my soul to my Lady, the Mother of God, that by her prayers she may reconcile me to her Son, my Lord Jesus Christ."

The king was of ordinary stature, but inclined to corpulency. His countenance wore an air of ferocity, which, when he was agitated by passion, struck terror into every beholder. The story told of his strength at one period of life almost exceeds belief. It is said, that sitting on horseback, he could draw the string of a bow which no other man could bend even on foot. Hunting formed his favorite amusement. The reader has seen the censure passed upon him for his deer-friths and game-laws; nor will he think it undeserved, if he attend to the following instance. Though the king possessed sixty-eight forests, besides parks and chases, in different parts of England, he was not satisfied, but for the occasional accommodation of his court, afforested an extensive tract of country lying between the Avon and the bay of Southampton. The inhabitants were expelled; the cottages and the churches were burnt; more than thirty square miles of arable land were withdrawn from cultivation, and the whole district was converted into a wilderness, to afford sufficient range for the deer, and ample space for the royal diversion. The memory of this act of despotism has been perpetuated in the name of the New Forest, which it retains at the present day, after the lapse of seven hundred and fifty years.

William's education had left on his mind religious impressions

which were never effaced. When, indeed, his power or interest was concerned, he listened to no suggestions but those of ambition or of avarice, but on other occasions he displayed a strong sense of religion, and a profound respect for its institutions. He daily heard the mass of his private chaplain, and was regular in his attendance at the public worship. In the company of men celebrated for holiness of life, he laid aside that haughty demeanor with which he was accustomed to awe the most powerful of his barons. He willingly concurred in the deposition of his uncle, Malger, archbishop of Rouen, who disgraced his dignity by the immorality of his conduct; and showed that he knew how to value and recompense virtue, by endeavoring to place in the same church the monk Guitmond, from whom he had formerly received so severe a reprimand. On the decease of a prelate, he appointed officers to protect the property of the vacant archbishopric or abbey, and named a successor with the advice of the principal clergy. Lanfranc, in his numerous struggles against the rapacity of the Normans, was constantly patronized by the king, who appointed him, with certain other commissioners, to compel the sheriffs of the several counties to restore to the church whatever had been unjustly taken from it since the invasion.

There were, however, three points, according to Eadmer, in which the king unjustly invaded the ecclesiastical rights. 1. During his reign, the Christian world was afflicted and scandalized by the rupture between Gregory VII. and the emperor Henry VI., who, in opposition to his adversary, created an antipope, Guibert, bishop of Ravenna. The conflicting claims of these prelates, and the temporal pretensions of Gregory, afforded a pretext to William to introduce a new regulation. He would not permit the authority of any particular pontiff to be acknowledged in his dominions, without his previous approbation; and he directed that all letters issued from the court of Rome should, on their arrival, be submitted to the royal inspection. 2. Though he zealously concurred with Archbishop Lanfranc, in his endeavors to reform the manners of both the clergy and the laity, yet so jealous was he of any encroachment on his authority, that without the royal license, he would not permit the decisions of national or provincial synods

His respect for religious institutions and religious men.

Three things in which he invaded the ecclesiastical rights.

to be carried into effect. 3. After the separation of the ecclesiastical courts from those of the hundred, he enacted such laws as were necessary to support the jurisdiction of the former; but at the same time forbade them either to implead or to excommunicate any individual holding in chief of the crown, till the nature of the offence had been certified to himself.

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## CHAPTER IX.

### The Feudal System.

Military Tenant—His duty—The nature of Fees—Fees of Inheritance—The grievances of Fees—The restrictions when the heirs were Females—Sources of the King's Revenue.

ALTHOUGH, as above stated, the Saxons brought the germ of the feudal system into England, it was by the Normans that that wonderful social machinery was in its maturity introduced. It is impossible for us, consistently with our space, to enter into a minute account of the changes which William the Conqueror effected. We can, therefore, only present a summary of the lucid view which Dr. Lingard presents, referring the advanced reader to that great historian's work for particulars.

Military service was the leading obligation imposed upon the vassal by the feudal system. Several other duties, however, devolved upon him, which it is necessary here to explain.

1. Fealty was incident to every species of tenure, even the lowest. Besides fealty, the military tenant was obliged to do homage, that he might obtain the investiture of his fee. Military tenant: his oath and duties. Unarmed and bareheaded, on his knees, and with his hands placed between those of his lord, he repeated these words: "Hear, my lord; I become your liege-man of life and limb, and earthly worship; and faith and truth I will bear to you, to live and die. So help me God." The ceremony was concluded with a kiss; and the man was thenceforth bound to respect and obey his lord; the lord to protect his man, and to warrant to him the possession of his fee. Hitherto, in other countries, the royal authority could

only reach the sub-vassals through their lord, who alone had sworn fealty to the sovereign: nor did they deem themselves deserving of punishment, if they assisted him in his wars, or in his rebellion against the crown. Such the law remained for a long period on the continent, but William, who had experienced its inconvenience, devised a remedy in England; and compelled all the free tenants of his immediate vassals to swear fealty to himself. The consequence was an alteration in the words of the oath: the king's own tenants swore to be true to him against all manner of men; sub-tenants swore to be true to their lords against all men but the king and his heirs. Hence, if they followed their lord in his rebellion, they were adjudged to have violated their allegiance, and became subject to the same penalties as their leader.

2. In addition to service in the time of war, the military tenants of the crown were expected to attend the king's court at the three great festivals; and, unless they could show a reasonable cause of absence, were bound to <sup>His duty in time</sup> of war. appear on other occasions, whenever they were summoned. But if this, in some respects, was a burden, in others it was an honor and advantage. In these assemblies they consulted together on all matters concerning the welfare or safety of the state, concurred with the sovereign in making or amending the laws, and formed the highest judicial tribunal in the kingdom. Hence they acquired the appellation of the king's barons; the collective body was called the baronage of England; and the lands which they held of the crown were termed their respective baronies. By degrees, however, many of the smaller baronies became divided and subdivided by marriages and descents; and the poverty of the possessors induced them to exclude themselves from the assemblies of their colleagues. In the reign of John the distinction was established between the lesser and the greater barons; and as the latter only continued to exercise the privileges, they alone, after some time, were known by the title of barons.

3. According to a specious, but perhaps erroneous theory, fees are beneficiary grants of land, which originally depended for their duration on the pleasure of the lord, but <sup>The nature of</sup> were gradually improved into estates for life, and <sup>fees: made per-</sup>petual by William. at last converted into estates of inheritance. But whatever

might have been the practice in former ages, the fees created by William and his followers were all granted in perpetuity, to the feoffees and their legitimate descendants. There were, however, two cases in which they might escheat, or fall to the lord: when, by failure of heirs, the race of the first tenant had become extinct, or, by felony or treason, the actual tenant incurred the penalty of forfeiture. On this account, an officer was appointed by the crown, in every county, to watch over its rights, and to take immediate possession of all escheated estates.

4. When the heir, being of full age, entered into the possession of the fee, he was required to pay a certain sum to the lord, under the name of heriot among the Saxons, or relief among the Normans. By modern feudalists we are told that this was meant as an acknowledgment that the fee was held from the bounty of the lord; but it may be fairly doubted whether their doctrine have any foundation in fact. Originally, the heriot was demanded as due not from the new, but from the last tenant, and was discharged out of his personal estate; he generally made provisions for the payment in his will; and it often appears in the form of a legacy, by which the vassal sought to testify his respect for the person and his gratitude for the protection of his lord. By Canute, the amount of the heriot was regulated by the rank of each tenant; by William, that amount was considerably diminished. When he confirmed the law of Canute, he entirely omitted the demand of money, and contented himself with a portion of the horses and arms, the hounds and hawks of the deceased. But the new regulation was soon violated; avarice again introduced pecuniary reliefs; and the enormous sums which were exacted by succeeding kings, became the frequent subject of useless complaint and ineffectual reform.

5. The conqueror had solemnly pledged his word that he would never require more from his vassals than their stipulated services. But the ingenuity of the feudal lawyers discovered that there Four occasions were four occasions in which the lord had a right to levy. to levy, of his own authority, a pecuniary aid on his tenants: when he paid the relief of his fee, when he made his eldest son a knight, when he gave his eldest daughter in marriage, and when he had the misfortune to be a captive in the

The heir required to pay the heriot, or relief. What was meant by these terms.



hands of his enemies. Of these cases, the first could not apply to the tenants of the crown, because the sovereign, holding of no one, was not subject to a relief: but this advantage was counter-balanced by the frequent appeals which he made to their generosity, and which, under a powerful prince, it was dangerous to resist. They claimed, however, and generally exercised the right of fixing the amount of such aids, and of raising them as they thought proper; either by the impost of a certain sum on every knight's fee, or the grant of a certain portion from the movables of each individual, varying, according to circumstances, from a fortieth to a fifth of their estimated value.

6. Fees of inheritance necessarily required limitations as to alienation and descent. The law would not permit the actual tenant to defeat the will of his lord, or the rights of his issue. Whatever he had acquired by purchase, or industry, or favor, remained at his own disposal; but the fee which he had received to transmit to his descendants, he could neither devise by will nor alienate by gift or sale. After his death, it went, whether he would or not, to the nearest heir, who inherited the whole, and was bound to perform the services originally stipulated. It was, however, long before the right of representation in descents could be fully established. That the eldest son of the first tenant was the legitimate heir, was universally admitted; but considerable doubts were entertained whether, at the death of the second, the fee should descend to his son or his brother; for, if the former were the nearest in blood to the late possessor, the latter was the nearest to the original feoffee. This uncertainty is the more deserving of the reader's attention, as, in the descent of the crown, it explains the occasional interruptions which he has beheld in the line of representation, and the part which the thanes or barons took in the election of the sovereign. If the son of the last king were a minor, the claim of the young prince was often opposed by that of his uncle, whose appeal to the great council was generally sanctioned by the national approbation.

7. The descent of fees brought with it two heavy grievances—wardships and marriages, which were unknown in most feudal constitutions, and in England experienced long and obstinate opposition. That attempts had

What the fees of inheritance required.

Two grievances attended the descent of fees.

been made to introduce them, at an early period, is not improbable; from the charter of Henry I. it is certain that both had been established under the reign of his brother, William Rufus; perhaps even of his father, the Conqueror. After a long struggle, it was finally decided that, when the heir was a minor, he should not hold the fee, because his age rendered him incapable of performing military service. The lord immediately entered into possession, and appropriated the profits to himself, or gave them to a favorite, or let them out to farm. Nor was this all. He separated the heir from his mother and relations, and took him under his own custody, on the ground that it was his interest to see that the young man was educated in a manner which might hereafter fit him for the performance of military service. He was, however, obliged to defray all the expenses of his ward, and to grant to him, when he had completed his twenty-first year, the livery of his estate, without the payment of the relief.

8. But frequently the heirs were females; and, as *they* could not perform military service, every precaution was taken to guard The restrictions against the prejudice which might be suffered from when the heirs were females. their succession. Their father was forbidden to give them in marriage without the consent of the lord, which, however, *he* could not refuse, without showing a reasonable cause. When the tenant died, the fee descended to the daughter, or, if there were more than one, to all the daughters in common. The lord had the wardship: as each completed her fourteenth year, he compelled her to marry the man of his choice; or, if he allowed her to remain single, continued to act as her guardian, and could prevent her from marrying without his advice and consent. After marriage, the husband exercised all the rights of his wife, did homage in her place, and performed the accustomed services. The pretext for these harassing regulations was a necessary attention to the interests of the lord, whose fee might otherwise come into the possession of a man unable or unwilling to comply with the obligations; but avarice converted them into a constant source of emolument to the lord, by inducing him to sell the marriages of heiresses to the highest bidder.

The king's revenue was derived: 1. From the rents of the crown-lands, generally paid in kind, and allotted to the support of the royal household. The particulars respecting all the

lands in England were recorded, by public officers, in a book called the Domesday Book, compiled by royal commissioners, and still preserved. The sources of the king's revenue. The Domesday Book.

2. From his military tenants he received considerable sums, under the different heads of reliefs, aids, wardships, and marriages of heiresses; for unless the female ward purchased at a considerable price the permission to wed the man of her own choice, he always disposed of her in marriage by private sale, and obtained a greater or smaller sum, in proportion to the value of her fee. 3. Escheats and forfeitures continually occurred; and, whether the king retained the lands himself, or gave them after some time to his favorites, they always brought money into the exchequer. 4. The fines paid by litigants for permission to have their quarrels terminated in the king's courts, the mulcts or pecuniary penalties imposed by the laws, and the amerciements, which were sometimes customary, generally arbitrary, according to the caprice or discretion of the judges, amounted in the course of each year to enormous sums. 5. He levied tolls at bridges, fairs, and markets, exacted certain customs on the export and import of goods, and received fees and rents, and tallages, from the inhabitants of the burghs and ports. Lastly, William revived the odious tax called the Dane-gelt, which had been abolished by Edward the Confessor. It was frequently levied for his use, at the rate of six shillings on every hide of land under the plough. From all these sources, money constantly flowed into the exchequer, till the king was reputed to be the most opulent prince in Christendom. His daily income, even with the exception of fines, gifts, and amerciements, amounted, if we may believe an ancient historian, who seems to write from authentic documents, to £1061 10s. 10½*d.*: a prodigious and incredible sum, if we reflect that the pound of that period was equal in weight to three nominal pounds of the present day, and that the value of silver was perhaps ten times as great as in modern times.

## CHAPTER X.

## William the Second.

## CONTEMPORARY SOVEREIGNS.

<i>Popes.</i>	<i>Scotland.</i>	<i>Germany.</i>
Urban II.	Malcolm III.	Henry IV.
Paschal II.	Donald Bane I.	<i>France.</i>
	Duncan.	Philip I.
	Donald Bane II.	<i>Spain.</i>
	Edgar.	Alphonso VI.

William succeeds—His Wars with his Brother—He invades Scotland—He persecutes Archbishop Anselm—His Death and Character.—From A. D. 1087 to 1100.

WILLIAM THE CONQUEROR left three sons. Robert, the eldest son, was acknowledged duke of Normandy without opposition; and, satisfied with the ducal coronet, he let slip the golden opportunity of assuming the crown of England. He afterward lost even Normandy, and terminated his life in a dungeon, the prisoner of his youngest brother.

William, surnamed Rufus, or "the Red," was the next in age, and was his father's favorite son. From the bedside of the dying monarch, he hastened to England, with a letter to Lanfranc, archbishop of Canterbury, who, however, refused to declare in his favor till the prince promised that he would govern according to law and justice. He was soon, although not the eldest son, declared king, by means of the cooperation of numerous powerful friends.

Henry, the third son of the Conqueror, had five thousand pounds for his portion, with which he was by no means content, but thought it the most prudent course to remain silently watching the course of events, prepared to avail himself of the first opportunity of aggrandizement which fortune might throw in his way.

The Conqueror had, on his death-bed, consented to the liberation of his prisoners. The Normans were restored to their possessions both in England and Normandy; but when the other

prisoners arrived in England, they were arrested, and imprisoned in the castle of Winchester. Odo, the brother of the Conqueror, (to whom William became an object of aversion, on account of his listening to the councils of Lanfranc,) soon commenced to form a party in favor of Robert, Odo forms a party in favor of Robert. and succeeded in spreading discontent among the barons. Plans of insurrection were matured, and a powerful organization was entered into against William. The haste of the barons, however, and the tardiness of Robert, who was expected from Normandy, combined to defeat the insurgents. Without waiting the arrival of Robert, the barons commenced a series of predatory attacks on the king's lands. The native English took the side of the crown, for they were eager to revenge the wrongs they had suffered from the Norman chiefs. Odo was soon driven out of England, after having, by force and by artifice, endeavored to secure Rochester Castle for Robert. The hopes of the barons were soon at an end. Robert procrastinated his voyage till the opportunity of striking an effective blow at William's power was past, and even the scanty succors which he sent were intercepted. The principal insurgents escaped to Normandy, and their estates were divided among the friends of the king.

Normandy presented at this period a wide scene of anarchy and confusion; and to William, who sought to be revenged on Robert for fomenting rebellion in England, this state of things presented an alluring prospect. He lost no time in availing himself of Norman discontent; and, by means of bribery, he soon obtained possession of numerous fortresses in Normandy. Robert, unable alone to cope with his brother, so-Robert solicits aid from the king of France. licited the aid of the king of France, who marched with a considerable army to the frontiers of Normandy. He soon, however, retreated, on receiving a bribe from the king of England. A treaty was concluded in the following year between William and Robert, and they joined their forces against Henry, whom they compelled to retire to Bretagne. William refused to carry out his portion of the treaty. Robert proclaimed the English king a perjurer, and he, to defend his honor, submitted the case to twenty-four barons; they decided for Robert, but William appealed to the sword. The king of France again

approached to the assistance of Robert, but William again bought him off, and returned to England.

We now arrive at one of the most interesting chapters in the history of the human race. At this period the crusades commenced. For many centuries, Palestine was subject to the Moslem power, but Christians were allowed the free exercise of their religion, and pilgrims were permitted to visit the scene of the passion of our Lord. This toleration ceased about the year 936, when the Turks obtained possession of Jerusalem; tolls were exacted, and pilgrims were insulted. In 1094, Peter the Hermit visited the Holy Sepulchre, and witnessed the persecution of the Christians. Returning to Europe, he took counsel with Pope Urban II., and, under his sanction, he preached in favor of a crusade. The pope called upon all Christian princes to lay aside their dissensions, and to join against the common foe of Christendom. All Europe flew to arms. Robert of Normandy burnt with ardor to share in the enterprise; and, not having money, he mortgaged his territories to William for five years, and departed to the Holy Land.

Many years of William's reign were occupied in resisting the hostilities of Malcolm, king of Scotland, and in protecting the west of England from the incursions of the Welsh chiefs. The English barons also frequently rose against the crown; but William, having completely overcome the earl of Northumberland, and other disaffected nobles, restored comparative peace to his dominions. His expensive habits, however, which caused him to oppress his subjects with heavy taxation, rendered him very unpopular.

The king fell into ill health in the year 1095, and, trembling at the expected approach of death, he sent for the celebrated Anselm, who was a native of Aoust, in Piedmont, and was abbot of Bee, in Normandy. The bishops advised William to make

Anselm made archbishop of Canterbury: is persecuted by William. Anselm archbishop of Canterbury, of which see William held the temporalities, since Lanfranc's death. The king consented; but Anselm, knowing that should the king recover he would probably relapse into despotism, was reluctant to assume an exalted position. He, however, accepted the primacy, and his predictions proved true. The king recovered, and insulted the primate at every opportunity.

There were at this period two competitors for the papacy, Clement and Urban. William, in order to enjoy the English ecclesiastical revenues the more securely, refused to acknowledge either. Anselm acknowledged Urban; and William, in his rage, ordered him to be tried for treason. The undaunted Anselm, standing in the presence of the nobles of England, exclaimed: "If any man pretend that I violate the faith which I have sworn to the king, because I will not reject the authority of the bishop of Rome, let him come forward, and he will find me ready to answer him as I ought." The king ordered the bishops to depose the primate; they refused, as not having it in their power, but some consented to abjure his authority. The king sent to Rome for the *pallium*, (the emblem of the primacy,) and acknowledged Urban. He endeavored to sell the *pallium*, but, failing in the attempt, he felt obliged to give it to Anselm. His persecution of the primate, however, continued, and at last Anselm retired from England to Rome, where he was received with every mark of honor.

The king lived in extravagance and profligacy until the 2d of August, 1100, on which day, hunting in the new forest in Hampshire, he was accidentally (some think designedly) shot, by one of his knights, with an arrow. William is killed by an arrow, in the new forest. No religious rites were performed over his grave, as his life had been so sinful. It is generally said that Walter Tyrrell was the knight who shot the king. His sudden departure for France gave color to the statement; but, in after years, when it would not have injured him to admit the accident, he solemnly denied it on oath. The absence of any investigation at the time, proves that William's successor, if not a party to his brother's death, was, at all events, not much incensed by an event which raised him to the throne.

Of the violent character of William, his rapacity, despotism, and debauchery, the reader will have formed a sufficient notion from the preceding pages. In person he was short and corpulent, with flaxen hair, and a ruddy His character. complexion; from which last circumstance he derived the name of Rufus, or, the red. In ordinary conversation, his utterance was slow and embarrassed; in the hurry of passion, precipitate and unintelligible. He assumed in public a haughty port, roll-

ing his eyes with fierceness on the spectators, and endeavoring, by the tone of his voice and the tenor of his answers, to intimidate those who addressed him. But in private he descended to an equality with his companions, amusing them with his wit, which was chiefly pointed against himself, and seeking to lessen the odium of his excesses by making them the subject of laughter.

He built, at the expense of the neighboring counties, a wall round the Tower, a bridge over the Thames, and the great hall at Westminster. The latter was finished the year before his death; and when he first visited it, after his return from Normandy, he replied to his flatterers that there was nothing in its dimensions to excite their wonder; it was only the vestibule to the palace which he intended to raise; but in this respect he seems to have followed, not to have created, the taste of the age. During his reign, structures of unusual magnificence arose in every part of the kingdom; and the most opulent proprietors sought to distinguish themselves by the castles which they built, and the monasteries which they founded.



## CHAPTER XI.

## Henry the First.

## CONTEMPORARY SOVEREIGNS.

<i>Popes.</i>	<i>Scotland.</i>	<i>France.</i>
Paschal II.	Edgar.	Philip I.
Gelasius II.	Alexander I.	Louis VI.
Calixtus II.	David I.	
Honorius II.	<i>Germany.</i>	<i>Spain.</i>
Innocent II.	Henry IV.	Alphonso VI.
	Henry V.	Alphonso VII.
	Lothaire II.	Alphonso VIII.

Accession of Henry—England invaded by Robert—Henry invades Normandy  
—Takes Robert prisoner.—From A. D. 1100 to 1135.

FOUR years had now elapsed since Robert of Normandy had abandoned his dominions in Europe, to earn a barren wreath of glory in the fields of Palestine. By priority of birth and the stipulation of treaties, the crown of England belonged to him. He had already arrived in Italy, on his way home; but, ignorant of the prize that was at stake, he loitered in Apulia, to woo Sibylla, the fair sister of William of Conversana. Henry, the younger brother, was on the spot; he had followed Rufus into the forest; and, the moment that he heard the king was fallen, spurring his horse, he rode to Winchester, to secure the royal treasures. William de Breteuil, to whose custody they had been intrusted, arrived at the same time, and avowed his intention to preserve them for Robert, the rightful heir. The prince immediately drew his sword, and blood would have been shed, had not their common friends interposed, and prevailed on Breteuil to withdraw his opposition. As soon as Henry had obtained possession of the treasures and castle, he was proclaimed king; and, riding to Westminster, was crowned on the Sunday, the third day after the death of his brother. To strengthen the weakness of his claim, by connecting it with the interests of the people, Henry published a charter of liberties. In this instru-

1100. Henry I.,  
surnamed Beau-  
clerk, or, the Scho-  
lar.

Coronation of  
Henry.

ment, he restored to the church its ancient immunities. He granted to all his barons and immediate vassals (and required that they should make the same concession to *their* tenants) that they might dispose by will of their personal property; that they might give their daughters and female relatives in marriage, without fee or impediment, provided the intended husband were not his enemy; together with several other privileges. To the nation at large, he promised to put in force the laws of Edward the Confessor, as they had been amended and published by his father. Henry, however, retained both the royal forests and the forest laws; but, as a kind of apology, he declared that in this reservation he was guided by the advice, and had obtained the consent of his barons. He added, at the same time, a very beneficial charter in favor of the citizens of London.

Hitherto, the moral conduct of Henry had been as questionable as that of his late brother; policy now taught him to assume the zeal and severity of a reformer. He amended his own mode of life, and sent to hasten the return of Archbishop Anselm, with expressions of the highest regard and veneration for his character. At the solicitation of the prelates, he consented to marry; and the object of his choice was Matilda, the daughter of Malcolm, king of Scots, by Margaret, the sister of Edgar the Etheling; a princess whose descent from the Anglo-Saxon monarchs was expected to add stability to his throne, and to secure the succession to his posterity. The marriage was celebrated, and the queen crowned with the usual solemnity by Anselm, who had returned to England and resumed the administration of his diocese.

To satisfy the clamor of the people, Henry had committed to the Tower, Flambard, bishop of Durham, the unpopular minister of the late king. Flambard, with the aid of a rope, descended from the window, was conducted by his friends to the sea-shore, and thence escaped into Normandy. In Normandy he found Duke Robert, who had married Sibylla, and returned to his duchy within a month after the death of his brother. By his former subjects he had been received with welcome; but his claim to the English crown, though he meant to enforce it, was postponed to a subsequent period. But the arrival and suggestions of Flambard turned his thoughts from pleasure to war.

His vassals professed their eagerness to fight under a prince who had gained laurels in the Holy Land; tenders of assistance were received from England; and a powerful force of men-at-arms, archers, and footmen, was ordered to assemble in the neighborhood of Tresport.

Robert prepares to invade England.

Henry beheld with disquietude the preparations of his brother, and collected an army at Pevensey, on the coast of Sussex. Robert, conducted by the mariners whom Flambard had debauched from their allegiance, reached the harbor of Portsmouth. To secure the city of Winchester, became to each prince an object of the first importance. Though Robert was nearer, he was delayed by the debarkation of his troops, and Henry overtook him on his march.

After several fruitless and irritating messages, Henry demanded a conference with his brother.

Henry and Robert meet in conference: a treaty of peace concluded between them.

The two princes met in a vacant space between the armies, conversed for a few minutes, and embraced as friends. The terms of reconciliation were immediately adjusted. Robert renounced all claims to the crown of England, and obtained in return a yearly pension of three thousand marks, the cession of all the castles which Henry possessed in Normandy, with the exception of Damfront, and the revocation of the judgment of forfeiture which William had pronounced against his adherents. It was moreover stipulated, that both princes should unite to punish their respective enemies, and that if either died without legitimate issue, the survivor should be his heir. Twelve barons on each side swore to enforce the observance of these articles.

Henry was soon afterward engaged in a contest with several disaffected noblemen, the principal of whom was Belesme, earl of Shrewsbury, who was defeated and banished. Robert religiously observed the conditions of peace. He had, even on the first notice of Belesme's rebellion, ravaged the Norman estates of that nobleman. Sensible, however, that the real crime of the outlaws was their former attachment to his interest, he unexpectedly came to England, at the solicitation of the earl of Surrey, and incautiously trusted himself to the generosity of an unfeeling brother.

Robert goes to England, and is made prisoner by his brother.

He was received, indeed, with a smile of affection, but soon found that he was in reality a captive; instead of interceding in

favor of others, he was reduced to treat for his own liberty; and, as the price of his ransom, gladly resigned his annuity of three thousand marks, which, to save the honor of the two princes, was received as a present by the queen Matilda. After such treatment, Robert could not doubt of the hostility of his brother; and, in his own defence, he sought the friendship and accepted the services of the outlaw, Belesme, who still possessed thirty-four castles in Normandy. Henry received the intelligence with pleasure, pronounced the alliance between himself and Robert at an end, accepted (perhaps procured) invitations from the enemies of the duke, and resolved to transfer the Norman coronet to his

own head. The first campaign passed without any important result: in the second, the fate of Normandy was decided before the walls of Tenchebrai, where Robert was defeated. He was soon sent to England, and kept in confinement till death. Henry summoned the Norman barons to meet him, and was acknowledged duke without opposition.

While the king had thus been employed in chastising his enemies, and stripping an unfortunate brother of his dominions, he was engaged in a less successful quarrel with Anselm and the

court of Rome, concerning the right of investiture. To understand the subject of the controversy, the reader should know that, according to ancient practice, the election of bishops had generally depended on the testimony of the clergy and people, and the suffrage of the provincial prelates. But the lapse of years, and the conversion of the barbarous nations, had introduced important innovations into this branch of ecclesiastical polity. The tenure of clerical, was assimilated to that of lay property; the sovereign assumed the right of approving of the prelate elect; and the new bishop or abbot, like the baron or knight, was compelled to swear fealty, and to do homage to his superior lord. The pretensions of the crown were gradually extended. As it was the interest of the prince that the spiritual fiefs should not fall into the hands of his enemies, he reserved to himself the right of nomination; and, in virtue of that right, *invested* the individual whom he had nominated with the ring and crosier, the acknowledged emblems of episcopal and abbatial jurisdiction. The church had observed

Henry invades Normandy. Robert is defeated, and taken prisoner.

Dispute concerning the right of investiture.

with jealousy these successive encroachments on her privileges; in the general councils of Nice, in 787, and of Constantinople, in 869, the nomination of bishops by lay authority had been condemned; in 1067 the former prohibitions were renewed by Gregory VII.; and, ten years afterward, Victor III., in a synod at Beneventum, added the sentence of excommunication both against the prince who should presume to exercise the right of investiture and the prelate who should condescend to receive his temporalities on such conditions. But it was in vain that the thunders of the church were directed against a practice enforced by sovereigns, who refused to surrender a privilege enjoyed by their predecessors, and defended by prelates who were indebted to it for their wealth and importance. The contest between the two powers continued during half a century; nor was it without mutual concessions that claims so contradictory could be amicably adjusted.

It would exhaust the patience of the reader to descend into the particulars of this dispute; to notice all the messages that were sent to Rome, and the answers returned to England; the artifices that were employed to deceive, and the expedients suggested to mollify Anselm. At last, by the king's request, he undertook, aged and infirm as he was, a journey Anselm goes to Italy: the dispute finally settled. to Italy, to lay the whole controversy before the pontiff; on his return, he received an order to remain in banishment till he should be willing to submit to the royal pleasure. The exile retired to his friend the archbishop of Lyons, under whose hospitable roof he spent the three following years. In the interval, Henry was harassed by the entreaties of his barons and the murmurs of the people: his sister, Adela, countess of Blois, and his queen, Matilda, importuned him to be reconciled to the primate; and Paschal II., who had already excommunicated his advisers, admonished him that in a few weeks the same sentence would be pronounced against himself. The king, not prepared to push the dispute to this extremity, discovered a willingness to relent. Anselm met him at the abbey of Bec; and both, in the true spirit of conciliation, consented to abandon a part of their pretensions. As fealty and homage were civil duties, it was agreed that they should be exacted from every clergyman before he received his temporalities. As the ring and crosier were considered to denote

spiritual jurisdiction, to which the king acknowledged that he had no claim, the collation of these emblems was suppressed.

The possession of Normandy soon involved the king in hostilities with the neighboring princes. William, the only son of the captive duke, was but five years old at the time of the battle of Tenchebrai. As he advanced in age, the hopes of his partisans increased.

William, the son of Robert, increases the hopes of his partisans.

Baldwin, earl of Flanders, with whom he found an honorable retreat during several years, engaged to assist him with all his power; Louis, king of France, was induced to draw the sword in the same cause: even Fulk of Anjou agreed to join the confederates. All these princes had individually reasons to complain of Henry; they were willing to sanctify their resentments by espousing the interests of an injured orphan. Thus the embers of war were kindled, and the flame stretched from one extremity of Normandy to the other. During more than three years, fortune seemed to play with the efforts of the combatants. At first, Louis was compelled to solicit the forbearance of the king of England; then success upon success waited on his arms; afterward, Baldwin died of a slight wound received at the siege of Eu; next, Fulk of Anjou, induced by a considerable bribe and the marriage of his daughter to Henry's son, withdrew from the allies; and, at last, the decisive though almost bloodless victory

An end at length put to the hostilities.

of Brenville gave the superiority to the king of England. An end was put to hostilities by the paternal industry of the pontiff, Calixtus II., and a treaty of peace was concluded under his auspices. Henry retained what he principally sought, the possession of Normandy; and the king of France, as sovereign lord, received the homage of William, Henry's son, in lieu of that of the father.

The ambition of the king was now gratified. His foreign foes had been compelled to solicit peace—his Norman enemies had been crushed by the weight of his arms; and, if further security were wanting, it had been obtained by the investiture of the duchy which had been granted to his son William. After an absence of four years, he resolved to return in triumph to England. At Barfleur, he was met by a Norman mariner, called Fitz-Stephen, who offered him a mark of gold, and solicited the honor of conveying him in his vessel, "the White Ship." It was, he

observed, new, and manned with fifty most able seamen His father had carried the king's father, when he sailed to the conquest of England; and the service by which he held his fee was that of providing for the passage of his sovereign. Henry replied that he had already chosen a vessel for himself, but that he would confide his son and his treasures to the care of Fitz-Stephen. With the young prince (he was in his eighteenth year) embarked his brother Richard and his sister Adela, both natural children of Henry, the earl of Chester and his countess, the king's niece, sixteen other noble ladies, and one hundred and forty knights. They spent some hours on deck in feasting and dancing, and distributed three barrels of wine among the crew; but the riot and intoxication which prevailed about sunset, induced the more prudent to quit the vessel, and return to the shore. Henry had set sail as soon as the tide would permit. William, after a long delay, ordered Henry sets sail England. Fitz-Stephen to follow his father. Immediately every sail was unfurled, every oar was plied; but, amid the music and revelling, the care of the helm was neglected, and the The shipwreck and loss of his children. "White Ship," carried away by the current, suddenly struck against a rock. The rapid influx of the water admonished the gay and heedless company of their alarming situation. By Fitz-Stephen, the prince was immediately lowered into a boat, and told to row back to the land; but the shrieks of his sister recalled him to the wreck, and the boat sank under the multitude that poured into it. In a short time the vessel itself went down, and three hundred persons were buried in the waves. A young nobleman, Geoffrey de L'Aigle, and Berold, a butcher of Rouen, alone saved themselves, by clinging to the top of the mast. After a few minutes, the unfortunate Fitz-Stephen swam toward them, inquired for the prince, and being told that he had perished, plunged under the water. Geoffrey, benumbed by the cold of a November night, was soon washed away, and, as he sank, uttered a prayer for the safety of his companion. Berold retained his hold, was rescued in the morning by a fishing-boat, and related the particulars of this doleful catastrophe. Henry had arrived at Southampton, and frequently expressed his surprise at the tardiness of his son. The first intelligence was conveyed to Theobald of Blois, who communicated it to his friends,

The news of the death of his children conveyed to Henry.

but dared not inform the king. The next morning the fatal secret was revealed by a young page, who threw himself in tears at his feet. At the shock, Henry sank to the ground, but, recovering himself, affected a display of fortitude which he did not feel. He talked of submission to the dispensations of Providence; but the wound had penetrated deep into his heart. His grief gradually subsided into a settled melancholy; and it is said that from that day he was never observed to smile. Matilda, by the death of her husband, became a widow at the age of twelve, within six months after her marriage. By Henry she was treated with the affection of a parent; but at the demand of her father returned to Anjou, and ten years afterward put on the veil at the convent of Fontevraud.

But Henry, deprived of his only legitimate son, had new plans to form, new precautions to take, against the pretensions and attempts of his nephew. On that prince every eye was fixed; his virtues and misfortunes were the theme of general conversation; and few men doubted that he would ultimately succeed to the throne. Fulk of Anjou, whom the king had offended, by refusing to return the dower of Matilda, affianced to him his younger daughter, Sibylla, and gave him the earldom of Mans; while the most powerful barons of Normandy, Amauri of Montfort, and Walleran, the young earl of Mellent, undertook to assist him, on the first opportunity, with all their forces and influence. Henry, by his spies, was informed of the most secret motions of his enemies. In the court of Anjou, he employed

The marriage between William and Sibylla is opposed by Henry.

threats and promises, and bribes, to prevent the intended marriage; he even undertook to prove that the two parties, William and Sibylla, were relations within the prohibited degrees of consanguinity. In Normandy, he suddenly landed with a numerous body of English forces, and overthrew the friends of his nephew.

The life of William, the son of Robert, was an alternating series of elevation and depression. If the sudden fate of his cousin had awakened his hopes, they were soon defeated by the sagacity and promptitude of his uncle; but he was amply repaid for the disappointment by the bounty of Louis, who, in lieu of Sibylla, whose father now refused her to him, bestowed on him



the hand of his sister-in-law, and gave for her portion Chamont, Pontoise, and the Vexin, on the borders of Normandy; whence, by his proximity, he was enabled to encourage his partisans, and to keep alive the spirit of opposition to Henry. Soon afterward, Charles the Good, earl of Flanders, and the suc-<sup>The earl of Flanders</sup>cessor of Baldwin, was assassinated. He was at <sup>assassinated</sup>in church. his devotions in a church at Bruges, when Burchard de L'Isle suddenly assailed him with a body of armed men, and murdered him at the foot of the altar. On the first intelligence of this event, William of Ipres surrounded the walls with his retainers; the king of France followed with a formidable force; and, after a siege of five weeks, the gates were burst open, and the assassins were precipitated over the battlements of the castle. William had accompanied his benefactor, and received from him the investiture of the earldom, which he could justly claim as the representative of Matilda, his grandmother, the daughter of Baldwin V. Thus, again, by the caprice of fortune, was he raised to a high degree of power, and placed in a situation the most favorable for the conquest of Normandy. Henry began to tremble for the safety of his continental possessions.

It is now time to notice the measures by which that monarch had sought to perpetuate the succession in his own family. Matilda had brought him two children; a son, William, whose premature fate the reader has already witnessed, and a daughter, Alice, who afterward assumed the name of her mother. For the last twelve years of her life, the queen resided at Westminster, deprived of the society of her husband. By her death, in 1118, the king found himself at liberty to contract another marriage, and he offered his hand to Adelais, the daughter <sup>Henry marries</sup>of Geoffrey, duke of Louvain, and niece to Pope <sup>Adelais, daughter</sup>Calixtus—a princess whose chief recommendation was her youth and beauty. Their union proved without issue; and, after a delay of three years, he formed the resolution of settling the crown on his daughter Maud, who had married Henry V. of Germany, and, by the death of her husband, was lately become a widow. A general assembly was summoned of the prelates and chief tenants of the crown; before them, Henry lamented the premature death of his son, and proposed his daughter Maud as presumptive heiress to the succession. She united, he ob-

served, in her veins, the blood of the Anglo-Saxon with that of the Norman princes. The empress was unanimously pronounced the next heir, in the event of her father dying without male issue; and first the clergy, then the laity, swore to maintain her succession. Among the laity, the precedence was given to her uncle David, on account of his regal character. The second place was disputed between Stephen, earl of Boulogne, and Robert, earl of Gloucester. The former was the king's nephew, by his sister Adela, and had been born in lawful wedlock; the latter was Henry's son, but of spurious birth. The question was determined in favor of Stephen. But these noblemen had in view a secret and important object. Notwithstanding the precautions of Henry, the succession of Maud was considered very uncertain: both Stephen and Robert looked forward to the crown; and, on that account, each was anxious to be declared the first prince of the blood.

The reader has noticed the constant solicitude of Henry to secure the friendship of Fulk, count of Anjou. That nobleman had lately resigned his European states to his eldest son, and had accepted the more brilliant but precarious dignity of king of Jerusalem. Henry offered with eagerness the Matilda is married to Geoffrey, count of Anjou. hand of Matilda to Geoffrey, the reigning earl. The marriage was negotiated in secret: its publication excited the loud complaints of the English and Norman barons. They claimed a right to be consulted in the disposal of their future sovereign; and many declared that they looked on themselves as released from the obligation of their oath, by the duplicity of the king.

It was impossible for Henry to contemplate without disquietude the increasing fame and power of his nephew, the earl of Flanders. William had justly, but perhaps imprudently, punished the murderers of his predecessor. Their friends sought to be revenged on the new earl: at their suggestion, Thierry, landgrave of Alsace, advanced a claim to the succession; and Henry engaged to support him with all the power of England and Normandy. Lisle, Ghent, and several other places, were perfidiously surrendered to Thierry; but William displayed his wonted activity and courage, and completely defeated his antagonist under the walls of Alost. Unfortunately, after the battle,

and at the very gate of the town, he received a thrust in the hand from the pike of a foot-soldier. Battle of Alost, and the death of William, earl of Flanders. The wound was slight, and therefore neglected: a mortification ensued; and the prince soon died.

Family broils detained the king in Normandy, and occupied his attention during the last years of his reign. But though he resided so frequently on the continent, and was so anxious to secure his transmarine possessions, he did not neglect the government of his kingdom of England, by far the most valuable portion of his dominions. The administration of justice, and the preservation of the public tranquillity, were objects which he had constantly at heart, and which he earnestly recommended to the vigilance of his officers.

Robert, the unfortunate duke of Normandy, had now spent eight-and-twenty years in captivity. According to some historians, he bore his confinement with impatience; and, by an unsuccessful attempt to escape, provoked his brother to deprive him of sight. For the honor of human nature, we may hope that the latter part of the account is false; the more so as it is not supported by contemporary authority. If Henry may be believed, the reader has already heard him boast of the splendor and comfort enjoyed by his captive; and Malmesbury (but Malmesbury wrote to the son of Henry, and therefore was disposed to panegyryze the father,) seems to confirm this statement, when he assures us that the duke was allowed every indulgence compatible with his condition as a prisoner. Robert died at the age of eighty, in the castle of Death of Robert, duke of Normandy. Cardiff, in Wales.

Henry did not survive his brother more than a year. He had been hunting near St. Denis le Froment, in Normandy, and at his return was seized with an acute fever. On the third day, despairing of his recovery, he sent for the archbishop of Rouen, from whom he received the sacraments of the eucharist and extreme unction. The earls of Gloucester, Surrey, and Leicester, and the rest of the nobility assembled round his bed, and in their presence he pronounced his last will. I bequeath, he said, all my lands, on both sides of the sea, to my daughter Matilda and her heirs for ever; and I desire that, when my debts have been discharged, and the liveries and wages of my retainers have been paid, the

remainder of my effects may be distributed to the poor. On the seventh day of his illness he expired. His bowels were deposited in the church of St. Mary, at Rouen, which had been founded by his mother; his body was conveyed to England, and interred in the abbey of Reading.

Death of Henry.  
1135.

A contemporary writer has left us the character of Henry as it was differently drawn, by his friends and enemies, after his death.

His character. By the former he was ranked among the wisest, richest, and bravest of our monarchs; the latter loaded his memory with the reproach of cruelty, avarice, and incontinence. To an indifferent observer, at the present day, his reign will offer little worthy of praise, unless it be the severity with which he punished offences. This was a real benefit to his people; as it not only contributed to extirpate the robbers by profession, but also checked the rapacity and violence of the barons. Still, his merit will be very equivocal. As long as each conviction brought with it a fine or forfeiture to the royal exchequer, princes were stimulated to the execution of the laws by a sense of personal interest. Henry, at the same time that he visited the injustice of others, scrupled not to commit injustice himself. Probably, in both cases he had in view the same object—his own emolument.

The great aim of his ambition was to aggrandize his family, by augmenting his possessions on the continent. His success in this favorite project obtained for him the reputation of political wisdom; but it was purchased at the expense of enormous sums, wrung from a suffering and impoverished people. If, however, the English thus paid for acquisitions in which they had little interest, they derived from them one advantage—the king's attention to foreign politics rendered him anxious to preserve peace with his more immediate neighbors. He lived on the most friendly terms with Alexander and David, successively kings of Scotland. The former had married his natural daughter, Sibylla; both were the brothers of his wife Matilda. It was more difficult to repress the active and predatory disposition of the Welsh; but as often as he prepared to chastise their presumption, they pacified his resentment by submission and presents. As a check to this restless people, he planted among them a powerful colony of foreigners. Many natives of

Henry's efforts to  
subdue the Welsh.

Flanders had found settlements in England, under the protection of his mother, Matilda; and the number was now doubled by a crowd of emigrants, who had been driven from their homes by an inundation of the Rhine. Henry placed them at first on the right bank of the Tweed; but afterward, collecting the old and new comers into one body, allotted to them for their residence the town of Haverfordwest, with the district of Ross, in Pembroke-shire. They were a martial and industrious people; by attention to the cultivation of the soil, and the manufacture of cloth, they grew in numbers and opulence; and, under the protection of the English kings, to whom they always remained faithful, defeated every attempt of the Welsh princes to root them out of the country.

Henry was naturally suspicious, and this disposition had been greatly encouraged by his knowledge of the clandestine attempts of his enemies. On one occasion, the keeper of his treasures was convicted of a design on his life; on another, while he was marching in the midst of his army toward Wales, an arrow from an unknown hand struck him on the breast, but was repelled by the temper of his cuirass. Alarmed by these incidents, he always kept on his guard, frequently changed his apartments, and, when he retired to rest, ordered sentinels to be stationed at the door, and his sword and shield to be placed near his pillow.

The suspicious are generally dissembling and revengeful. Henry seldom forgot an injury, though he would disguise his enmity under the mask of friendship. Fraud, and treachery, and violence were employed to ensnare those who had greatly offended him; and their usual portion was death, or blindness, or perpetual imprisonment. After his decease, it was discovered that his cousin, the earl of Moretoil, whom he had long kept in confinement, had also been deprived of sight.

Luke de Barre, a poet, who had fought against him, was made prisoner at the close of the last war, and sentenced by the king to lose his eyes. Charles the Good, earl of Flanders, was present, and remonstrated against so direful a punishment. It was not, he observed, the custom of civilized nations to inflict bodily punishment on knights who had drawn the sword in the service of their lord. "It is not," replied Henry, "the first time that he has been in arms against

Henry's cruelty toward Luke de Barre, the poet, and others.

me. But, what is worse, he has made me the subject of satire, and in his poems has held me up to the derision of my enemies. From his example, let other versifiers learn what they may expect if they offend the king of England." The cruel mandate was executed; and the troubadour, in a paroxysm of agony, bursting from the hands of the officers, dashed out his brains against the wall.

His dissimulation was so well known, that he was mistrusted even by his favorites. When Bloet, bishop of Lincoln, who had for many years been one of his principal justiciaries, was told that the king had spoken of him in terms of the highest commendation—"Then," he replied, "I am undone; for I never knew him praise a man whom he did not intend to ruin." The event justified his apprehensions. In an unguarded moment the prelate had boasted that the monastery which he was building at Eynesham, should equal that which Henry had founded at Reading. The words were carried to the king, and the fall of the favorite was consummated. He was immediately deprived of the office of justiciary; vexatious prosecutions were commenced against him; by fines and extortions all his wealth was drawn to the royal exchequer; and the bishop would probably have been compelled to resign his dignity, had he not died, by a sudden stroke of apoplexy, as he was speaking to Henry.

Malmesbury has allotted to the king the praise of temperance and continency. Perhaps his claim to these rests on no other ground than the partiality of his panegyrist. Many writers affirm that his death was occasioned by the excess with which he ate of a dish of lampreys. Robert of Caen, earl of Gloucester, his illegitimate son, was much distinguished by his father. He will claim the attention of the reader in the following reign.

The king's principal ministers were Roger, bishop of Salisbury, and Robert, earl of Mellent. Roger had constantly adhered to

Henry's ministers. Henry in all the vicissitudes of fortune which that prince experienced before his accession; it was natural that he should rise to eminence when his patron became a rich and powerful monarch. By the chapter of Salisbury he was chosen bishop of that see; by the king, he was appointed grand justiciary of the kingdom. On the plea that the two

offices were incompatible with each other, he declined the latter, till his scruples were removed by the joint authority of the pontiff and the metropolitan. To his episcopal duties he devoted the more early part of the day; the remainder was given to the affairs of state—and it is no weak argument of his merit, that though he was many years the minister of a rapacious monarch, he never incurred the hatred of the people. Whenever Henry left the kingdom, the bishop of Sarum was appointed regent; and in that capacity discharged the duties of government for years together, to the satisfaction of his sovereign.

While the internal administration was confided to this prelate, the department of foreign politics exercised the abilities of the earl of Mellent. He attended the king in all his expeditions into Normandy, and acquired the reputation of being the first statesman in Europe. Princes and pontiffs courted his friendship; Henry himself, though he perceived it not, was supposed to be governed by him; and his possessions in England, Normandy, and France received daily augmentations from his violence and rapacity. Nor was his authority confined to the concerns of government; he had usurped the empire of taste; and every fashionable courtier imitated the dress and manners of the earl of Mellent. His last illness was induced or irritated by vexation of mind. He had resolved to augment his wealth by marriage with an opulent heiress; but his expectations were defeated by the superior address of a rival. On his death-bed he sent for the archbishop of Canterbury; and when that prelate exhorted him to prepare for a future life, by repairing the injustices which he had committed in this, he hastily replied, "I will leave to my children whatever I have acquired. Let them do justice to those whom I have injured." It is superfluous to add, that justice was never done.

These two ministers, as well as every other officer trusted by the king, were foreigners. He felt no gratitude for the services, and held in no estimation the abilities of his native subjects. If, in the hour of danger, he appealed to their fidelity, during the time of prosperity he treated them with the most marked contempt. They were carefully excluded from every office of power or emolument, whether in church or state. The most slender recommendation was sufficient

to qualify a stranger, were he Italian, French, or Norman; no services, no talents, could expiate in an Englishman the original sin of his nativity.

Henry, if we consider the value of money at that period, was immensely rich. On occasions of ceremony, when he wore his crown, he imitated the parade of the eastern monarchs; and before him, on a table, were displayed the most precious of his treasures, particularly two golden vases of extraordinary dimensions, and elegantly enchased with jewels. After

Henry's wealth, and works of art. his death, his successor found in the exchequer, besides the plate and gems collected by Henry and his two predecessors, one hundred thousand pounds of pennies, all of just weight, and of pure silver. So much wealth had enabled him to indulge his taste for architecture; and while the castles which he raised on the borders of Wales contributed to the protection of the country, by repairing or rebuilding most of the royal palaces, he provided for the comfort and splendor of himself and his successors. At Woodstock, he enclosed a spacious park for deer, and added a menagerie for wild beasts, among which Malmesbury mentions lions, leopards, lynxes, camels, and, what appears to have chiefly attracted the notice of the historian, a porcupine. But his religious foundations principally displayed his magnificence; these were, three monasteries; two for regular canons, at Chichester and Dunstable, and one for monks of the order of Cluni, situated at Reading, near the conflux of the Thames and the Kennet, where the great roads of the kingdom intersected each other. The wealth with which Henry endowed this establishment did not seduce the monks from the rigid observance of their rule. It was their custom to offer hospitality to all who passed by their convent; and it was believed that, in the entertainment of strangers, they annually expended a much larger sum than was devoted to their own maintenance.

Before I close the history of this prince, and proceed to the turbulent reign of Stephen, it will be proper to notice the rapid improvement of the nation in literary pursuits, under the Conqueror and his sons. Lanfranc and Anselm, the two archbishops of Canterbury, had proved themselves worthy of their exalted station. The superior knowledge of the former was universally admitted: the attainments of his

Literature. Lanfranc and Anselm.



successor were of a still higher class. Both, in their more early years, had exercised the profession of teachers; and their precepts and example had awakened the curiosity of the clergy, and kindled an ardor for learning which can hardly be paralleled in the present age. Nor did this enthusiasm perish with its authors—it was kept alive by the honors which were so prodigally lavished on all who could boast of literary acquirements. The sciences, which formed the usual course of education, were divided into two classes, which still retained the appellations of a more barbarous age; the trivium, comprising grammar, logic, and rhetoric, and the quadrivium, or music, arithmetic, geometry, and astronomy. It was from the works of the Latin writers, which had survived the wreck of the empire, that students sought to acquire the principal portion of their knowledge; but in the science of medicine, and the more abstruse investigations of the mathematics, the ancients were believed inferior to the Mohammedan teachers; and many an Englishman, during the reign of Henry, wandered as far as the banks of the Ebro, in Spain, that he might listen to the instructions, or translate the works of the Arabian philosophers.

To the praise of the popes, it must be said that, even in the Middle Ages, they were generally attentive to the interests of learning. The first schools had been established in monasteries and cathedrals, by the zeal of their respective prelates; that they were perpetuated and improved, was owing to the regulations issued by different pontiffs. But now the ancient seminaries began to be neglected for others, opened by men who sought for wealth and distinction by the public display of their abilities; and who established their schools wherever there was a prospect of attracting disciples. The new professors were soon animated with a spirit of competition, which, while it sharpened their faculties, perverted the usefulness of their labors. There was no subject on which they would condescend to acknowledge their ignorance. Like their Arabian masters, they discussed with equal warmth matters above their comprehension, or beneath their notice. As their schools were open to every hearer, they had to support their peculiar opinions against all the subtlety and eloquence of their rivals; and on many occasions were compelled to argue in despite of

The first schools.  
Ancient seminaries. New professors.

common sense, rather than allow themselves to be vanquished. Hence, the art of reasoning came to be valued as the first of intellectual acquirements. The student applied assiduously to the logic of Aristotle, and the subtleties of his Arabian commentators; words were substituted in the place of ideas; multiplied and unmeaning distinctions bewildered the understanding; and a system of scholastic disputation was introduced, which the celebrated abbot of Clairvaux sarcastically defined to be "the art of always seeking, without ever finding, the truth."

As the principal ecclesiastics in England were foreigners, they imported the foreign course of studies. Thus, Joffrid, abbot of Croyland, procured teachers from Orleans, where he had been educated, and established them at Cotenham, a manor belonging to his convent. His object was to open, with their assistance, a school in the neighboring town of Cambridge. At first, a large barn sufficed for their accommodation; in the second year, their disciples were so numerous that separate apartments were allotted to each master. Early in the morning the labors of the day were opened by brother Odo, who taught the children the rules of grammar, according to Priscian; at six, Terrie read lectures on the logic of Aristotle; nine was the hour allotted to brother William, the expounder of the rhetorical works of Cicero and Quintilian; and, before twelve, master Gilbert explained to the theological students the different passages of the Holy Scriptures. This account, if it be genuine, discloses the real origin of the university of Cambridge.

There were few among the scholars of Henry's reign who did not occasionally practise the art of composing in Latin verse. A

The study of Latin verse. few of them may certainly claim the praise of taste and elegance; but the majority seem to have aspired to no other excellence than that of adulterating the legitimate metre by the admixture of middle and final rhymes. Latin productions, however, were confined to the perusal and admiration of Latin scholars. The rich and the powerful, those who alone were able to reward the labors of the poet, were acquainted with no other language than their own, the Gallo-Norman, which since the Conquest had been introduced into the court of the prince and the hall of the baron, and was learned and spoken by every candidate for office and power. To amuse and delight these men,

arose a new race of versifiers, who neglected Latin composition for vernacular poetry. In their origin they were fostered by the patronage of the two queens of Henry, Matilda and Alice. Malmesbury assures us that every poet hastened to the court of Matilda, at Westminster, to read his verses to that princess, and to partake of her bounty; and the name of Alice is frequently mentioned with honor by the contemporary versifiers, Gaimar, Beneoit, and Philippe de Thau. The works of these writers are still extant in manuscript, and show that their authors knew little of the inspiration of poetry. The turgid metaphors, the abrupt transitions, and the rapid movements, so characteristic of the Anglo-Saxon muse, though conceived in bad taste, showed at least indications of native genius; but the narratives of the Gallo-Norman poets are tame, prosaic, and interminable—and their authors seem to have known no beauty but the jingle of rhyme, and to have aimed at no excellence but that of spinning out their story to the greatest possible length. These poems, however, such as they were, delighted those for whom they were written, and, what was still better, brought wealth and popularity to their authors.

During the reign of Henry, Geoffrey of Monmouth published his History of Britain; which he embellished with numerous tales respecting Arthur and his knights, and Merlin and his prophecies, borrowed from the songs and traditions of the ancient Britons. This extraordinary work The origin of Romance. was accompanied by another of a similar description, the History of Charlemagne and his twelve peers; supposed to be compiled by Archbishop Turpin, from the songs of the French *trouvères*: and, about the same time, the adventures of Alexander the Great, by the pretended Dares Phrygius and Dictys Cretensis, were brought by some of the crusaders into Europe. These three works supplied an inexhaustible store of matter for writers in verse and prose; the deeds of Alexander, and Arthur, and Charlemagne were repeated and embellished in a thousand forms; spells and enchantments, giants, hippogriffs, and dragons, ladies confined in durance by the power of necromancy, and delivered from confinement by the courage of their knights, captivated the imagination of our ancestors; and a new species of writing was introduced, which retained its sway for centuries, and was known

by the appellation of *Romance*, because it was originally written in the Gallie idiom, an idiom corrupted from the ancient language of *Rome*.

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CHAPTER XII.

Stephen.

CONTEMPORARY SOVEREIGNS.

<i>Popes.</i>	<i>Scotland.</i>	<i>France.</i>
Innocent II.	David I.	Louis VI.
Celestin II.	Malcolm IV.	Louis VII.
Lucius II.	<i>Germany.</i>	
Eugenius III.	Lothaire II.	<i>Spain.</i>
Anastasius IV.	Conrad III.	Alphonso VIII.
	Frederic I.	

Accession of Stephen—Invasion of the Scots—Battle of the Standard—Matilda lands in England—Stephen is taken prisoner, and released—Matilda leaves the kingdom—Henry asserts the claim of his Mother—Death of Stephen.—From A. D. 1135 to 1154.

HENRY had cheered his last moments with the hope that by his care the crown had been secured to Matilda: it was seized by his nephew Stephen, whom he had cherished with the affection of a father, and had destined to be the future support of her throne. Stephen was the third of the four sons that Adela, Henry's sister, had borne to her husband, the earl of Blois. He had attached himself to the fortunes of his uncle. From him he had received with the honor of knighthood several valuable estates in England; had earned by his valor in the field of Tenchebrai the Norman earldom of Moretoil; and afterward, by his marriage with Matilda, the daughter of the earl of Boulogne, had succeeded to the territories of his father-in-law. At each step his ambition had expanded; and on the death of Henry it urged him to become a candidate for the throne.

With these views and expectations Stephen sailed from Whitsand, and landed on the coast of Kent. He was excluded from Dover and Canterbury by the inhabitants, who knew or suspected the

real objects of his journey; but he was received with welcome by the citizens of London, who immediately proclaimed him king, and by those of Winchester, whom his brother had secured to his interest. At Winchester he was joined by the archbishop of Canterbury, by Roger, the powerful bishop of Sarum, and by William de Pont de l'Arche, who placed in his hands the keys of the castle, with those of the royal treasures. Though neither prelates nor barons had yet arrived or signified their acquiescence, the ceremony of his coronation was performed; and the new king promised upon oath not to retain the vacant prelaeies for his own profit, not to molest laymen or clerks in the possession of their woods and forests, nor to levy the *danegelt*, though it had been repeatedly exacted by his late uncle.

Stephen lands in England: is proclaimed King, and finally crowned.

Stephen had long been the most popular nobleman in England; and men were inclined to favour the pretensions of one whom they loved. The royal treasures, which he distributed with profusion, while they confirmed the fidelity of his adherents, brought to his standard crowds of adventurers, who intimidated his enemies.

In the month of January, 1136, the corpse of the late monarch arrived at the abbey of Reading. Stephen, to demonstrate his respect for his uncle, proceeded to meet it with all his attendants, and placed his shoulders under the bier. When the ceremony of the interment

Respect shown by Stephen to the remains of his uncle.

was concluded, he rode to Oxford, and in a numerous assembly of prelates and barons, renewed the promises which he had made at his coronation. In a subsequent assembly, he produced a letter from the pope, Innocent II., confirming his succession to the crown, and granted additional liberties to the church. The prelates in return renewed their oath of allegiance, but with a conditional clause which had previously been adopted by some of the lay barons—that they would be faithful to him as long as he faithfully observed his engagements.

It is now time to direct the reader's attention to the daughter of Henry. Unsuspecting of the designs of her cousin, she entered Normandy, and was admitted into several towns. Her husband followed with a numerous body of Angevins; but their excesses revived the animosity that had formerly divided the two nations;

and before the end of the month he was driven back with disgrace into his own territories.

In Britain, the first who drew the sword in the cause of Matilda was David, king of Scotland. He had sworn to support her succession; and at the commencement of the year he crossed the borders, reduced Carlisle, Northam, Alnwick, and Newcastle, and compelled the inhabitants to take an oath of fealty to the daughter of Henry. He had reached the walls of Durham, when he was opposed by Stephen at the head of a numerous army. The risk of an engagement induced him to pause; if he was the uncle of the empress, so was he likewise of the consort of her antagonist: a peace was speedily concluded; and to cement the friendship of the two kings, Henry, prince of Scotland, did homage to Stephen, and received from him the towns of Carlisle, Doncaster, and Huntingdon.

While the king was detained in the north, Wales had risen in arms. It probably was indifferent to the Welsh chieftains whether the sceptre were swayed by Matilda or Stephen; but they eagerly seized the opportunity to punish their ancient foes, and after they had satiated themselves with plunder and carnage, retired to their mountains; where they were suffered to remain unmolested, while the king's attention was engaged by more formidable enemies.

Normandy for many years presented a most lamentable spectacle, torn by intestine divisions, and alternately ravaged by opposite parties. The great barons, having retired within their castles, maintained an air of independence; and by occasionally waging war on one another, and supporting, as interest, or caprice, or resentment induced them, sometimes the cause of Stephen, sometimes that of Matilda, contributed to prolong the miseries of their suffering country.

The king of Scots resumed hostilities in 1138, urged, it is said, either by letters from Matilda, who reminded him of his former engagements in her favor, or by resentment at the conduct of Stephen, who had promised and then refused him the earldom of Northumberland. The Scots conducted the war with great ferocity. In the common despair, Thurstan, the old archbishop of York, displayed in a decrepid frame the energy of a youthful

The king of Scotland invades England.

The condition of Wales.

The king of Scots resumes hostilities.

The energy of Thurstan.

warrior. He assembled the northern barons, exhorted them to fight for their families, their country, and their God; assured them of victory, and promised heaven to those who might fall in so sacred a cause. At the appointed time they repaired to York with their vassals, and were met by the parochial clergy, with the bravest of their parishioners; three days were spent in fasting and devotion; on the fourth, Thurstan made them swear never to desert each other, and dismissed them with his blessing. Two miles beyond Northallerton they received advice of the approach of the Scots; and the standard, which gave name to the battle, was hastily erected, the mast of a vessel strongly fastened into the framework of a carriage. In the centre of the cross which rose on its summit was fixed a box of silver, containing the sacrament; and below waved the banners of three patron saints, Peter, Wilfrid, and John of Beverly. From its foot Walter Espee, an experienced warrior, harangued his associates; and at the conclusion of his speech, giving his hand to William of Albemarle, exclaimed in a loud voice, "I pledge thee my troth, either to conquer or to die." His words kindled a similar enthusiasm among his hearers, and the oath was repeated by every chieftain with confidence of success. But the Scots now approached; the signal was given, the English knelt on the ground, and the bishop of the Orkneys, the representative The battle of the of Thurstan, read the prayer of absolution from the carriage. "Standard." With a loud shout they answered, "Amen," and rose to receive the shock of the enemy.

The Scots, raising three shouts, after the manner of their nation, rushed on the English. The first ranks, unable to bear the pressure, retired slowly toward the standard; and the two flanks were surrounded and disordered by the multitude of the enemy; but the centre formed an impenetrable phalanx, which no shock could dissolve. It was in vain that the assailants sought with their swords to break through this forest of spears. Their courage only exposed them to the deadly aim of the archers; and at the end of two hours, disheartened by their loss, they wavered, broke and fled. The king alone, surrounded by his guards, opposed, as he retired, the pursuit of his foes; the rest dispersed themselves in every direction. Of seven-and-twenty thousand men, nearly

one-half had perished in the battle and flight. This engagement is known in history as the "Battle of the Standard."

David was still able to continue the war, and sent a body of forces to besiege the castle of Wark, in Northumberland. At

David finally concludes a peace. Carlisle he was visited by the cardinal Alberic, who had landed in England as papal legate. This virtuous monk had passed through the track which had been the theatre of Scottish depredation, and was so affected with the horrors which he had witnessed, that on his knees he conjured the king to consent to a peace. David was at first inexorable, but peace was concluded in the beginning of the following year.

In September, 1139, while Stephen was engaged in a fierce contest with many barons and prelates, Matilda landed on the

Matilda lands on the coast of Suffolk. coast of Suffolk. With the small force of one

hundred and forty knights, she undertook to conquer the throne of her father; but the temerity of the attempt was justified by the promises of her partisans, and the dispute between Stephen and the clergy. Her brother Robert, the soul of the enterprise, with twelve companions, left her to join his friends in the west, and by unfrequented roads eluded the pursuit and vigilance of his enemies; Matilda herself, at the invitation of the queen dowager Alice, retired within the strong castle of Arundel. Stephen soon appeared at the foot of the walls; the princesses were alarmed; the queen pleaded, in excuse, the duty of hospitality; the empress solicited the permission to follow her brother; and such was the weakness or infatuation of the king, that, to the astonishment of both friends and foes, he accepted the apology of the one, and granted the request of the other.

England was soon exposed to all the horrors of civil war. The garrisons of the royal fortresses supported the cause of Stephen;

Standard of Matilda unfurled. Stephen taken prisoner. the standard of Matilda was unfurled at Gloucester, Bristol, Canterbury, and Dover. Stephen besieged the castle of Lincoln, which had been surprised by Ranulf, earl of Chester, a nobleman who had offered his services to both the king and the empress, and who had been equally mistrusted by both. Confiding his wife and family to the faith of the garrison, Ranulf escaped through the besieging army, and flew to implore the assistance of the earl of Gloucester.

With ten thousand men, Robert hastened to surprise the king,



but, when he had swum across the Trent, found the royal army drawn up to receive him. At the first shock, the cavalry fled; the mass of infantry, animated by the presence of the king, firmly withstood the efforts of the multitude by which it was surrounded. Stephen fought with the energy of despair; but was taken prisoner, loaded with chains, and confined in the castle of Bristol.

The clergy having declared in her favor, Matilda flattered herself that she had secured the object of her ambition: her hopes were defeated by the impolicy of her own conduct. The imprudent and arrogant conduct of Matilda. She had been admitted into London, and had issued orders for her coronation; but, in the interval, the affections of her friends were alienated by her arrogance, and the aversion of her enemies was inflamed by fines and prosecutions. To the solicitations of Stephen's queen for the release of her husband, she replied in terms of personal insult; and when the legate requested that, on the solemn resignation of the crown by his brother, the earldoms of Boulogne and Moretoil should be conferred on his nephew Eustace, he received a most contemptuous refusal. Neither did she attempt to conciliate the wavering minds of the Londoners. She imposed on them a heavy tax, as a punishment for their former attachment to Stephen, and scornfully refused their petition for the restoration of the privileges which they had enjoyed under Edward the Confessor. The queen of the captive monarch resolved to avail herself of the imprudence of her rival. A body of horse, under her banner, appeared on the south side of the city: instantly the bells sounded the alarm; the populace ran to arms; and the empress would have been a prisoner had she not sprung from table, mounted her horse, and saved herself by a precipitate flight. Her most faithful friends accompanied her to Oxford; the rest dispersed to their respective castles.

War continued, and Robert of Gloucester was taken prisoner by the friends of Stephen; but, after some negotiation, it was agreed that he should be exchanged for the king. A long and dangerous sickness, however, confined Stephen to his chamber; and Robert embraced the opportunity to sail to the continent, and solicit the aid and presence of Geoffrey, the husband of Matilda. By that prince the invitation was declined, as he had undertaken the reduction of Normandy; but he was willing to intrust to the

care of the earl his eldest son Henry, the legitimate heir of Matilda. Stephen marched to Oxford, and besieged the empress.

Stephen lays siege to Oxford. The flight of Matilda. At the end of ten weeks, the provisions of the garrison were consumed, and Matilda was a third time reduced to flight. It was a severe frost, and the ground was covered with snow. Attended by three knights, clothed in white, she issued at a very early hour from a portal: the nearest sentinel, who had been previously bribed, conducted her in silence between the posts of the enemy; the ice bore her across the Thames; she reached Abingdon on foot, and thence rode with expedition to Wallingford.

The power of the two parties still remained fairly balanced. With the exception of the three northern counties, which obeyed the king of Scots, Stephen was acknowledged as sovereign in the eastern, Matilda in the western half of the kingdom. After

Matilda withdraws to Normandy. Theobald refuses to crown the son of Stephen. some years, Matilda withdrew to Normandy, to watch the course of events, and to take advantage of the first favorable occurrence. Yet Stephen derived no benefit from her departure. He had earned the enmity of the barons as well as of the clergy. He assembled all the prelates, and required them to crown his son Eustace. Archbishop Theobald refused: he had consulted, he said, the pope, and had been forbidden to comply; because, as Stephen had acquired the crown not by way of inheritance, but by open force, and in violation of his oath, he could have no right to transfer it to his posterity. In a paroxysm of rage, the king ordered his guards to imprison the prelates in the hall, and sent messengers to seize their temporalities: on cooler reflection, he resolved to confine his resentment to Theobald, whom he drove a second time into exile. The pontiff, however, took the archbishop under his protection, and either published in his favor a new, or confirmed the former sentence of excommunication and interdict against the king.

Stephen viewed with anxiety the growing prosperity of Henry, the son of Matilda. At the age of sixteen, that young prince had visited his uncle, King David, at Carlisle, and had received from him the honor of knighthood. On his return, he obtained from his father, Geoffrey, the cession of the duchy of Normandy: at the death of that prince he succeeded to the earldom of Anjou;

and by his marriage with Eleanor of Poitou, within six weeks after her divorce from the king of France, he had acquired the extensive duchy of Aquitaine. Henry landed in England in 1152, to assert the claim of his mother, and his standard was immediately joined by the ancient friends of his family. Eustace, the eldest of the king's sons, was, in the heat of the contest, removed by a sudden death; and the archbishop of Canterbury and the bishop of Winchester improved the opportunity to reconcile the jarring interests of the two parties. Stephen adopted Henry for his son, appointed him his successor, and gave the kingdom of England, after his own death, to him and his heirs for ever. In return, the young prince did homage, and swore fealty to him. Henry received the homage of William, the surviving son of the king, and in return granted to him all the lands and honors possessed by Stephen before his accession to the throne, and added other possessions. The nobles on both sides swore that if either of the two princes broke his engagements they would desert him, and support the cause of his rival. The bishops and abbots, by Stephen's command, took the oath of fealty to Henry, and engaged to enforce the due execution of the treaty by ecclesiastical censures.

Henry, the son of Matilda: he lands in England. A. D. 1152.

Stephen appoints Henry his successor.

After this pacification, the two princes, to display the harmony in which they lived, visited together the cities of Winchester, London, and Oxford, and were received at each place in solemn procession, and with the most joyful acclamations. At Easter, they separated with demonstrations of the most cordial friendship. Henry revisited Normandy; and Stephen, a few months afterward, died at Canterbury. He had reigned nineteen years, and was buried near the remains of his wife and son, at Faversham, a convent which he had founded.

Stephen dies at Canterbury.

Never did England, since the invasion of the Danes, present such a scene of misery as under the government of Stephen. Both parties plundered; and conflagration was frequently added to pillage. Winchester, Worcester, and Nottingham, rich and populous cities, were consumed, and most of the inhabitants perished in the flames. Such was the desolation of the land, say two contemporary historians, that villages and towns were left destitute of in-

The scene of misery under the government of Stephen.

habitants; and in many parts a man might ride a whole day without discovering on his route one human being.

The character of Stephen has been drawn by his adversaries as well as his partisans; and, if there be some difference in the coloring, the outlines of the two pictures are perfectly similar. It is admitted that he was prompt in decision and bold in action; that his friends applauded his generosity, and his enemies admired his forbearance; that he won the high by courtesy, the low by condescension, all by his affability and benevolence.

## CHAPTER XIII.

### Henry the Second.

#### CONTEMPORARY SOVEREIGNS.

<i>Popes.</i>	<i>Scotland.</i>	<i>France.</i>
Anastasius IV.	Malcolm IV.	Louis VII.
Adrian IV.	William.	Philip Augustus.
Alexander III.		
Lucius III.		<i>Spain.</i>
Urban III.	<i>Germany.</i>	Alphonso VIII.
Gregory VIII.	Frederic I.	Sancho III.
Clement III.		Alphonso IX.

Accession of Henry II.—The rise of Thomas à Becket—War in Wales—Dispute between Henry and the Primate—The Assassination of the Archbishop—Conquest of Ireland—Rebellion of the King's Sons—His Death and Character.—From A. D. 1154 to 1189.

It were difficult to imagine a more glorious prospect than that which opened itself to the youth of Henry. By the death of his father, he inherited Touraine and Anjou; in right of his mother, he possessed Maine and Normandy; and with the hand of Eleanor he had received her ample portion, the seven provinces of Poitou, Saintogne, Auvergne, Perigord, Limousin, Angoumois, and Guienne. A third part of France, almost the whole western coast from the borders of Pi-

cardy to the mountains of Navarre, acknowledged his authority; and the vassal who did homage to the sovereign for his dominions was in reality a more powerful prince than the king who received it. In his twenty-first year, the death of Stephen added to these extensive territories the kingdom of England.

He was impatient to take possession of the crown, which had been secured to him by the late treaty, but time was requisite to collect an escort becoming the dignity and sufficient for the protection of the new king; and a long continuance of stormy weather confined him a prisoner in the haven of Barfleur. After a vexatious delay of more than six weeks, he landed in England. Henry lands in England; is crowned at Westminster. The enmity of the adherents of Stephen had been silenced by their fears; and the vigilance and authority of Archbishop Theobald had maintained the public tranquillity. At Winchester he received the homage of the nobility; at Westminster he was crowned, with his queen, before an immense concourse of people and the foreign barons who had accompanied him from France. A few days were given to the festivities and pageantry usual on such occasions; but, at the same time, the new king did not forget the more important concerns of state. In one council, he appointed the great officers of the crown; in another, he confirmed to his subjects all the rights and liberties which they had possessed during the reign of his grandfather; and in a third, he induced the barons and prelates to swear fealty to his eldest son William, and, in the event of William's death, to his second son, Henry, a child still in the cradle.

The earl of Leicester was appointed grand justiciary, with the most ample powers; a new coinage was issued, of standard weight and purity; and the foreign mercenaries, who had so long infested England, received orders to quit the kingdom by a certain day, under the penalty of death. Henry exerted Henry curbs the power of the barons. himself to curb the power of the barons, and compelled Malcolm, king of Scots, to exchange the three northern counties, which had been so long in possession of his grandfather David, for the earldom of Huntingdon, to which the Scottish princes advanced a claim on account of their descent from Earl Walthoef.

The same month which had witnessed the coronation of Henry

had been signalized by the succession of Nicholas Breakspere to the throne of the Vatican. This prelate, the only Englishman who ever sat in the chair of St. Peter, had been raised by his merit from one of the lowest situations in life, to that which was deemed the highest dignity in Christendom. He was the son of Robert Chambers, an obscure clerk, and afterward monk of St. Albans, and had been rejected by the abbot of that monastery, on the ground of incapacity. Stung with this disgrace, and the reproaches of his father, he travelled to Paris, without any other resource than the alms of the charitable; studied with applause in that university, and, wandering into Provence, was admitted among the regular canons of St. Rufus. By virtue and piety he rose gradually to the pontifical throne. In England this intelligence was hailed with transport. Every individual felt proud that one of his countrymen had been raised to the first dignity in the Christian world; and three bishops were deputed to offer to the new pope the congratulations of the king and the nation.

Thomas à Becket now (1158) appeared on the public stage, on which he played a prominent part for many years. He was the son of a London citizen, was placed in his childhood under the care of the canons of Merton, and afterward continued his studies in the schools of the metropolis, of Oxford, and of Paris. When his father died, he was admitted into the family of Theobald, archbishop of Canterbury, and, with the permission of his patron, left England, to improve himself in the knowledge of the civil and canon law. He attended the lectures of Gratian at Bologna, and of another celebrated professor at Auxerre. As soon as he returned, his acquirements were appreciated, and he obtained rapid preferment in the church. The recommendation of Theobald introduced him to the notice, and his own merit entitled him to the protection and friendship of Henry. He was appointed chancellor, the adopted father and preceptor of the young prince, and the depository of the royal favor. His equipage displayed the magnificence of a prince; his table was open to every person who had business at court; he took precedence of all the lay barons; and among his vassals were numbered many knights, who had spontaneously done him homage, with the reservation of their fealty to the sovereign.

Thomas à Becket: an account of his early life.

The pride of Henry was gratified with the ascendancy of his favorite. He lived with Becket on terms of the most easy familiarity; and seemed to have resigned into his hands the government of his dominions both in England and on the continent.

Becket did not merely give his advice; when occasion offered, he acted the part of a negotiator and warrior. The king of France, who dreaded the aggrandizement of a vassal already more powerful than his lord, had threatened to oppose the pretensions of Henry to the earldom of Nantes. Becket is sent to Paris. Becket was immediately despatched to Paris. His magnificence astonished the inhabitants. As he passed along, the natives were heard to exclaim, "What manner of man must the king of England be, when his chancellor travels in such state!" His address lulled the jealousy of the French monarch. The king followed, to ratify the engagements of his minister; and Henry, his eldest son, (for William had died,) was affianced to Margaret, infant daughter of Louis.

But the future union of their children formed too feeble a tie to bind princes naturally divided by a multiplicity of jarring and important interests. Their friendship had scarcely commenced when it was interrupted for a short time by a contest respecting the duchy of Toulouse. Another war broke out between them in 1160, but was also brief.

Disputes respecting the papacy arose about this period. On the death of Breakspare, who had taken the name of Adrian, the emperor of Germany supported Victor; Disputes respecting the papacy. France and England acknowledged Alexander, who left Rome, and, residing in France, exercised the papal authority. The college of cardinals had separated into two parties. Three-and-twenty votes were given in favor of Orlando, the chancellor of the apostolic see; three for Octavian, cardinal priest of St. Cecily's. Each assumed the title and exercised the authority of pope, the former under the name of Alexander III., and the latter under that of Victor IV.

In 1161, Becket, at that time in France, was appointed archbishop of Canterbury, having been induced, against his own judgment, (for he saw dangers approaching,) to acquiesce, when the see was offered to him by Henry. Becket appointed archbishop of Canterbury. He sailed to England; the prelates and a deputation of the

monks of Canterbury assembled in the king's chapel at Westminster; every vote was given in his favor; the applause of the nobility testified their satisfaction, and Prince Henry, in the name of his father, gave the royal assent. Becket, who had been only deacon, was ordained priest by the bishop of Rochester; and the next day, having been declared free from all secular obligations, for he had fought as a soldier, he was consecrated by Henry of Winchester. It was a most pompous ceremony, for all the nobility of England, to gratify the king, attended in honor of his favorite. The ostentatious parade and worldly pursuits of the chancellor were instantly renounced by the archbishop, who, in the fervor of his conversion, prescribed to himself, as a punishment for the luxury and vanity of his former life, a daily course of secret mortification. His conduct was now marked by the strictest attention to the proprieties of his station. To the train of knights and noblemen, who had been accustomed to wait on him, succeeded a few companions selected from the most virtuous and learned of his clergy. His diet was abstemious; his charities were abundant; his time was divided into certain portions, allotted to prayer and study, and the episcopal functions. These he found it difficult to unite with those of the chancellor; and therefore, as at his consecration he had been declared free from all secular engagements, he resigned that office into the hands of the king.

For more than twelve months the primate appeared to enjoy his wonted ascendancy in the royal favor. But during his absence, the warmth of Henry's affection insensibly evaporated. The sycophants of the court, who observed the change, industriously misrepresented the actions of the archbishop, and declaimed in exaggerated terms against the loftiness of his views, the superiority of his talents, and the decision of his character. Such hints made a deep impression on the suspicious and irritable mind of the king, who now began to pursue his late favorite with a hatred as vehement as had been the friendship with which he had honored him. That which brought them into immediate collision was a controversy respecting the jurisdiction of the ecclesiastical courts.

These courts were privileged to try all offences committed by the clergy. The king desired to render clergymen amenable to

Henry changes his disposition toward the archbishop.



the civil tribunals. Becket and several other prelates resisted the monarch. After a protracted struggle between the crown and the church, a council was summoned to meet at Clarendon, to arrange the matters which were in dispute. In this assembly, John of Oxford, one of the royal chaplains, was appointed president by the king. His angry manner and threatening tone exasperated the primate, who ventured to express a wish that a clause saving the dignity of the clerical order might be agreed on. At this request, the indignation of the king was extreme; he threatened Becket with exile or death; the door of the next apartment was thrown open, and discovered a body of knights with their garments tucked up, and their swords drawn; the nobles and prelates besought the archbishop to relent; and two knights Templars, on their knees, conjured him to prevent, by his acquiescence, the massacre of all the bishops, which otherwise would certainly ensue. Sacrificing his own judgment to their entreaties rather than their arguments, he yielded, and on the following day the "Constitutions of Clarendon" were signed by the king, the prelates, and thirty-seven barons. The principal of these were the following:—I. It was enacted that the custody of every vacant archbishopric, bishopric, abbey, and priory of royal foundation, ought to be given, and its revenues during the occupancy, be paid to the king; and that the election of a new incumbent ought to be made in consequence of the king's writ, by the chief clergy of the church, assembled in the king's chapel, with the assent of the king, and with the advice of such prelates as the king might call to his assistance. II. By the second and seventh articles, it was provided that in almost every suit, civil or criminal, in which each or either party was a clergyman, the proceeding should commence before the king's justices, who should determine whether the cause ought to be tried in the secular or episcopal courts; and that in the latter case a civil officer should be present to report the proceedings, and the defendant, if he were convicted in a criminal action, should lose his benefit of clergy. III. It was ordered that no tenant in chief of the king, no officer of his household, or of his demesne, should be excommunicated, or his lands put under an interdict, until application had been made to the king, or, in his absence, to the grand

The ecclesiastical courts. A council meets at Clarendon.

The principal articles of the "Constitutions of Clarendon."

justiciary, who ought to take care that what belonged to the king's courts should be there determined, and what belonged to the ecclesiastical courts should be determined in them. IV. The next was also a custom deriving its origin from the Conquest, that no archbishop, bishop, or dignified clergyman, could lawfully go beyond the sea without the king's permission. Its object was to prevent complaints at the papal court, to the prejudice of the sovereign. V. It was enacted that appeals should proceed regularly from the archdeacon to the bishop, and from the bishop to the archbishop. The remaining articles are of minor importance. They confine pleas of debt, and disputes respecting advowsons, to the cognizance of the king's justices; declare that clergymen who hold lands of the crown, hold by barony, and are bound to the same services as the lay barons; and forbid the bishops to admit to orders the sons of *villeins*, without the license of their respective lords.

In great agony of mind, Becket reached Canterbury, where he condemned his late weakness, interdicted himself from the exercise of his functions, wrote to Alexander a full account of the transaction, and solicited absolution from that pontiff. It was believed that if he had submitted with cheerfulness at Clarendon, he would have recovered his former ascendancy over the royal mind; but his tardy assent did not allay the indignation which his opposition had kindled; and his subsequent repentance for that assent closed the door to forgiveness.

Soon afterward, Becket—for what particular purpose is not mentioned—waited on the king at Woodstock. The gates were closed against him; an indignity which awakened in his mind the most fearful misgivings. In this perplexity he repaired to Romney, one of his manors, and on two succeeding nights put to sea in a boat, with three companions; but the wind proved unfavorable on both occasions, and compelled him to return. It had been his intention to steal over to the French coast, and to consult the pontiff in person: taking, however, these failures for indications that God disapproved of the design, he returned to Canterbury, with the hope that, from the precautions which he had adopted, his secret would not transpire. But there was a traitor somewhere in his household. The

Becket repents of his conduct at the council.

Becket attempts to go to France.

intelligence had been conveyed to the court, and new fuel was added to the king's irritation.

The ruin of a single bishop now became the chief object that occupied and perplexed the mind of this mighty monarch. A series of charges was prepared; and the primate was summoned to a great council at Northampton. Henry determines to ruin the bishop.

He obeyed; and the king's refusal to accept from him the kiss of peace, admonished him of his danger. John of Oxford, a favorite clerk, presided; Henry himself performed the part of the prosecutor. He accused the archbishop of contempt of the royal authority, and brought forward several most oppressive pecuniary demands. Becket adopted the resolution of trusting for protection to the sacredness of his character. Early one morning he celebrated the mass of St. Stephen, the first martyr. It had been his intention to go from the altar to the court, attired as he was, in his sacerdotal vestments and pallium; but from this he was dissuaded by two knights Templars, who feared that it might be interpreted as an attempt at intimidation. Exchanging them, therefore, for his usual garments, he proceeded to the hall; and, at the door, taking the archiepiscopal cross from the bearer, entered with it in his hand, and followed by all the bishops. It was his object to remind the court that he was their spiritual chief and father; but Henry and the barons, surprised, perhaps awed, at the unusual spectacle, hastily withdrew to an upper apartment, to which, after a pause, they were followed by the rest of the bishops. The primate, thus left alone with his clerks, seated himself on a bench against the wall, and with calm and intrepid dignity awaited the result. Urged by the king, some bishops renounced Becket's authority, and the earl of Leicester was proceeding to pass sentence on him, but the primate refused to acknowledge the jurisdiction of the court, and said that he would appeal to the pope. He soon afterward left England for France. His first care was to visit the king of France, who received him with veneration, and a promise of protection; his next, to consult Pope The archbishop retires to France; visits the pope at Sens.

Alexander, who at that time resided in the city of Sens. There he was confronted by a deputation of English bishops and barons. They had arrived long before, and had improved the opportunity to prejudice, by their representations, the mind of the pontiff

against the archbishop, and to secure, by presents, friends in the college of cardinals. But the reading of the "Constitutions" closed the mouths of his adversaries. Alexander, having condemned in express terms ten of the articles, recommended the archbishop to the care of the abbot of Pontigny, and exhorted him to bear with resignation the hardships of exile. When Thomas surrendered his archbishopric into the hands of the pope, his resignation was hailed by a part of the consistory as the readiest means of terminating a vexatious and dangerous controversy; but Alexander preferred honor to convenience, and, refusing to abandon a prelate who had sacrificed the friendship of a king for the interests of the church, reinvested him with the archiepiscopal dignity.

Henry's attention was for some time occupied with the effort to quell an insurrection in Wales. He met with only partial success, and sullied his fame by the perpetration of cruelties on his prisoners. In 1166, he added the province of Bretagne to his dominions, by betrothing his son Geoffrey to the daughter of the duke of Bretagne.

Amid these transactions, the eyes of the king were still fixed on Becket; and, by his order, the punishment of treason was denounced against any person who should presume to bring into England letters of excommunication or interdict from either the pontiff or the archbishop. He confiscated the estates of that prelate, commanded his name to be erased from the liturgy, and seized the revenues of every clergyman who had followed him into France, or had sent to him pecuniary assistance. Pontigny belonged to the Cistercians, and Henry informed them that if they continued to afford an asylum to the "traitor," not one of their order should be permitted to remain within his dominions. The archbishop was compelled to quit his retreat; but Louis immediately offered him the city of Sens for his residence; and here, as he had done at Pontigny, Becket led the solitary and mortified life of a recluse.

When the antipope Victor died, Alexander, being established at Rome, became better able to assist Becket. Henry feared Alexander, and opened negotiations, but at an interview he refused to give the kiss of peace to the archbishop. The treaty was, however, some time afterward renewed; Henry became re-

conciled, at least in outward appearance, to Becket; promised him safety and peace in England; the restoration of his dignities; and also contracted to make compensation to the Church for the insults which had been offered to her, in the person of the primate. Becket, after an absence of six years, returned to England, accompanied by John, bishop of Oxford. He carried with him letters of excommunication against three prelates, for having officiated at the coronation of the son of Henry, and otherwise abetting the king. These prelates sent soldiers to seize the letters, but Becket, hearing of their intention, gave them to a messenger, who handed them publicly to the bishops, at which circumstance they were so indignant, that they went to Henry, in France, and endeavored as much as possible to rekindle discord between him and Becket.

Under the protection of his conductor, the primate reached Canterbury, where he was joyfully received by the clergy and people. Thence he prepared to visit Woodstock, the residence of the young Henry, to pay his respects to the prince, and to justify his late conduct; but the courtiers, who dreaded his influence over the mind of his former pupil, procured a peremptory order for him to return, and confine himself to his own diocese. He obeyed, and spent the following days in prayer and the functions of his station. Yet they were days of distress and anxiety. The menaces of his enemies seemed to derive importance from each succeeding event. His provisions were hourly intercepted; his property was plundered; his servants were beaten and insulted. On Christmas-day he ascended the pulpit; his sermon was distinguished by the earnestness and animation with which he spoke; at the conclusion he observed that those who thirsted for his blood would soon be satisfied, but that he would first avenge the wrongs of his Church, by excommunicating Ranulph and Robert de Broc, who for seven years had not ceased to inflict every injury in their power on him, on his clergy, and on his monks. On the following Tuesday, four knights, Reginald Fitzurse, William Tracy, Hugh de Moreville, and Richard Brito, arrived secretly in the neighborhood. They had been present in Normandy, when the king, irritated by the representations of the three bishops, had exclaimed, "Of the cowards who eat my bread, is there not one who will free me from

Henry becomes reconciled to Becket, who returns to England.

Four knights resolve to carry off or murder the primate

this turbulent priest?" and mistaking this passionate expression for the royal license, had bound themselves by oath to return to England, and either carry off or murder the primate. They assembled at Saltwood, the residence of the Brocs, to arrange their operations.

The next day, after dinner, when the archbishop was transacting business in a private apartment, it was announced that four knights wished to speak with him from the king. He ordered them to be admitted, and at the same time sent for the principal persons in his household, to be present. The knights entered

The conduct of the knights in the presence of the archbishop. very unceremoniously, and seated themselves apart on the floor. Becket, who pretended at first not to notice their entrance, casting his eyes upon them, saw that three of the four were well known to him, having been formerly in his service, and done homage to him. He saluted them, but the salute was returned with insult. They ordered him, as if they had such a commission from the king, to absolve the excommunicated prelates, and to make satisfaction to the young Henry, whom he had traitorously attempted to deprive of the crown. He replied with firmness, and occasionally with warmth, that if he had published the papal letters, it had been with the permission of his sovereign; that the ease of the archbishop of York had been reserved to the pontiff; that with respect to the other bishops, he was willing to absolve them, whenever they should take the accustomed oath of submission to the determination of the Church; and that, so far from wishing to take the crown from his former pupil, the young king, he called God to witness that he would, if it were in his power, heap additional crowns upon his head. They then declared that, if such were his resolve, he must quit England for ever. Neither he nor his could have peace in the king's dominions. "No," exclaimed the archbishop; "never again shall the sea lie between me and my Church. Here I am. If I am permitted to perform my duties, it is well; if not, I submit to the will of God. But how comes it that you, knowing what was heretofore between us, dare to threaten me in my own house?" "We shall do more than threaten," was the reply. Fitzurse then called upon the archbishop's men to give him back their homage; and ordered all present, in the king's name, to keep watch over him, that he did not escape. "Have

no fear of that," he exclaimed, following them to the door; "come when you may, you will find me here." The knights withdrew to a large house immediately opposite, where they armed themselves and their followers; and, to prevent a rescue, sent an order in the king's name to the mayor and his brethren, to preserve the peace in the city.

At the departure of the knights, the archbishop returned to his seat, apparently cool and collected. Neither in tone nor gesture did he betray the slightest apprehension, though The fortitude displayed by the archbishop. consternation and despair were depicted on every countenance around him. It was the hour of the evening service, and at the sound of the psalmody in the choir, a voice exclaimed, "To the church—it will afford protection." But Becket had said that he would await them there, and refused to move from the place. Word was now brought that the knights had forced their way through the garden, and made an entrance by the windows. A few moments later they were heard at no great distance, breaking down with axes a strong partition of oak which impeded their progress. In a paroxysm of terror the archbishop's attendants closed around him, and, notwithstanding his resistance, bore him with pious violence through the cloister into the church. The door was immediately closed and barred against the assassins, who were already in sight.

Becket walked leisurely along the transept, and was ascending the steps which led to his favorite altar, when he heard the cries of the knights, demanding admission at the door. Without hesitation, he ordered it to be thrown open, saying that He directs the doors of the church to be opened. the house of God should not be made a military fortress. Immediately his attendants, monks, and clergy, dispersed to conceal themselves, some behind the columns, others under the altars. Had he followed their example, he might have saved his life, for it was growing dark, and both the crypts, and a staircase before him, which led to the roof, offered places of concealment. But he turned to meet his enemies, and, stationing himself with his back against a column, between the altars of St. Mary and St. Bennet, waited their approach.

The four knights, and their twelve companions, rushed into the church, with drawn swords, and loud cries. "To me, ye king's men," shouted their leader. "Where is the traitor?" ex-

claimed Hugh of Horsey, a military sub-deacon, known by the characteristic surname of Manclere. No answer was returned; but to the question, "Where is the archbishop?" The heroic conduct of the prelate. Becket replied, "Here I am, the archbishop, but no traitor. What is your will?" They turned to him, and insisted that he should immediately absolve all whom he had placed under ecclesiastical censures; to which he replied that, until they had promised satisfaction, he could not. "Then die," exclaimed a voice. "I am ready," returned the prelate, "to die for the cause of God and the Church. But I forbid you, in the name of the Almighty God, to touch any one of my household, clerk or layman."

There seems to have been some hesitation on the part of the murderers. They would rather have shed his blood without the church than within its walls. An attempt was made by some of them to drag him away; but he resisted it with success, through the aid of a clergyman called Edward Grim, who threw his arms round the archbishop's waist. "Reginald," said Becket to Fitzurse, "how dare you do this? Remember that you have been my man." "I am now the king's man," replied the assassin, aiming a blow at the primate's head. Grim interposed his arm, which was broken and severed in two; still the sword passed through Becket's cap, and wounded him on the crown. As he felt the blood trickling down his cheek, he wiped it away with his sleeve, and having joined his hands, and bent his head in the attitude of prayer, said, "Into thy hands, O Lord, I commend my spirit." In this posture, with his face to his murderers, and without shrinking or speaking, he awaited a second stroke, which threw him on his knees and elbows. The third stroke was given by Richard Brito, with such violence that he cut off the upper part of the archbishop's head, and broke his own sword on the pavement. The murderers were retiring, when Hugh of Horsey, turning back, set his foot on the neck of the corpse, and drawing the brain out of the skull with the point of his sword, scattered it around. "Fear not," he said, "the man will never rise again." They returned to the palace, which they rifled, taking away with them spoil, as it was estimated, to the value of two thousand marks.

Thus, at the age of fifty-three, perished this extraordinary man,



a martyr to what he deemed to be his duty—the preservation of the immunities of the Church. The moment of his death was the triumph of his cause. His personal virtues and exalted station, the dignity and composure with which he met his fate, the sacredness of the place where the murder was perpetrated—all contributed to inspire men with horror for his enemies, and veneration for his character. The advocates of “the customs” were silenced. Those who had been eager to condemn, were now the foremost to applaud his conduct; and his bitterest foes sought to remove from themselves the odium of having been his persecutors. The cause of the Church again flourished; its liberties seemed to derive new life and additional vigor from the blood of their champion.

At the time of Becket’s murder, Henry was in Normandy. The news plunged him at once into the deepest melancholy. Shut up in his private closet, for three days he obstinately refused to take nourishment, or to admit the service of his attendants. From this state he was aroused, on the fourth day, by the importunities of his ministers; and to avert the papal indignation, five envoys were immediately despatched to Italy, with almost unlimited powers. Alexander refused to see them. His grief was not less real than that of the king; but it proceeded from a different cause. He attributed the murder to the lenity with which he had hitherto treated the adversaries of the primate; and that he might decide on his future conduct without being swayed by the interested advice of others, he secluded himself for eight days from the company of his most confidential friends. On the Thursday before Easter he gave audience to the envoys. They warmly asserted the innocence of their master. Alexander excommunicated in general terms the assassins, with all their advisers, abettors, and protectors; confirmed the interdict which had been laid on all the king’s dominions in Gaul; and appointed legates in France to take cognisance of the cause. This intelligence, more favorable than he had expected, was received with satisfaction by Henry; but as he was ignorant of the instructions and intentions of the legates, he deemed it prudent to withdraw from Normandy before their arrival. He landed in England in the beginning of August; two months were spent in

His death the triumph of his cause.

Henry, on hearing of the primate’s death.

The grief of the pope on receiving intelligence of the death of Becket.

the collection of a powerful army; and in October, 1171, a fleet of four hundred sail bore him to Waterford, in Ireland, where his presence, he alleged, was necessary to receive the submission of the natives; his real motive, if we may believe contemporary historians, was to elude with decency the visit of the legates.

That the ancient inhabitants of Ireland were chiefly of Celtic origin, is evident from the language still spoken by their descendants. Of their manners, polity, and religion we may safely judge from analogy. There can be no doubt that they lived in the same rude and uncivilized state in which their neighbors were discovered by the legions of Rome and the teachers of Christianity.

Ireland: St. Patrick: Irish literature. Though the gospel had been preached in Ireland at a more early period, the general conversion of the natives had been reserved for the zeal of St. Patrick. This celebrated missionary was born in the north-west of France, near Boulogne. He commenced his labors in the year 432, and after a life of indefatigable exertion, died at an advanced age in 472. His disciples appear to have inherited the spirit of their teacher; churches and monasteries were successively founded; every species of learning known at the time was assiduously cultivated. It was the peculiar happiness of these ecclesiastics to escape the visits of the barbarians, who in the fifth and sixth centuries depopulated and dismembered the western empire. When science was almost extinguished on the continent, it still emitted a faint light from the remote shores of Erin; strangers from Britain, Gaul, and Germany resorted to the Irish schools, and Irish missionaries established monasteries and imparted instruction on the banks of the Danube, and amid the snows of the Apennines. During this period, and under such masters, the natives were gradually reclaimed from the ignorance and pursuits of savage life; but their civilization was retarded by the opposite influence of their national institutions; it was finally arrested by the invasions of the Northmen, who, from the year 748, during more than two centuries, almost annually visited the island. These savages traversed it in every direction; went through their usual round of plunder, bloodshed, and devastation; and at last, occupying the seacoasts, formed settlements at the mouths of the navigable rivers. The result was the same in Ireland as in Britain and Gaul. Hunted by the invaders into the forests, and compelled to earn a precarious subsistence by

stealth and rapine, the natives forgot the duties of religion, lost their relish for the comforts of society, and quickly relapsed into the habits and vices of barbarism.

The national institutions just alluded to, as hostile to the progress of civilization, were tanistry and gavelkind. The law of tanistry regulated the succession to all dignities, The law of tanistry and gavelkind. from the highest to the lowest. It carefully excluded the sons from inheriting, as of right, the authority of their father; and the tanist, the heir apparent, was elected by the suffrages of the sept during the lifetime of the ruling chieftain. If the reigning family could not supply a fit person, the new tanist was selected from the next branch in the sept, and thus every individual could flatter himself that in the course of a few generations the chieftainry might fall to the lot of his own posterity. Gavelkind is that species of tenure by which lands descend to all the sons equally, and without any consideration to primogeniture. It prevailed in former ages among all the British tribes; and some relics of it, in an improved form, remain in England even at the present day. Among the Irish it existed as late as the reign of James the First, and still retained the rude features of the original institution. While it excluded all the females, both the widow and the daughters, from the possession of land, it equally admitted all the males.

When the natives, after a long struggle, assumed the ascendancy over the Danes, the restoration of tranquillity was prevented by the ambition of their princes, who, during more than a hundred years, contended for the sovereignty of the island. The ancient division of the kingdom into five provinces or kingdoms was still retained; but the nominal sovereignty over the whole, which for several generations had been possessed by the O'Neals, had of late been assumed by different chieftains, and was now claimed by the O'Connors, kings of Connaught. The seaports, inhabited chiefly by the descendants of the Ostmen, were places of some trade. Dublin is styled the rival of London; and the wines of Languedoc were imported in exchange for hides. But the majority of the natives shunned the towns, and The manners and customs of the natives. lived in huts in the country. They preferred pasturage to agriculture. Restraint and labor were deemed by them the worst of evils; liberty and indolence, the most desirable of

blessings. The children owed little to the care of their parents ; but, shaped by the hand of nature, they acquired, as they grew up, elegant forms, which, aided by their lofty stature and florid complexion, excited the admiration of the invaders. Their clothing was scanty, fashioned after the manner which to the eye of Giraldus appeared barbarous, and spun from the wool of their sheep, sometimes dyed, but generally in its natural state. In battle, they measured the valor of the combatants by their contempt of artificial assistance ; and when they beheld the English knights covered with iron, hesitated not to pronounce them devoid of real courage. Their own arms were a short lance, or two javelins, a sword called a skene, about fifteen inches long, and a hatchet of steel, called a "sparthe." The sparthe proved a most formidable weapon. It was wielded with one hand, but with such address and impetuosity, as generally to penetrate through the best-tempered armor. To bear it was the distinction of freemen ; and, as it was always in the hand, it was frequently made the instrument of revenge. They constructed their houses of timber and wicker-work, with an ingenuity which extorted the praise of the English. Their churches were generally built of the same materials ; and when Archbishop Malachy began to erect one of stone, the very attempt excited an insurrection of the people, who reproached him with abandoning the customs of his country, and introducing those of Gaul. In temper, the natives are described as irascible and inconstant, warmly attached to their friends, faithless and vindictive toward their enemies. Music was the acquirement in which they principally sought to excel ; and a Welsh writer, with all his partiality for his own country, has the honesty to assign to the Irish the superiority on the harp.

That the clergy of Ireland, in the sixth century, differed in some points of discipline from the clergy of the neighboring churches, is plain from the disputes respecting the time of Easter and the form of the tonsure : that they agreed in all points of doctrine is equally evident from the history of these very disputes, from the cordial reception of the Irish ecclesiastics in Gaul and Italy, and from the easy amalgamation of their rules with those of the continental monks.

The proximity of Ireland to England, and the inferiority of the natives in the art of war, had suggested the idea of conquest to

both William the Conqueror and the first Henry. Reasons to justify the invasion.  
 The task which they had abandoned was seriously taken up by Henry the Second. To justify the invasion of a free and unoffending people, his ambition had discovered that the civilization of their manners and the reform of their clergy were benefits which the Irish ought cheerfully to purchase with the loss of their independence. Within a few months after his coronation, John of Salisbury, a learned monk, and afterward bishop of Chartres, was despatched to solicit the approbation of Pope Adrian. The envoy was charged to assure his holiness that Henry's principal object was to provide instruction for an ignorant people, to extirpate vice from the Lord's vineyard, and to extend to Ireland the annual payment of Peter-pence; but, that as every Christian island was the property of the Holy See, he did not presume to make the attempt without the advice and consent of the successor of St. Peter. The pontiff, who must have smiled The pontiff assents to the king's request. at the hypocrisy of this address, praised in his reply the piety of his dutiful son; accepted and asserted the right of sovereignty which had been so liberally admitted; expressed the satisfaction with which he assented to the king's request; and exhorted him to bear always in mind the conditions on which that assent had been grounded. At the following Michaelmas, a great council was held to deliberate on the enterprise; but a strong opposition was made by the empress-mother and the barons; other projects offered themselves to Henry's ambition, and the papal letter was consigned to oblivion in the archives of the castle of Winchester.

Fourteen years after this singular negotiation, a few Welsh adventurers landed in Ireland, at the solicitation of one of the native princes. Dermot, king of Leinster, had several years before carried away by force Dervorgil, the Dermot: O'Ruarc. wife of O'Ruarc, prince of Breffny or Leitrim. The husband, to avenge his disgrace, claimed the assistance of Turlogh O'Connor, monarch of Ireland; and from this period Dermot and O'Ruarc adhered to opposite interests in all the disputes which agitated the island. Dermot was, in 1167, driven out of Ireland. The exile, abandoned by his countrymen, solicited the assistance of strangers. Passing through England to Aquitaine, he did homage for his dominions to Henry, and obtained permission to

enlist adventurers in his service. His offers were accepted by Strongbow, earl of Pembroke, and by two brothers, Robert Fitz-Stephen and Maurice Fitz-Gerald. Relying on their promises, Dermot returned to Ireland, and found, during the winter months, a secure asylum in the monastery of Ferns. In the beginning of the summer of 1169, Fitz-Stephen landed in Bannock Bay, accompanied or followed by one hundred and forty knights, sixty coats of mail, and three hundred archers. Dermot joined them with a body of natives, and by the reduction of Wexford, struck dismay into the hearts of his enemies. He then led his forces with success against Donald, the prince of Ossory. The ambition of Dermot now aspired to the sovereignty of the island. With this view he solicited reinforcements from England, and reminded Strongbow of his engagements. Reinforcements were sent, and Strongbow soon followed, with twelve hundred archers and knights. At the third assault Waterford was taken. Dermot eagerly marched against Dublin. It was carried by storm, and the victor testified by numerous donations his gratitude for the services of his auxiliaries. But while he was meditating new conquests, he was arrested by death; and Strongbow, who had previously married his daughter Eva, and had been appointed his successor, immediately assumed the royal authority. The most powerful efforts were now made to expel the strangers from Dublin. The former inhabitants, who had escaped under Aesculf the Ostman, attempted, with the aid of sixty Norwegian vessels, to regain the city. They were scarcely repulsed, when Roderic, king of Connaught, sat down before it. In the ninth week of the siege he was surprised by a sally from the garrison, and the multitude of his followers was completely dispersed. Lastly, O'Ruare, with the natives of Meath, undertook to avenge the cause of his country. He lost his son and the bravest of his associates.

When the Welsh adventurers first sailed to the aid of Dermot, Henry had viewed the enterprise with contempt; their subsequent success awakened his jealousy. As soon as he heard of the capture of Waterford, he forbade by proclamation any of his subjects to cross over to Ireland, and commanded all who had already joined in the invasion to return, under the penalty of forfeiture. Strongbow was alarmed, and

The landing of Fitz-Stephen, and the success of the adventurers.

knights, sixty coats of mail, and three hundred archers.

Henry's conduct in reference to the enterprise.

despatched Raymond to lay his conquests at the feet of his sovereign. The messenger was unable to procure an answer. Henry of Mountmaurice followed, and was equally unsuccessful. The earl, convinced of his danger, now adopted the advice of his friends, and, repairing to England, waited on Henry, at Newnham, in Gloucestershire. At first he was ignominiously refused an audience; and to recover the royal favor, renewed his homage and fealty, surrendered to Henry the city of Dublin, the surrounding localities, and the castles and harbors in his possession, and consented to hold the remainder of his lands in Ireland as tenant in chief of the English crown. With this the king was satisfied; the acquisitions of the adventurers had been transferred to himself; and he permitted Strongbow to accompany him to Milford Haven, where he embarked with five hundred knights, their esquires, and a numerous body of archers, on board a fleet of four hundred transports. He landed at Waterford, received during a hasty progress the homage of the neighboring princes, and directed his march toward Dublin. O'Connor only made a nominal submission, and the princes of Ulster obstinately preserved their independence: they would neither visit the king nor own his authority.

When, in the preceding year, Dermot let loose his foreign auxiliaries against his countrymen, the Irish bishops, surprised at their unexampled success, had assembled at Armagh, and looking on the strangers as the ministers of the divine wrath, had enacted that every slave who had been imported from England, should be immediately restored to his freedom. After the arrival of Henry, they held another synod at Cashel, under the presidency of the papal legate, the bishop of Lismore; signed a formal recognition of the king's sovereignty, and framed several canons for the reform of their Church. Henry was recalled to England, in the spring of 1172, by affairs of great urgency; and left the island without having added an inch of territory to the acquisitions of the original adventurers. At his departure the supreme command had been given by him to Hugh de Lacy, with the county of Meath for his fee; but during the war which afterward ensued between the king and his sons, De Lacy was summoned to the assistance of the father, and the government of the English conquests reverted

to Strongbow, who possessed neither the authority to check the rapacity of his followers, nor the power to overawe the hostility of the natives. In this state of things, Henry had

Henry has recourse to Pope Adrian's letter. A. D. 1174.

recourse to the letter which he had formerly procured from Pope Adrian. It had been forgotten during almost twenty years; now it was drawn from obscurity, and read with much solemnity to a synod of Irish bishops. In the following year, a treaty took place between Henry and Roderick O'Connor, by which the former was acknowledged king of Ireland, and the latter became "king under the English crown."

The sovereignty of Henry was not, however, acknowledged by many of the Irish chieftains, and the struggle continued. Henry appointed his son John "lord of Ireland," but he, after an inglorious rule of nine months, was recalled by his father. De Courey, who succeeded him, by repeated and laborious expeditions, preserved, if he did not extend, the English conquests; which comprised the maritime districts of Down, Dublin, Wexford, Waterford, and Cork, connected with each other by a long chain of forts. This was the period when the natives, had they united in the cause of their country, might in all probability have expelled the invaders. But they wasted their strength in domestic feuds.

It is now time to revert to the English history of Henry. In the spring of 1172, he went to France, as he had received inti-

Henry goes to France: takes an oath of his innocence of the murder of the archbishop.

mation that his solemn oath of being innocent of plotting the death of Becket, would prevent the threatened spiritual censures from being carried into execution; and, in the cathedral of Avranches, before the legates, bishops, barons, and people, with his hand placed on the book of the Gospels, he solemnly swore that he was innocent, both in word and deed, of the murder of the archbishop. This oath was taken spontaneously; but, as he could not deny that he had at least given occasion, by passionate expressions, to the project of the assassins, he consented to maintain during twelve months two hundred knights for the defence of the Holy Land, to serve in person, if the pope required it, for three years against the infidels, either in Palestine or Spain; to restore the lands and possessions belonging to the friends of the archbishop; to allow appeals, on taking reasonable security, from persons whom he suspected; and to abolish the customs hostile



to the liberties of the clergy, if any such customs had been introduced since his accession. Immediately after the oath, the king was solemnly absolved from all censures by the legates. The young king took the same oath, with the exception of those articles which regarded his father personally.

Henry next proceeded to arrange some matters connected with the rights of the clergy, and succeeded in obtaining peace on that subject. His tranquillity, however, was soon interrupted by quarrels originating in his own family. For his children, in their more early years, he had dis- The quarrels in Henry's family. played an affection bordering on excess; but, as they grew up, the indulgent parent was gradually changed into a jealous and despotic sovereign. Eleanor had borne him four sons, to each of whom his extensive dominions offered an ample inheritance. Henry, the eldest, had already been crowned king of England; the duchies of Aquitaine and Bretagne were settled on Richard and Geoffrey; and John, the youngest, though the courtiers called him "lackland" and "sansterre," was destined by his father to succeed to the lordship of Ireland. For reasons with which we are unacquainted, Henry had not permitted the consort of his eldest son to be crowned with her husband; and the omission was resented by Louis, as a marked and unpardonable insult both to himself and his daughter. To appease that monarch the ceremony was now repeated. Margaret was anointed and crowned together with Henry; and, soon afterward, the young king and queen paid a visit to her father at Paris. On their return, they required the immediate possession of England or Normandy. The demand was refused, and Henry's sons left him, accompanied by their mother. She was taken prisoner, and kept in close confinement, almost without intermission, till the king's death. At the same time, Henry had sent the archbishop of Rouen and the bishop of Lisieux to Paris, with instructions to solicit the return of his sons, and an offer to make the king of France umpire between him and them. His offer was refused; and the plans of the three princes soon began to be developed. Louis and the French barons, who had been summoned for the occasion, bound themselves by oath to aid with all their power the young Henry, in his attempt to obtain possession of England; while he, on his part, solemnly engaged never to make peace with his father with-

out the consent of the king and the nobility of France. Philip, earl of Flanders, who was present, and William, king of Scotland, who had sent his ambassadors, entered into the league. Henry collected an army of twenty thousand troops, hired from the continent, and solicited Alexander, in the most earnest manner, to shield with the papal authority the kingdom of England, "the fief of the Holy See, and the patrimony of St. Peter," from the unnatural attempts of his deluded children.

In the month of June, 1173, the confederates commenced their operations on the frontiers of Picardy, of the Vexin, and of Bretagne.

Henry, in Normandy, endeavored to defend that duchy; and his absence encouraged revolt in England. The Scots also poured down from the north, and the English crown became seriously endangered. Henry returned to England in 1174. His mind was deeply affected by the rebellion of his children, the perfidy of his barons, and the general combination of the neighboring princes against him.

Henry returns to England, and makes a pilgrimage to the tomb of Becket.

Such things, he had persuaded himself, were not in the ordinary course of nature; they could be no other than the effects of the divine wrath, which he had enkindled by his persecution of Archbishop Becket. The name of that prelate had been, in the preceding year, enrolled by the pope in the catalogue of the saints; and every part of Europe resounded with the report of miracles wrought at his shrine. Henry, to expiate his offence, secretly determined to make a pilgrimage to the tomb of the martyr. On the morning of the second day from his leaving Normandy, he landed at Southampton; and, without waiting to repose himself from his fatigue, began his journey toward Canterbury; rode all night, with no other refreshment than bread and water, and at the dawn of the morning descried at a distance the towers of Christ-church. Instantly dismounting from his horse, he put on the garb of a penitent, and walked barefoot toward the city. As he passed through the gateway, the spectators observed that each footstep was marked with blood. He entered the cathedral, descended into the crypt, and threw himself at the foot of the tomb; while the bishop of London ascended the pulpit, and addressed the spectators. The prelate conjured them to believe the assertions of a prince who thus

solemnly appealed to Heaven in proof of his innocence. After receiving castigation from the bishops and monks, Henry returned to the crypt, spent the night in prayer, and attended at the mass of the following morning. Then with a cheerful heart he remounted his horse, and rode to London; but the want of nourishment, joined to fatigue of mind and body, threw him into a fever, which confined him for a short time to his chamber.

In a few days, he received news of the defeat of the Scots, and the capture of their king. Henry eagerly communicated the important tidings to his courtiers; and at the same time exultingly remarked that this glorious event had occurred on the very morning on which he rose, repentant and reconciled, from the shrine of St. Thomas.

Henry soon returned to Normandy, as peace was restored in England. A treaty was agreed upon, and each of the young princes received possession of some fortresses, <sup>Treaty between</sup> Henry and his <sup>sons.</sup> consenting to do homage to their father. Henry refused to assent to the release of William, king of Scots, on any other terms than an acknowledgment that the crown of Scotland was held as a fief of the crown of England. The unfortunate monarch was confined in the strong castle of Falaise; but, that he might have the aid of his council, a deputation of Scottish prelates and barons was permitted to assemble and deliberate in the small town of Valognes. By their advice, and with their consent, William submitted to kneel to Henry.

Triumphant over his enemies, and at peace with his children, Henry was at last permitted to enjoy a few years of repose. He did not, however, waste his time in idleness, but <sup>Henry triumph-</sup> devoted his attention to two very important ob- <sup>ant over his ene-</sup> <sup>mies.</sup>jects, the investigation of the conduct of his officers, and the reform of the internal polity of his dominions. He spent much of his time in endeavoring to improve the constitutions of the various courts of justice, and established the custom of the judges going on a circuit twice each year. We have not space for the interesting details which Dr. Lingard introduces into this part of his work on the subject of the different legal modes of trial. The advanced student of history would do well to read with care, in the larger work, this important passage.

The eyes of all the European nations were directed at this

period to the disastrous condition of the Christians in Palestine.

The throne of Jerusalem. Baldwin the Fourth and Saladin.

The throne of Jerusalem, which the Crusaders had raised and supported at the expense of so much blood and treasure, was tottering on its basis, and the king, Baldwin IV., who was a minor, was no match for the talents and power of Saladin, who, by successive conquests, annually contracted the limits of the strangers, and threatened to eradicate them in a few years from the soil of Asia. Henry, in the presence of the papal legates, had solemnly sworn to visit the Holy Land. Whether he intended to perform this vow is uncertain; but the danger of exposing his dominions to the inroads of a powerful neighbor, furnished him with a decent plea for deferring its execution. Louis of France, however, made the proposal to accompany him in the expedition, but his death defeated this plan. Envoys from the East came to request that Henry would proceed to the Holy Land; but, to their disappointment, the king, in lieu of his personal services, only promised a subsidy of fifty thousand marks.

But, on the twenty-ninth of September, 1187, ninety-six years after its reduction by the first crusaders, Jerusalem was again sur-

The fall of Jerusalem.

rendered into the hands of the Mussulmans. The news of this mournful event plunged the Christian world into the deepest consternation. The aged pontiff died of a broken heart; William, king of Sicily, wore sackcloth for four days, and vowed to take the cross; as also did Henry of England and Philip of France. Henry's vow was prevented from being performed by fresh quarrels with his sons, arising from his interfering in some disputes of theirs, respecting the right of one to the homage of another. Prince Henry and Prince Geoffrey died about this time, the former being very penitent for having fought against his father.

Adelais, the daughter of Louis of France, had been betrothed to Richard, and intrusted to the care of his father. Henry kept

Adelais, daughter of Louis.

her in one of his castles, and jealously excluded his son from her company. Philip demanded Adelais for her husband; to his demand the pope added the threat of excommunication; but the wily monarch was able to defeat both the demands of the one and the threats of the other, by deceitful promises and evasive proposals. Philip and Richard

became more intimate than ever, and the latter did homage to the former for the French dominions of his father. Hostilities soon recommenced, and Richard, with most of the continental barons, joined the French king. Henry, compelled to flee from his enemies, successively abandoned Mans, his birthplace, the castle of Ambois, and the strong city of Tours. He soon submitted to all the demands of his enemies; to pay a sum of twenty thousand marks as an indemnity to Philip; to permit his vassals to do homage to Richard; and to place Adelais in the hands of one out of three persons then named, who, at the return of Philip and Richard from the crusade, should deliver her to one or other of these princes. He had stipulated that a list should be given to him of the barons who had joined the French king, a curiosity that planted a dagger in his breast; for the first name which caught his eye was that of his favorite son John. He read no further; but, returning the paper, departed for Chinon with a broken heart. At first he sank into a deep melancholy; this was followed by a raging fever, in the paroxysms of which he called down the vengeance of heaven on The sickness and death of Henry. the ingratitude of his children. Geoffrey, the chancellor, attended his sick bed. Henry thanked him for his affection, gave him, with his blessing, the ring from his own finger, and expressed a wish that he might be promoted to the archbishopric of York, or the bishopric of Winchester. On the seventh day, all hope of his recovery vanished; and at his request he was carried into the church, and received at the foot of the altar the last consolations of religion. The moment he expired, the bishops and barons departed, while the other attendants stripped the corpse, and carried off every thing that was valuable. He was buried, with little pomp, in the choir of the convent of Fontevraud, in the presence of his son Richard, and of a few knights and prelates.

By his queen Eleanor, Henry had five sons, of whom only two, Richard and John, survived their father. His daughters were Matilda, Eleanor, and Joan.

The stature of Henry was moderate, his countenance majestic, and his complexion florid; but his person was disfigured by an unseemly protuberance of the abdomen, which he sought to contract by the united aid of exercise and sobriety. Few persons have equalled him in abstemiousness, none perhaps in activity.

The character of Henry. He was perpetually in motion, on foot or on horseback. Every moment which could be spared from more important concerns he devoted to hunting; but no fatigue could subdue his restlessness; after the chase he would snatch a hasty repast, and then rising from the table, in spite of the murmurs of his attendants, keep them walking or standing till bedtime. During his education in the castle of Gloucester, he had acquired a knowledge of letters; and after his accession delighted in the conversation of the learned. Such was the power of his memory, that he is said to have retained whatever he had heard or read, and to have recognised at the first glance every person whom he had previously seen. He was eloquent, affable, facetious; uniting with the dignity of the prince the manners of the gentleman; but under this fascinating outside, he concealed a heart that could descend to the basest artifices, and sport with its own honor and veracity. No one would believe his assertions or trust his promises; yet he justified this habit of duplicity by the maxim that it is better to repent of words than of facts, to be guilty of falsehood than to fail in a favorite pursuit. Though possessed of ample dominions, and desirous of extending them, he never obtained the laurels of a conqueror. His ambition was checked by his caution. Even in the full tide of prosperity, he would stop to calculate the chances against him, and frequently plunged himself into real, to avoid imaginary evils. Hence, the characteristic feature of his policy was delay; a hasty decision could not be recalled; but he persuaded himself that procrastination would allow him to improve every advantage which accident might offer. In his own dominions, he wished, says a contemporary, to concentrate all power within his own person. He was jealous of every species of authority which did not emanate from himself, and which was not subservient to his will. His pride delighted in confounding the most haughty of his nobles, and depressing the most powerful families. He abridged their rights, divided their possessions, and married their heiresses to men of inferior rank. He was careful that his favorites should owe every thing to himself, and gloried in the parade of their power and opulence, because they were of his own creation. But if he was a bountiful master, he was a most vindictive enemy. His temper could not brook contradiction. Whoever hesitated to

obey his will, or presumed to thwart his desire, was marked out for his victim, and was pursued with the most unrelenting vengeance. His passion was said to be the raving of a madman, the fury of a savage beast. We are told, that in its paroxysms his eyes were spotted with blood, his countenance seemed of flame, his tongue poured a torrent of abuse and imprecation, and his hands were employed to inflict vengeance on whatever came within his reach; and that on one occasion, when Humet, a favorite minister, had ventured to offer a plea in justification of the king of Scots, Henry, in a burst of passion, called Humet a traitor, threw down his cap, ungirt his sword, tore off his clothes, pulled the silk coverlet from his couch, and, unable to do more mischief, sate down, and gnawed the straw on the floor. Hence, the reader will perceive that pride and passion, caution and duplicity, formed the distinguishing traits in his character.

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## CHAPTER XIV.

### Richard the First.

#### CONTEMPORARY SOVEREIGNS.

<i>Popes.</i>	<i>Scotland.</i>	<i>France.</i>
Clement III.	William.	Philip Augustus.
Celestin III.	<i>Germany.</i>	<i>Spain.</i>
Innocent III.	Frederic I.	Alphonso IX.
	Henry VI.	
	Philip.	

The succession of Richard—Massacre of the Jews—Crusade—Conquest of the Island of Cyprus—His Exploits in Palestine—His Return and Captivity—Troubles in England—The King is ransomed—His Death.—From A. D. 1189 to 1199.

THE reader is already acquainted with the character of Richard, the eldest of the surviving sons of the late king. It was remarked that when he first saw the corpse of his father, he burst into tears; and this token of natural affection was hailed by the spectators as a proof of remorse. His subse- The conduct of Richard.

quent conduct contributed more to turn the tide of public opinion in his favor. He dismissed his own councillors, and called to his service those who remained faithful to his father.

To take formal possession of his transmarine dominions, and to settle the existing differences between the crowns of France and England, detained Richard a few weeks on the continent. But he immediately ordered his mother Eleanor to be liberated from confinement, and invested her with the high dignity of regent. She ordered all freemen to take the oath of allegiance to Richard. At her invitation, the barons and prelates assembled at Winchester to receive their new sovereign on his arrival from Normandy, and on the third day of September, 1189, his coronation took place.

The commencement of Richard's reign was marked by several cruelties on the part of the people toward the Jews, who were unpopular on account of their charging a high rate of interest on debts. Several Jews were murdered in the streets of London, and at York many of them committed suicide rather than fall into the hands of the populace. During these massacres, Richard, who had vowed to take the cross, was in France, preparing for the crusade, to support the expense of which he had levied heavy taxes in England. The two kings had reciprocally bound themselves to commence their pilgrimage at the feast of Easter; on account of the premature death of the French queen, the time was deferred till midsummer. They met in the plains of Vezelai; and a gallant army of more than one hundred thousand men, in the double character of warriors and pilgrims, marched under their banners. At Lyons they separated, Philip taking the road to Genoa, Richard that to Marseilles; but both armaments soon joined again in the port of Messina, in Sicily. In this island the reigning king was called Tancred, a fortunate adventurer, who had seized the crown at the death of William, the late sovereign. He would gladly have declined the honor of receiving these powerful, and therefore dangerous guests. As he had never indeed incurred, he had no reason to fear, the resentment of Philip; but he had detained the dower of Joan, the sister of Richard and relict of William, and had refused to pay the legacies which that prince had left to Henry, Richard's father. All these were now imperiously de-



manded, and a violent contest took place, which was, after some fighting, terminated by a treaty between Tancred and Richard.

Richard and Philip, though jealous of each other, contrived to mask their real feelings, and spent the winter in apparent amity. But soon a subject of dissension arose. Richard had offered his hand to Berengaria, the daughter of Sancho, king of Navarre; and his mother Eleanor had arrived with the princess at Naples. Philip immediately brought forward the claim of his sister Adalais, who had for so many years been espoused to the king of England; but Richard declared that he would never marry her; and at length it was agreed that he should be released, on certain conditions, from his contract with the French princess. The king of France soon sailed for Acre. Richard accompanied him a few miles; then turning to Reggio, took on board Eleanor and Berengaria, and conducted them to Messina.

At length the king bade adieu to Sicily, with a fleet of fifty-three galleys, and one hundred and fifty other ships. Eleanor had returned to England; the queen of Sicily and the princess of Arragon accompanied the expedition. Nine months had already elapsed since Richard commenced his journey, and yet, though he was but a few days' sail from the Holy Land, the impetuosity of his character led him to squander away two more months in an enterprise against the king of Cyprus, for injuries done to some crusaders who had been wrecked.

The siege of Acre had now lasted the greater part of two years; and both the attack and defence had been conducted with the most obstinate bravery. The entrance of the port was watched by the galleys of Pisa; while the land army encamped round the town, in a semicircle, from sea to sea. But the besiegers were themselves besieged; and from the neighboring mountains Saladin, with an immense army, watched all their motions. The arrival of Philip, soon after his departure from Sicily, had diffused new vigor through the army. Military engines had been erected; the walls were battered and undermined; breaches were made; and nothing was wanting for the assault but the presence of Richard, with whom the king of France had engaged to share the danger and glory of the attempt.

Richard having overcome the king of Cyprus, joined the cru-

saders, and was received by them with enthusiastic expressions of joy. He immediately distributed presents with his accustomed prodigality; took into his service all who offered themselves, and ordered his battering engines to be erected against the walls. Though he was soon reduced to an extreme degree of weakness by an intermittent fever, his impatience led him to superintend the operations of the army. At length it was agreed that Acre should be surrendered to the Christians, and that the Turks, as a ransom for their lives, should restore the holy cross, and set at liberty one thousand five hundred captives. For the performance of these conditions, a term of forty days was assigned, and some thousands of hostages were detained in the fortress. The crusaders immediately took possession of the place, and Saladin removed his camp to a distance.

This conquest was fondly received by the nations of Christendom as a prelude to the delivery of Jerusalem; but the public joy was soon damped by the news that the king of France intended to withdraw from the army.

It was in vain that Richard, his own officers, and all the confederate chiefs urged him to change his resolution. He was equally unmoved by their entreaties or their reproofs; and, having sworn not to invade the territories of the king of England, he departed from Acre amid the groans and imprecations of the spectators.

The term fixed by the capitulation of Acre had nearly expired, and frequent messages were exchanged between Saladin and Richard. The sultan refused, under different pretexts, to execute the treaty, and the king declared that the hostages should pay the forfeit of his perfidy with their lives. The hostages were

led to the summit of a hill, in sight of the Saracen camp; the crusaders assembled in crowds to witness so glorious a spectacle; and at a signal given, two thousand seven hundred infidels fell under the swords of their butchers. At the same hour, and for the same cause, an almost equal number, the portion which had fallen to the lot of the king of France, were massacred on the walls of Acre by the troops under the duke of Burgundy.

After this bloody deed, which, inhuman as it was, seems not to have been contemplated with horror by either the Christians or Mohammedans of the age, Richard conducted his army, reduced

to thirty thousand men, from Acre to Jaffa. On his march he was harassed by Saladin, who, however, was soon afterward defeated with great loss, and ceased for a time to attack the Christian army.

To recover from the infidels the sacred spot in which the body of Christ had been buried, was the professed object of the crusaders; and to keep it fresh in their memory, these words, "The holy sepulchre," were proclaimed thrice The object of the crusaders. every evening by the voice of a herald throughout the camp. Richard concealed his sentiments from his associates; but he had now learned to doubt of the success of the enterprise, and in his letters to Europe most earnestly solicited supplies of both men and money. Still, with these impressions on his mind, he did not hesitate to lead the army toward the city. He even reached Ramla and Bethania, places within a short distance of Jerusalem; but the weather became rainy and tempestuous, a dearth of provisions was felt, sickness spread itself through the ranks, and many in despair abandoned the expedition. It was evident that he must either return to Jaffa, or instantly make the hopeless attempt of carrying by storm a place strongly fortified, and defended by an army more numerous than his own. The king for once listened to the suggestions of prudence, and bent his march back to the coast. The war had continued for some time longer with varying success, and at length an armistice was concluded for three years. Saladin insisted on the destruction of Ascalon, and in return granted to the pilgrims free access to the holy sepulchre.

Thus terminated this crusade. If Jerusalem could have been won by personal strength and bravery, it might have been won by Richard. His exploits, so superior to those of his fellows, threw a splendor around him which The termination of the crusade. endeared him to the Christians, and extorted the admiration of the infidels. He left Palestine disguised as a pilgrim, for he had fears of assassination. On his journey home he was discovered, seized, and imprisoned by the duke of Austria, whom he had insulted at Acre.

It is now time to return to England, which during the absence of the monarch had been impoverished by the rapacity of his minister, William de Longchamp, and harassed by the ambition

of his brother John. John had calculated on the event of the king's death, and had determined to seize the sceptre. There was indeed a child who had a better right to the succession, Arthur, the son of his elder brother, Geoffrey; but as the claim of the nearest heir had been overlooked on other occasions, the claim of Arthur might be overlooked at the death of Richard. Richard, however, favored the interests of his nephew: and in his treaty with Tancred, king of Sicily, and his letters to the pope, declared the young prince the apparent heir to the throne.

When, in 1193, the news arrived of Richard's departure from Acre, the people, by whom, with all his vices, he was beloved on account of his valor, were eager to behold the champion of the cross; but week after week the public expectation was alternately roused and disappointed. Rumors the most sinister and improbable had begun to prevail, when the secret of his detention was revealed by the copy of a letter to the king of France from Henry

Richard falls into the hands of the emperor of Germany.

the Sixth, the emperor of Germany. Richard had been shipwrecked on the coast of Istria, and taken prisoner by Leopold, duke of Austria, from whom Henry purchased the royal captive for the sum of sixty thousand pounds. John, the king's brother, repaired in haste to Paris, surrendered to Philip some portions of Normandy, did him homage for the rest of Richard's continental possessions, and returning to England, assembled an army to contend for the crown, but was unsuccessful.

Longchamp, the chancellor, who was exiled by John, was the first to discover the prison of Richard, and after some time succeeded in getting the emperor to enter into terms respecting the release of the English monarch. The prospect of liberty revived the spirits of Richard, who despatched Longchamp to England, with a letter to the council of regency. By their orders, a tax of twenty shillings was imposed on every knight's fee; the plate of the churches was sold or redeemed; one-fourth of every man's income was extorted from the clergy and laity; and all were required to make the king such presents as might deserve his gratitude. Part of the stipulated ransom was paid,

The king is ransomed, and returns to England.

security given for the remainder, and the English king returned to his dominions.

Though Richard now breathed the air of liberty, his heart could not be at ease till he had chastised the perfidy of the French monarch, for his having favored John. Two short months were all that he could spare to his English subjects, and these were employed, not in repairing the evils caused by his absence, but in devising means to extort more money from those who had been already impoverished by the amount of his ransom. He next took steps to cause John to be outlawed. That prince, whose pusillanimity was equal to his ambition, implored on his knees, on Richard's arrival in Normandy, the forgiveness of a sovereign whom he had so cruelly offended. But he had secured a powerful intercessor in the queen-mother, at whose request Richard received him into favor, though he sternly refused to restore to him either his lands or his castles.

War raged for some time between Richard and Philip, without any important results, the people of England being very much discontented at the taxation required for the contest.

It was Richard's fate to perish in an ignoble quarrel with one of his barons. A treasure had been discovered on the estate of Vidomar, viscount of Limoges, and though a part had been offered to satisfy the king, he demanded the whole. On the refusal of Vidomar, Richard besieged his castle of Chaluz, and contemptuously rejected the conditional offer of surrender made by the garrison. It chanced, as he rode round the walls in company with Marchadee, one of his generals, that an arrow wounded him in the left shoulder. The signal for assault was immediately given; the castle was taken by storm; and, with the exception of Gourdon, the archer who had wounded the king, the captives were ordered to be hanged as robbers who had detained the property of their sovereign. An unskilful surgeon now extracted the head of the arrow, and symptoms of mortification soon warned the king of his approaching dissolution. He sent for his confessor, received the sacraments with sentiments of compunction, and, ordering Gourdon into his presence, gave him his liberty, with one hundred shillings, to take him home. But Marchadee secretly detained the unhappy youth, and ordered him to be flayed alive. Richard expired in the year 1199, in the forty-second year of his age. His body was buried at Fontevraud, at

Richard's first  
measures on his  
return.

Richard wounded  
at the castle of  
Chaluz.

The death of  
Richard.

the feet of his father; his lion-heart (the epithet had formerly flattered him) he bequeathed to the citizens of Rouen, in gratitude for their loyalty and attachment.

To a degree of muscular strength which falls to the lot of few, Richard added a mind incapable of fear. Hence, in the ancient annalists, he towers as a warrior above all his contemporaries. Nor was this pre-eminence conceded to him by the Christians alone. Even a century after his death, his name was employed

The character of Richard. by the Saracen cavalier to chide his horse, and by the Saracen mother to terrify her children.

But when we have given him the praise of valor, his panegyric is finished. His laurels were steeped in blood, and his victories purchased with the impoverishment of his people. Of the meanness to which he could stoop to procure money, and the injustices into which he was hurried by the impetuosity of his passions, the reader has found numerous instances in the preceding pages. The only benefits which the nation received, in return for the immense sums which it had furnished to the king, in his expedition to Palestine, for his ransom from captivity, and in support of his wars in France, were two legislative charters. By one of these, he established uniformity of weights and measures throughout the realm; by the other, he mitigated the severity of the law of wrecks. Formerly it had been held that, in cases of shipwreck, unless the vessel were repaired by the survivors within a given time, it became, with the cargo, the property of the crown, or of the lord of the manor, having right of wreck. The injustice of this custom was mitigated by Henry I., who exempted from forfeiture every ship from which a single mariner or passenger had escaped alive; but after his death, under the pretence that the consent of the baronage had not been obtained, the ancient claim was revived and exercised, till Henry II. enacted, that if even a beast escaped by which the owner could be ascertained, he should be allowed three months to claim his property; and by Richard it was added, that if the owner perished, his sons and daughters, and in their default, his brothers and sisters, should have a claim in preference to the crown.

## CHAPTER XV.

John,

*Surnamed Sansterre, or Lackland.*

## CONTEMPORARY SOVEREIGNS.

<i>Popes.</i>	<i>Scotland.</i>	<i>France.</i>
Innocent III.	William.	Philip Augustus.
Honorius III.	Alexander II.	
	<i>Germany.</i>	<i>Spain.</i>
	Philip.	Alphonso IX.
	Otho IV.	Henry I.

The Accession of John—Captivity and Death of his Nephew—Dispute with Pope Innocent—Interdict—The King's submission—Magna Charta—Civil War—The offer of the Crown to Louis—The Death of John.—From A. D. 1199 to 1216.

RICHARD had left no legitimate issue. In the strict order of hereditary succession, the crown at his death should have devolved to his nephew Arthur, the son of Geoffrey, and duke of Bretagne, a boy in the twelfth year of his age. When Richard lay on his death-bed, John was present; the claim of Arthur, though formerly admitted by the king, was forgotten; and the expiring monarch is said to have declared his brother successor to his throne, and heir to one-third of his property. John immediately received the homage of the knights present, hastened to take possession of Chinon, where Richard had deposited his treasures, and proceeded thence into Touraine, Maine, and Anjou, the ancient patrimony of the Plantagenets. To his disappointment, the natives declared in favor of his nephew Arthur, and were supported in that declaration by the promise of aid from the king of France. In Normandy, however, his friends had secured every voice in his favor; and at Rouen he received the ducal coronet and sword from the hands of the archbishop. In Poitou and Aquitaine, he was equally fortunate. Respecting the throne of England, a national council was held at Northampton, where John's claim was admitted, on

hearing which he repaired to England, and was crowned, with the usual solemnity, at Westminster.

The French kings had long cast a wishful eye toward the provinces possessed by the English monarchs in France. If the ambition of Philip shrunk before the superior prowess of Richard, it expanded again at the accession of his weak and pusillanimous brother. With Arthur in his possession, he determined to fight his own battles, while he pretended to support the cause of an injured orphan; and, having conferred the sword of knighthood on the young prince, he traversed Normandy, burnt Evreux, and placed garrisons in the fortresses of Anjou, Maine, and Touraine. An uninteresting war ensued; hostilities, at the solicitation of the cardinal Peter of Capua, were suspended by armistice, and the armistice terminated in a peace, which did little honor to either of the two monarchs. Philip sacrificed the interests of Arthur, acknowledged John for the rightful heir to his late brother, and compelled the young prince to do homage to his uncle for the duchy of Bretagne.

John had been married about twelve years before this period, but, wishing to contract a high alliance, he obtained a divorce. He immediately sent ambassadors to Lisbon, to demand the princess of Portugal; but, before he could receive an answer, he saw by accident Isabella, daughter to Aymar, count of Angouleme, a young lady who in her early years had been publicly promised and privately espoused to Hugh, count of La Marche. The king was captivated by her beauty; the glare of a crown seduced the faith of the father and his daughter; and the unexpected marriage of Isabella and John deprived the princess of Portugal of a husband, the count de La Marche of a wife. The complaints of the one and the threats of the other were equally disregarded. John conducted his bride in triumph to England, and was crowned with her at Westminster by the primate. The next year the same ceremony was repeated at Canterbury, on the festival of Easter.

De la Marche appealed to the justice of Philip, nor was that prince sorry that the tergiversation of John afforded him a pretext for humbling so powerful a vassal. The provisions of the late treaty were instantly forgotten. Philip received the homage of Arthur, for Bretagne,

Hostilities between France and England.

John marries Isabella.

Hostilities between Philip and John.



Anjou, Maine, and Touraine; the discontented barons hastened to join his banner; fortress after fortress surrendered to the confederates; and the heart of John sank in despondency, when an unexpected event arrested the progress of his enemies, and gave him a temporary superiority. Eleanor, the queen-mother, was lodged in the castle of Mirabeau, in Poitou, and was besieged by Arthur. John flew to her relief, and routed the enemy, who came out to oppose him. Among the captives was the young duke of Bretagne, whom he placed under a strong guard in the castle of Falaise. Arthur soon was transferred to the castle of Rouen, and confined in a dungeon of the new tower. Within a few months he disappeared. Report ascribed his fate to the dagger of his uncle; but the king of England could surely have hired an assassin, without actually dipping his hands in the blood of a nephew. The Bretons immediately assembled, and swore to be revenged. The bishop of Rennes then hastened to Paris, to accuse the English king of the murder; and Philip gladly summoned him to prove his innocence in the presence of the French peers. John, however, refused; and the court pronounced judgment that he should forfeit all the lands which he held by homage.

John, on the disappearance of his nephew, had come over to England, was crowned a second time by Archbishop Hubert, at Canterbury, and immediately returned to Normandy. The arms of Philip succeeded. The Normans submitted to that monarch; Anjou, Maine, and Touraine followed the example of Normandy; and thus, in 1204, by the guilt, or indolence, or bad fortune of John, were these extensive and opulent provinces reannexed to the French crown, after a separation of two hundred and ninety-two years. John soon afterward made an attempt to recover his continental dominions, but a negotiation took place, which resulted in an armistice for two years.

John was shortly afterward involved in a dispute with the pope, respecting the nomination of bishops. On the death, in 1205, of Hubert, archbishop of Canterbury, the junior part of the monks assembled clandestinely, in the night, and placed Reginald, their sub-prior, on the archiepiscopal throne. To this election they were aware that a strong opposi-

Arthur taken prisoner, and is supposed to have been assassinated.

The success of the arms of Philip.

John's dispute with the pope.

tion would be made. They had not asked the royal license; and had proceeded without the concurrence of the episcopal body. Their only hope of success depended on the approbation of the apostolic see. Reginald was accordingly sent to Rome. He was quickly followed by a deputation from the bishops of the province of Canterbury, with a protest against his election. In England, it was the determination of the king to place the bishop of Norwich on the archiepiscopal throne. He was chosen, and messengers were despatched to Rome, with the necessary documents in support of his right.

The pope annulled both elections, and caused Cardinal Langton, an Englishman, resident at Rome, to be elected. John was incensed at this, and avowed his determination that Langton should never set his foot in England, in the character of primate.

The die was now cast, and the quarrel became a trial of strength between the power of the king and that of the pontiff.

The kingdom placed under an interdict. The latter resolved to proceed step by step, and began by laying the whole kingdom under an interdict. The churches were closed; no bell was tolled; no service was solemnly performed; the administration of the sacraments, except to infants and the dying, was suspended; and the bodies of the dead were interred silently, and in unconsecrated ground. This sudden extinction of the forms and aids of religion struck the people with horror. John, amid the general gloom, wore an air of serenity, and even of cheerfulness. For some time he affected to despise the consequences of the interdict and the menaces of the pontiff; and his cause derived a temporary lustre from some successes over the Scottish king, and some victories in Ireland and Wales.

When the interdict had lasted a year, the pope fulminated against John a bull of excommunication; but the king maintained so rigorous a watch at the ports, that the sentence could not be officially published in England; and his theologians maintained that, till it were published, it could have no effect. To

John is said to have solicited the aid of Mohammed al Nassir. fortify himself against the pope, he is said to have solicited the aid of Mohammed al Nassir, who had assumed the usual appellation of the Emir al Moumenim, and by his conquests in Spain had threatened to extirpate Christianity from the south of Europe. John is said to

have made an offer of the English crown to the emir, and a promise to embrace the Mohammedan faith; but he received no assistance from Mohammed.

Four years at length elapsed, and the king's obstinacy was still unsubdued. Innocent had recourse to the last effort of his authority. He absolved the vassals of John from their oaths of fealty, and exhorted all Christian princes and barons to unite in dethroning the king. John, however, might have laughed at the impotent resentment of Innocent, had no monarch been found willing to undertake the execution of the sentence. The pope applied to the king of France. Philip lent a ready ear to proposals so flattering to his ambition, and a numerous army was summoned to meet at the mouth of the Seine.

John crossed to France, and having inflicted much injury on Philip's army, returned to England. He soon, however, entered into an arrangement with the pope, and he subscribed an instrument similar to one which he had formerly rejected. By this it was stipulated, among other matters, that Langton should be admitted to the archbishopric of Canterbury, and that on the fulfilment of the conditions, the sentences of interdict and excommunication should be revoked, and the exiled bishops should swear, at the king's pleasure, to be true and faithful subjects. This happened on the thirteenth of May, 1213. The next day was spent by John, his council, and the papal minister in secret and anxious consultation. On the following morning, in the church of the Templars, the king, surrounded by the prelates, barons, and knights, put into the hands of Pandulph, the legate, a charter subscribed by himself, one archbishop, one bishop, nine earls, and three barons. This instrument testified that John, as an atonement for his offences, granted to God, to the holy apostles Peter and Paul, to Pope Innocent, and Innocent's rightful successors, the kingdom of England and the kingdom of Ireland, to be holden by himself and the heirs of his body of the bishop of Rome in fee, by the annual rent of one thousand marks. He then took the oath of fealty in the usual manner. From this moment, the barons began to demand the grant of their liberties. On John's refusal, they appealed by their agents to

The course pursued by Innocent.

John enters into arrangements with the pope, and surrenders the kingdom into his hands.

the pontiff. Innocent, however, supported the cause of his vassal; and the barons transferred their allegiance to Louis, the son of Philip.

At the news of John's reconciliation with Rome, Philip's hopes of acquiring the English crown, the dream of his ambition, melted away, and his discontent exhausted itself in invectives against the pontiff. To his council he proposed to continue the enterprise, but was interrupted by Ferrand, earl of Flanders, a secret ally of the English monarch. The French king invades Flanders. The French king invaded Flanders; Ferrand received aid from England, and, after a short campaign, Philip returned to France. John now determined to carry the war into France, and summoned his retainers to meet him at Portsmouth. But the principal barons refused to accompany him. He was still under excommunication. He had not fulfilled the conditions of his treaty with the pope, which they had sworn that he should fulfil. John was compelled to submit. He invited the exiles to return, promised them his favor and protection, and sent to them a sum of money for their present necessities. Langton, the bishops of London, Ely, Hereford, Lincoln, and Bath, the prior and monks of Christ-church, and their companions, gladly accepted the invitation. They met the king at Winchester; John and the cardinal embraced, and the sentence of excommunication was publicly revoked at the entrance of the cathedral.

The king now hastened again to Portsmouth, ordered the troops to embark, and with a favorable wind set sail for the French coast. He reached the island of Jersey with a few ships, but found that none of the barons had followed him. They held meetings at St. Albans and in London, at one of which Archbishop Langton, taking advantage of their enthusiasm, administered to them an oath, by which they bound themselves to each other to conquer or die in the defence of their liberties. The oath of the barons.

In the mean time, John had landed, breathing revenge against the traitors who had abandoned their sovereign. He determined to punish their disobedience by military execution, but was dissuaded by the primate. Soon afterward, John sailed to the coast of Poitou, and penetrated to the city of Angers. There he was found by the messengers from Rome; who, having received his

oath that he would observe the papal award respecting the losses sustained by the bishops, hastened to England, and revoked the interdict, after it had lasted more than six years.

John immediately marched toward Bretagne, but The interdict revoked.

his progress was arrested by the arrival of Louis, the son of Philip, and from that moment both armies, as it were by mutual consent, suffered the war to linger, and waited the issue of Philip's campaign in the north. One hundred thousand men poured in at the north of France. To this torrent Philip could not oppose half the number of combatants; but the deficiency was supplied by the spirit and gallantry of his followers, the flower of the chivalry of France. The armies met at Bouvines,

Battle at Bouvines.  
an obscure village on the river Marque, between Lisle and Tournay, where Philip gained the victory, and took the earl of Flanders prisoner.

The defeat at Bouvines broke all the measures of John, who solicited and obtained from Philip a truce for five years, and returned from an inglorious campaign in France to a still more inglorious contest in England.

The barons now held numerous meetings. The different liberties for which they were to contend were accurately defined; and it was determined to demand them in a body when The meetings of the barons. A. D. 1214.

the king should hold his court at the festival of Christmas. At one of these meetings, before they separated, they advanced singly to the high altar, and took a solemn oath to withdraw their allegiance, if John should reject their claims; and to levy war upon him till he should grant them. On the feast of the Epiphany they presented their demands. The king at first assumed an air of superiority, and insisted that they should recede from such claims. Almost all obstinately refused. He had then recourse to delay, and offered to give them a satisfactory answer at the following Easter. This proposal, after much hesitation, was accepted.

The interval was spent by the king in endeavors to fortify himself against this formidable combination. Both parties had despatched messengers to Rome, to solicit the protection of their feudal superior. But it was in vain that the barons appealed to the gratitude of Innocent; he deemed it his interest and duty to support the cause of his vassal.

In Easter-week, the barons assembled at Stamford, and with two thousand knights, their esquires and followers, proceeded to Brackley. The king lay at Oxford, and commissioned the archbishop of Canterbury and the earls of Pembroke and Warrenne to go and ascertain their demands. They brought him back a paper of the same import with that which had been presented to him before; and, as soon as he had heard it read, he exclaimed, "They might as well have demanded my crown. Do they think I will grant them liberties which will make me a slave?" After some ineffectual attempts by John at a settlement of the questions in dispute, the barons proclaimed themselves the army of God and his holy Church, and elected Robert Fitz-Walter for their commander. They took several important places, and entered London without opposition. John, fearing for his crown, agreed to a conference. Runnymede, situated between Staines and Windsor, was the scene of this important negotiation. On the one side stood Fitz-Walter, and the majority of the barons and nobility of England; on the other, sat the king, accompanied by eight bishops, Pandulph, the papal envoy, and fifteen gentlemen. On this occasion *MAGNA CHARTA* was agreed to. This charter is celebrated in history as the supposed basis on which are founded the liberties of Englishmen. It is not, however, to be considered as forming a new code of law, or even as an attempt to inculcate the great principles of legislation. Its framers meant not to disturb or improve the national jurisprudence; their only object was to correct the abuses which had grown out of the feudal customs under the despotism of the first William and his successors.

The meeting at Runnymede: Magna Charta obtained; June 15, 1215.

The first article of the charter regarded the Church of England, to which John granted that it should possess all its liberties whole and inviolate. Other articles corrected several abuses which had crept into the feudal system. The principal clause was one which guaranteed to the subject freedom from the injustice of any unfair practices in legal tribunals. The full account of *MAGNA CHARTA*, in Dr. Lingard's work, should be read by those who wish to understand the minute details of this great historical document.

The articles of this charter.

The barons had left Runnymede in triumph, but their joy was

soon clouded with suspicion of the insincerity of John. The contest was renewed on the arrival of foreign soldiers, whom John, contrary to treaty, had invited. The barons obtained possession of Rochester Castle, which the king besieged and took. While the king was employed in the siege of Rochester, he received the pleasing intelligence that, according to a request which he had made, the charter had been annulled by the pontiff, The charter annulled by the pontiff. on the ground of having been obtained by force.

The pope wrote to the barons, exhorting them to submit, requesting them to lay their claims before him, in the council to be held at Rome, and promising that he would induce the king to consent to whatever might be deemed just or reasonable, and would take care that all grievances should be abolished, that the crown should be content with its just rights, and the clergy and people should enjoy their ancient liberties. Finding that his exhortations and his promises were equally fruitless, he ordered Langton to excommunicate the disobedient; but that prelate refused; in punishment, he was suspended from the exercise of the archiepiscopal functions.

War now recommenced with vigor, and the king of Scots entered England, to assist the barons. John proceeded to the north, and never, we are told, since the exterminating expedition of the first William, had this War between John and his barons. district been exposed to such horrors as it now experienced from the vengeance of the king of England. He himself gave the example, and with his own hands set fire in the morning to the house in which he had rested the last night. The castles, towns, and villages were given to the flames. Wherever the royal forces could penetrate, the inhabitants fled to the forests and mountains; the labors of agriculture were suspended; and the only markets were held in the churchyards, which, as they possessed the right of sanctuary, were generally, but not always, respected by the marauders.

The barons now determined to offer the crown to Louis, the eldest son of the king of France. He was allied to the family of Plantagenet by his marriage with the niece of The barons offer the crown of England to Louis of France. John. A fleet, carrying a numerous band of French knights, soon ascended the Thames, and a letter from Louis assured the confederates, that he would visit

them at Easter with a powerful army. The pope directed Louis to desist, but that prince refused, and was excommunicated. Soon afterward, he commanded the archbishop of Sens to fulminate a similar sentence against Philip, the father of Louis; but the French bishops, in a synod at Melun, resolved to disregard the papal mandate, on the ground that the pope had not been truly informed. That Innocent would have launched his anathemas against their disobedience cannot be doubted; but in a few weeks that active and fearless pontiff expired: his death suspended all ecclesiastical proceedings at Rome; and John saw himself deprived of his most powerful friend, at a moment when he stood in the greatest need of his protection.

At the appointed time, Louis departed from Calais with a fleet of six hundred and eighty sail. The weather was stormy, and dispersed the ships; many were taken by the mariners of the cinque ports; and John with a numerous army lay in the vicinity of Dover. But his heart failed him at the approach of the enemy: he feared that his mercenaries might desert; decamped on a sudden, and ravaging the country as he passed, retired through Winchester to Bristol, where he was joined by the legate. The French prince, having waited three days for the stragglers, landed at Sandwich, besieged and reduced the castle of Rochester, and hastened his march to the capital. He was received in procession by the barons and citizens, and conducted to St. Paul's, where, after he had made his prayer, he received the homage of his new subjects, and took a solemn oath to govern them by good laws, to protect them against their enemies, and to reinstate them in their former rights and possessions. By his affability, Louis charmed the natives, and won their confidence by appointing Simon Langton, the brother of the primate, to the office of the chancellor. The campaign was opened with the fairest promise of future success. All the counties in the neighborhood of the capital submitted; the men of Lincolnshire and Yorkshire, with the king of Scots, declared in his favor; the foreigners who had hitherto swelled the army of John, began, with the exception of the natives of Gascony, either to join his standard, or to return to their homes; and at his summons several of the royal barons, perhaps through fear of his power, perhaps with the view of spreading disaffection

Louis departs  
from Calais: John  
retires at his ap-  
proach.



among his adherents, hastened to do him homage and to swear fealty. Still the spirits of John were upheld by the arrival of the legate Gualo, who fought most manfully with his spiritual weapons, and by the knowledge that, if his rival had gained possession of the open country, yet every fortress of importance was garrisoned by his own troops. To reduce these fortresses was the next object of the confederates. Louis besieged the castle of Dover; the barons, under the earl of Nevers, that of Windsor. The prince had received from his father a military engine of the most formidable description, called the *mal-voisin*, or bad neighbor, with which he expected to make a breach in the walls. But the garrison kept him at too great a distance, compelled him to turn the siege into a blockade, and employed him in this useless project during the space of four months. The tediousness of the siege was partially relieved by the arrival of a royal vassal, Alexander, king of Scots, who, in consequence of a summons to that purpose, after the reduction of Carlisle, marched through the heart of the kingdom, within sight of John, visited Louis at Dover, obtained a confirmation of the cession made to him by the barons, did homage in London, and returned to his own country without molestation.

While his enemies lay before the two castles, the king had improved the opportunity to pillage their estates, and intercept their supplies. He was at Wallingford, when the barons, Hostilities continue between John and Louis. by the persuasion of the earl of Nevers, whom they afterward charged with perfidy, undertook to surprise him. They raised the siege, and marched rapidly to Cambridge; but the king, anticipating their object, had already passed through that city, and retired as far as Stamford. Foiled in this attempt, they returned to join Louis at Dover, while John reduced Lincoln, and again distributed among his followers the lands belonging to the confederates. The royal cause began to assume a more promising aspect. The two last months had been wasted in idleness by the French prince; the men of the cinque ports perpetually intercepted his supplies from France; associations against him had been formed in Hampshire, Sussex, Surrey, and Kent; and John, to invigorate the efforts of his friends, had not been sparing of promises to enlarge the privileges of those who were free, and to bestow liberty and rights on those who were not. Louis, by

grants to his own countrymen, particularly of the earldom of Winchester to the count de Nevers, and of that of Lincoln to Gilbert de Gand, had alarmed the English barons; and it was whispered that the viscount de Melun had confessed on his death-bed that he had sworn, with the prince and fifteen others, to treat the natives as men whose perfidy to their late, was an earnest of future perfidy to their new sovereign. They became jealous of their allies; several barons and knights actually joined, and forty others, on the promise of pardon, offered to join the royal standard. The king returned from Lincoln, through Grimsby and Spalding, to Lynn, a town strongly attached to his interests, and the general depôt for his supplies and treasures. Thence he marched to Wisbeach, and resolved to proceed across the Wash from the Cross Keys to Fossdike. The army had already reached the land; but looking back, John beheld a long train of wagons and

He loses his treasures by the afflux of the tide.

sumpter-horses, which carried his jewels, insignia, and money, swallowed up in a whirlpool, caused by the afflux of the tide and the current of the Welland. With a heavy heart he proceeded to the Cistercian convent of Swinhead, where fatigue, or anxiety, or poison, or a surfeit, (for all these causes are mentioned,) threw him into a dangerous fever. He set out, however, in the morning, but was obliged to exchange his horse for a litter, and was conveyed with difficulty to the castle of Sleaford. There he passed the night, and dictated a letter to the new pope, Honorius III., recommending in the most earnest terms the interest of his children to the protection of that pontiff. The next day conducted him to the castle of Newark; where, sensible of his approaching fate, he sent for a confessor, appointed his eldest son Henry to succeed him, and executed a short will, by which he left the disposal of his pro-

His death, October 19th, 1216.

perty to the discretion of certain trustees, and his body to be buried at Worcester, near the shrine of St. Wulstan. He expired three days later, in the forty-ninth year of his age, and the seventeenth of his reign.

The character of John stands before us polluted with meanness, cruelty, perjury, and murder; uniting with an ambition which rushed through every crime to the attainment of its object—a pusillanimity which often, at the sole appearance of opposition, sank into despondency. Arro-

The character of John.

gant in prosperity, abject in adversity, he neither conciliated affection in the one nor excited esteem in the other. His dissimulation was so well known, that it seldom deceived; his habit of suspicion served to multiply his enemies; and the knowledge of his vindictive temper contributed to keep open the breach between him and those who had incurred his displeasure. Seldom perhaps was there a prince with a heart more callous to the suggestions of pity. Of his captives, many never returned from their dungeons; if they survived their tortures, they were left to perish by famine. He could even affect to be witty at the expense of his victims; when Geoffrey, archdeacon of Norwich, a faithful servant, had retired from his seat at the exchequer on account of the interdict, the king ordered him to be arrested, and sent him a cope of lead, to keep him warm in his prison. The cope was a large mantle, covering the body from the shoulders to the feet, and worn by clergymen during the service. Wrapped in this ponderous habit, with his head only at liberty, the unhappy man remained without food or assistance till he expired. On another occasion, he demanded a present of ten thousand marks from an opulent Jew at Bristol, and ordered one of his teeth to be drawn every morning till he should pay the money. The Jew was obstinate; the executioners began with his double teeth; he suffered the loss of seven, but on the eighth day solicited a respite, and gave security for the payment.

Isabella, the wife of John, bore him three sons, Henry, Richard, and Edmund; and three daughters, Jane, Eleanor, and Isabella.

## CHAPTER XVI.

## Henry the Third.

## CONTEMPORARY SOVEREIGNS.

<i>Popes.</i>	<i>Scotland.</i>	<i>France.</i>
Honorius III.	Alexander II.	Philip Augustus.
Gregory IX.	Alexander III.	Louis VIII.
Celestin IV.		Louis IX.
Innocent IV.	<i>Germany.</i>	Philip III.
Alexander IV.	Otho IV.	<i>Spain.</i>
Urban IV.	Frederic II.	Henry I.
Clement IV.	Interregnum of 22	Ferdinand III.
Gregory X.	years.	Alphonso X.

Coronation of Henry—Departure of Louis—War with France—Controversy between Henry and his Barons—Battle of Lewes—Victory at Evesham—Death of the King.—From A. D. 1216 to 1272.

HENRY of Winchester had just completed his tenth year, when he found himself, by the sudden death of his father, in possession of the title, but with little of the power of a king. In London and the opulent provinces of the south, Louis reigned almost without an opponent; in the other counties the partisans of the French king were the more active, and his cause the more popular; and on the west and north, the princes of Wales and the king of Scotland had acknowledged his authority and become his vassals. On the tenth day after the decease of the late monarch, Henry was led to the abbey church of Gloucester, and having taken the oath usually administered to the English kings, and <sup>Henry crowned</sup> <sup>by the legate</sup> sworn fealty to Pope Honorius, was crowned by Gualo. the legate Gualo, and the bishops of Winchester, Exeter, and Bath, who placed on his temples a plain circle of gold, in lieu of the crown, which had been lost with the rest of the royal treasures. The next day, a proclamation was issued, in which the new king, lamenting the dissension between his father and the barons—a dissension which he would for ever dismiss from his memory—promised to all his subjects a full amnesty for the past, and their lawful liberties for the future; required the tenants of the crown to do homage and swear fealty to himself as

their legitimate sovereign; and forbade any person to appear in public during the next month, without a white fillet round the head, in honor of his coronation. The care of his person was intrusted to the earl of Pembroke, earl marshal, with the title of guardian of the kingdom.

A great council was summoned to meet at Bristol, and was attended by all the bishops and abbots, by several earls and barons, and by many knights. Magna Charta was here, after some alterations, ratified.

The French king found that the English barons were inclined to support young Henry. The pope also was his warm friend. With slight intermission, war raged throughout England for about a year. The English having Peace at length restored. gained an important victory near Lincoln, and having also defeated the French in a decisive naval engagement, Louis felt himself at last obliged to negotiate for terms. It was agreed that he should give back to the English barons their fealty and homage, and that Henry should grant to them a full amnesty on their return to their allegiance; that peace on similar terms should be offered by Henry to the king of Scots and the Welsh prince, and that arrangement should be made for the discharge of debts, and the ransom and liberation of prisoners of war.

The departure of Louis secured the crown to Henry, but the young king had not a single relation to whom he could recur for advice. Pope Honorius, as feudal superior, Henry after the departure of Louis. declared himself the guardian of the orphan, and commanded the legate to reside near his person, watch over his safety, and protect his just rights. Magna Charta was again confirmed, but with additional alterations. By degrees tranquillity was restored; and in the autumn Gualo returned to Rome. He was succeeded by Pandulph, who followed the example of his predecessor, and watched with solicitude over the interests of the young king. He repaired to Wales, and restored peace on the borders; he met the king of Scots at York, and negotiated a peace between the two kingdoms; and by his letters and services he greatly contributed to prolong the truce between England and France. As doubts had been raised respecting the coronation at Gloucester, that ceremony was again performed. In the next year, Alexander of Scotland married at York, Jane, the elder of

the two sisters of Henry, after which, Pandulph immediately returned to Rome.

Under the pretence of resisting an invasion threatened by the king of France, Henry in 1225 assembled a great council, and

He assembles a great council in 1225. most urgently demanded an *aid*. The demand was at first refused; but the wants of the crown would admit of no delay; and, after some negotiation, it was stipulated that a fifteenth of all movables should be granted; but on the condition that the two charters should be solemnly ratified; which was done.

Henry's reign lasted more than half a century. The transactions which fill it are so numerous and frequently so unconnected, that Dr. Lingard classifies the most important events under the three distinct heads, of the king's wars with foreign powers, his transactions with the pope, and his disputes with his barons.

During the whole of Henry's reign, the harmony between England and Scotland was never interrupted by actual hostilities;

Events during his reign. yet several subjects of altercation, principally relating to doing "homage" for the crown of Scotland, arose, which interrupted amicable relations. Of Wales, the native sovereign was Llewellyn, who was brother-in-law to Henry. This union, however, had not rendered him the less disposed to assert the rights of his country. Henry often led his army into Wales, and was as often compelled to return foiled and discontented. Llewellyn's successor, David, to free himself from the superiority of the king of England, sought to interest the pope in his favor, by offering to hold his principality of the Roman church. Innocent refused the offer, and Henry chastised the Welsh prince. At the death of David, the people of Wales elected two chieftains, who solicited the clemency of the king of England, became his vassals, and bound themselves to serve in his wars, with five hundred of their subjects.

Louis of France had made a promise to restore Normandy, Maine, and Anjou to Henry, whenever he should succeed to the crown. Philip, his father, died in 1223. Louis, on being asked to perform his engagement, gave a peremptory refusal, saying that he was no longer bound by the treaty. Nor was he content with a mere refusal, but even endeavored to extend his own possessions at the expense of the English monarch. Henry sent an

army to protect his remaining continental territories; but, at the request of the papal legate, both crowns agreed to an armistice for twelve months, before the expiration of which the king of France died, and was succeeded by his son, Louis IX. The troubles which followed his accession offered to Henry, who had now reached his twentieth year, a most favorable opportunity of regaining the patrimony of his ancestors. He therefore, after some time, assembled a large army, and, in 1230, crossed over to France. The war continued for a long period, with varying fortune; and, at length, after many years spent in the arrangement of terms, peace was concluded in 1259, each monarch making some concessions.

The history of Henry's transactions with the court of Rome, discloses a long course of oppression, under which the English clergy were compelled to submit to the most grievous exactions. The Christian hierarchy had, from the earliest ages, been distinguished by a regular gradation of office and authority, from the lowest clerk to the bishop of Rome, who was acknowledged the chief of the episcopal body, and the vicegerent of Christ upon earth. The English, like every other national church, was called upon to contribute toward the support of the Roman see, and some grievances sprang out of this system: as the popes, in imitation of the temporal princes, often required a *tallage* of the clergy, amounting generally to a considerable share of their annual income; the popes also often nominated Italians to English livings, and this was deemed a hardship by the clergy of England. These two causes of discontent were, after a long negotiation, removed by some concessions on both sides.

During this reign, the pope having quarrelled with the emperor Frederic, who had held Sicily, offered that territory to Henry for his son Edmund. This arrangement, however, for various causes, never took effect.

Henry inherited the antipathy of his father to the charter of Runnymede, and considered his barons as his enemies. He therefore frequently found himself in angry collision with them, especially whenever he had occasion for fresh supplies. Henry's partiality for foreign favorites was the principal cause of the discontent of the English ba-

rons. An insurrection took place in 1233, and Henry dismissed the foreigners from his councils. The insurgents were restored to favor, and ministers appointed who possessed the confidence of the nation.

At the age of twenty-nine, the king married Eleanor, the daughter of Raymond, count of Provence. This circumstance drew many foreigners to the English court, who were rapidly promoted to high offices. The natives renewed their complaints, and waited with impatience for the return of Richard, the king's brother, from Palestine; but that prince was induced to espouse the cause of the foreigners, and to marry Sanchia, another of the daughters of Raymond. Associations were formed to redress the grievances of the nation. Under the decent pretext of preventing the misapplication of the revenue, a demand was repeatedly made that the appointment of the officers of state should be vested in a great council; and at length the constitution was entirely overturned by the bold ambition of Simon de Montfort, earl of Leicester.

Henry having consented that a national assembly should be held, the great council distinguished in our annals by the appellation of the "mad parliament," assembled at

The "mad parliament." June 11, 1258.

Oxford. The barons, to intimidate their opponents, were attended by their military tenants, and took an oath to stand faithfully by each other, and to treat "as a mortal enemy" every man who should abandon their cause. The committee of reform was appointed. In a short time the triumph of Leicester was complete. The justiciary, the chancellor, the treasurer, all the sheriffs, and the governors of the principal castles belonging to the king, twenty in number, were removed, and their places were supplied by the chiefs of the reformers, or the most devoted of their adherents. Having thus secured to themselves the sovereign authority, and divested Henry of the power

Four measures of reform.

of resistance, the committee began the work of reform by ordaining—1. That four knights should be chosen by the freeholders of each county, to ascertain and lay before the parliament the trespasses, excesses, and injuries committed within the county under the royal administration; 2. That a new high sheriff should be annually appointed for each county by the votes of the freeholders; 3. That all sheriffs, and the trea-



surer, chancellor, and the justiciary, should annually give in their accounts; 4. And that parliaments should meet thrice in the year, in the beginning of the months of February, June, and October.

Henry was for some years the mere shadow of a king. The acts of government, indeed, ran in his name, but the sovereign authority was exercised without control by the lords of the council; and obedience to the royal orders, when the king ventured to issue orders, was severely punished, as a crime against the safety of the state. At length, in 1261, Henry persuaded himself that the time had arrived when he might resume his authority. He repaired to the Tower, which was fortified, seized on the treasure in the Mint, ordered the gates of London to be closed, compelled all the citizens above twelve years of age to swear fealty in their respective wardmotes, and by proclamation commanded the knights of the several counties to attend the next parliament in arms. The barons immediately assembled their retainers, and marched to the neighborhood of the capital; but each party, diffident of its strength, betrayed an unwillingness to begin hostilities, and it was unanimously agreed to postpone the discussion of their differences till the return of Prince Edward, who was in France, displaying his prowess at a tournament. He returned in haste, and, to the astonishment of all who were not in the secret, embraced the interests of the barons. The earls of Leicester and Gloucester, with the bishop of Worcester, summoned three knights from every county south of the Trent, to meet them at St. Albans; but a temporary reconciliation was effected, and the king, by his writs, annulling the previous summons, ordered the same knights to repair to him at Windsor, that they might be present at his intended conference with the barons, and convince themselves of the justice and utility of his demands. Several interviews between the parties took place in London. At first the barons appeared to consent to a plan of pacification offered by the king; afterward it was resolved to refer their differences, some to the decision of the king of France, and some to that of the king of the Romans. The earl of Leicester, however, found means to prevent the execution of the agreement; and a third meeting was held, in which the barons abandoned the greater part

of the provisions, and the king confirmed such as were evidently conducive to the welfare of the realm. Leicester was still dissatisfied, and returned to France, observing that he should never trust the faith of a perjured king.

The king finding himself at liberty, was induced to visit Louis of France, and Leicester embraced the opportunity to return to England, and reorganize the association which had so lately been dissolved. With the royal banner displayed before them, the barons took Gloucester, Worcester, and Bridgenorth, ravaged without mercy the lands of the royalists, the foreigners, and the natives who refused to join their ranks; and, augmenting their numbers as they advanced, directed their march toward London. In London the aldermen and principal citizens were devoted to the king; the mayor and the populace openly declared for the barons. Henry was in possession of the Tower; and Prince Edward, after taking by force one thousand marks out of the Temple, hastened to throw himself into the castle of Windsor, the most magnificent palace, if we may believe a contemporary, then existing in Europe. The power of the two parties was equally balanced, and their mutual apprehensions inclined them to listen to the pacific exhortations of the bishops. It was agreed to refer every subject of dispute to the arbitration of the king of France—an expedient which had been proposed the last year by Henry, but rejected by Leicester.

Leicester returns to England, and opposes the royal authority. Louis accepted the honorable office, and summoned the parties to appear before him at Amiens. Louis is made arbitrator of the dispute. The king attended in person; Leicester, who was detained at home in consequence of a real or pretended fall from his horse, had sent his attorneys. Both parties solemnly swore to abide by the decision of the French monarch. Louis heard the allegations and arguments of each, consulted his court, and pronounced judgment in favor of Henry. The barons had already taken their resolution. The moment the decision was announced to them, they declared that it was contradictory of itself, and therefore a nullity; for it preserved in force the great charter, and yet annulled the provisions which grew out of that charter; and that it had been procured by the undue influence which the queen of Louis, the sister-in-law to Henry, possessed over the mind of her husband. Hostilities immediately recommenced; and as every

man of property was compelled to adhere to one of the two parties, the flames of civil war were lighted up in almost every part of the kingdom. In the North, and in Cornwall and Devon, the decided superiority of the royalists forced the friends of the barons to dissemble their real sentiments; the midland counties and the marches of Wales were pretty equally divided; but in the cinque ports, the metropolis, and the neighbouring districts, Montfort ruled without opposition.

Henry, having summoned the tenants of the crown to meet him at Oxford, unfurled his standard, and placed himself at the head of the army. His first attempts were successful. Northampton, Leicester, and Nottingham, three of the strongest fortresses in the possession of the barons, were successively reduced; and among the captives at Northampton were reckoned Simon, the eldest of Leicester's sons, fourteen other bannerets, forty knights, and a numerous body of esquires. From Nottingham, where he had been joined by Comyn, Bruce, and Baliol, the lords on the borders of Scotland, he was recalled into Kent by the danger of his nephew Henry, besieged in the castle of Rochester. At his approach, the enemy, who had taken and pillaged the city, retired with precipitation; and the king, after an ineffectual attempt to secure the co-operation of the cinque ports, fixed his head-quarters in the town of Lewes.

Leicester, having added a body of fifteen thousand citizens to his army, marched from London, with a resolution to bring the controversy to an issue. After some fruitless negotiations, a sanguinary battle was fought at Lewes, on the 14th of May, 1264, in which the royal army was defeated, and the king was taken prisoner.

Leicester was now in reality possessed of more extensive authority than Henry had ever enjoyed; but he soon discovered that to retain the object of his ambition would require the exertion of all his powers. The cause of the captive monarch was ardently espoused by foreign nations, and by the sovereign pontiff. Adventurers from every province of France crowded to the royal standard, which Queen Eleanor had erected at Damme, in Flanders; and a numerous fleet assem-

Civil war again lighted up.

Henry at the head of his army: his success.

Battle of Lewes. the king is taken prisoner.

The consequences of this battle.

bled in the harbor, to transport to England the thousands who had sworn to humble the pride of a disloyal and aspiring subject. To oppose them, Leicester had summoned to the camp on Barham Downs, not only the king's military tenants, but the whole force of the nation; and, taking on himself the command of the fleet, cruised in the narrow seas, to intercept the invaders. But the winds seemed to be leagued with the earl; the queen's army was detained for several weeks in the vicinity of Damme: and the mercenaries gradually disbanded themselves, when the short period for which they had contracted to serve had expired.

Leicester was harassed with repeated solicitations for the release of the two princes, Edward and Henry. At length he pretended to acquiesce, and convoked a parliament to meet, for the avowed purpose of giving the sanction of the legislature to so important a measure. But the partial manner in which this assembly was constituted provoked a suspicion that his real object was to consolidate and perpetuate his own power. The princes were, however, released, though on very stringent conditions.

It is generally supposed that the project of summoning to parliament the representatives of the counties, cities, and boroughs, grew out of that system of policy which Leicester had long pursued—of flattering the prejudices and attaching to himself the affections of the people. Nor had his efforts proved unsuccessful. Men in the higher ranks of life might penetrate behind the veil with which he sought to conceal his ambition; but by the nation at large he was considered as the reformer of abuses, the protector of the oppressed, and the saviour of his country. It cost him some years and much labor to climb to the summit of his greatness; his descent was rapid beyond the calculation of the most sanguine among his enemies. He had hitherto enjoyed the co-operation of the powerful earls of Derby and Gloucester; but if

Dispute between Leicester, Derby, and Gloucester. *he* was too ambitious to admit of an equal, *they* were too proud to bow to a fellow-subject; frequent altercations betrayed their secret jealousies; and the sudden arrest and imprisonment of Derby, on a charge of corresponding with the royalists, warned Gloucester of his own danger, and he unfurled the royal standard in the midst of his tenantry. Leicester immediately hastened to Hereford with the king, the

prince, and a numerous body of knights. To prevent the effusion of blood, their common friends intervened; a reconciliation was effected; and four umpires undertook the task of reconciling their differences. But under this appearance of friendship, all was hollow and insincere. Leicester sought to circumvent his adversary; Gloucester waited the result of a plan for the liberation of Edward, which had been concerted through the means of Thomas de Clare, brother to the earl, and companion to the prince.

One day, after dinner, Edward obtained permission to take the air without the walls of Hereford, attended by his keepers. They rode to Widmarsh. A proposal was made to try the speed of their horses; several matches were made and run; and the afternoon was passed in a succession of amusements. A little before sunset there appeared on Tullington Hill a person riding on a gray charger, and waving his bonnet. The prince, Prince Edward escapes from prison. who knew the signal, bidding adieu to the company, instantly galloped off, and succeeded in joining Gloucester, who was at Ludlow.

When Leicester received the news of Edward's escape, he conceived that the prince was gone to join the earl of Warenne, and William de Valence, who a few days before had landed, with one hundred and twenty knights, on the coast of Pembrokeshire. After several engagements with the friends of the king, Leicester was obliged to fly into Wales. He returned, however, to England, and fought at Evesham against Prince Edward. In this battle the old king, who had been The battle of Evesham, and the death of Leicester. August 4, 1265. compelled to appear in the ranks, was slightly wounded; and, as he fell from his horse, would probably have been killed had he not cried out to his antagonist, "Hold, fellow, I am Harry of Winchester." The prince knew the voice of his father, sprang to his rescue, and conducted him to a place of safety. During his absence, Leicester's horse was killed under him, and, as he fought on foot, he asked, "if they gave quarter." A voice replied, "There is no quarter for traitors." Henry de Montfort, his eldest son, who would not leave his side, fell at his feet. His dead body was soon covered by that of the father. The royalists obtained a complete but sanguinary victory.

By this event, the sceptre was replaced in the hands of Henry. With their leader, the hopes of the barons had been extinguished;

they spontaneously set at liberty the prisoners who had been detained since the battle of Lewes, and anxiously awaited the termination of the parliament, which had been summoned to meet at Winchester. In that assembly it was enacted, that all grants and patents issued under the king's seal, during the time of his captivity, should be revoked; that the citizens of London, for their obstinacy and excesses, should forfeit their charter; that the countess of Leicester and her family should quit the kingdom; and that the estates of all who had adhered to the late earl should be confiscated.

The news of the victory of Evesham filled the court of Rome with joy. The pope instantly wrote to the king and the prince, to express his gratitude to the Almighty for so propitious an event; but at the same time earnestly exhorted them to use with moderation the license of victory; to temper justice with mercy; to recollect that revenge was unworthy of a Christian, and that clemency was the firmest pillar of a throne. When the legate arrived, he repeated the instructions of the pontiff, and disapproved of the harsh measures adopted by the parliament at Winchester. His object was the restoration of peace; and with this view he hesitated not to employ the papal authority against one party or the other, compelling them by censures to recede from the extravagance of their demands; and, by diffusing a spirit of moderation, greatly contributed to the restoration of tranquillity.

Prince Edward left England at this time for the Holy Land. He was not gone more than two years, when the king died. Repeated maladies had gradually worn out his constitution. In the spring of the year 1271, he had been in the most imminent danger, and had earnestly required, by letter, the return of Prince Edward. On his recovery, he undertook to provide for the liquidation of his debts, by appointing commissioners to receive and administer his revenue, reserving to his private use no more than one hundred and twenty pounds in the year. But the death of his brother, the murder of his nephew, and the absence of his son, added anxiety of mind to infirmity of body; his health rapidly declined, and he expired at Westminster, with the most edifying sentiments, on the 16th of November, 1272, in the fifty-seventh year of his reign.

The infirmities and death of Henry.

Gentle and credulous, warm in his attachments, and forgiving in his enmities, without vices, but also without energy, Henry was a good man and a weak monarch. In a more peaceful age, when the empire of the laws had <sup>The character of</sup> Henry. been strengthened by habits of obedience, he might have filled the throne with decency, perhaps with honor; but his lot cast him into one of the most turbulent periods of our history, without the talents to command respect, or the authority to enforce submission. Yet his incapacity was productive rather of inconvenience to himself than of misery to his subjects. Under his weak but pacific sway, the nation grew more rapidly in wealth and prosperity than it had done under any of his military progenitors. Out of the fifty-six years through which he extended his reign, but a very small portion was marked by the calamities of war; the tenants of the crown were seldom dragged by him into foreign countries, or impoverished by taxes for the support of mercenary armies; the proprietors, deprived of two sources of wealth—the plunder of an enemy, and the ransom of captives—turned their attention to the improvement of their estates; salutary enactments invigorated the spirit of commerce; and there scarcely existed a port from the coast of Norway to the shores of Italy, that was not annually visited by English merchants.

Of Henry's children, the greater part died in their childhood. Two sons and two daughters survived him. Edward, the eldest, had married Eleanor, the daughter of Ferdinand, king of Castile, and enjoyed, during the life of his father, a yearly income of fifteen thousand marks. Edmund had obtained, by the forfeiture of the Montforts, the numerous estates, with the honors of that family, and thus laid the foundation of the power which enabled his descendants of the house of Lancaster to wrest the sceptre from the hands of Richard II., and retain it to the prejudice of the rightful heir. The daughters were Margaret, queen of Scotland, and Beatrix, duchess of Bretagne.\*

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\* In this portion of his work, Dr. Lingard enters at considerable length into the question of the origin of parliamentary representation. The historical student who would understand the constitution minutely, should read this learned dissertation, and also the historical account of the changes which the laws of England underwent during Henry's protracted reign.

## CHAPTER XVII.

## Edward the First.

## CONTEMPORARY SOVEREIGNS.

<i>Popes.</i>	<i>Scotland.</i>	<i>Germany.</i>
Gregory X.	Alexander III.	Rodolph.
Innocent V.	Margaret.	Adolphus.
Adrian V.	Interregnum.	Albert.
John XXI.	Baliol.	<i>France.</i>
Nicholas III.	Interregnum.	Philip III.
Martin IV.	Robert I.	Philip IV.
Honorius IV.		<i>Spain.</i>
Nicholas IV.		Alphonso X.
Celestin V.		Sancho IV.
Boniface VIII.		Ferdinand IV.
Benedict XI.		
Clement V.		

Edward returns from Palestine—Conquers Wales—Hostilities with Scotland—William Wallace—Conquers Scotland—Royal Exactions—Opposition of the Clergy and Barons—Bruce claims the Crown of Scotland—Edward prepares to invade Scotland—His Death.—From A. D. 1271 to 1307.

EDWARD was in the East when his father died. His own followers did not amount to one thousand men; yet there was a magic in the name of a prince whose blood was derived from the same source with that of the "lion-hearted Richard;" and both Christians and infidels expected that he would equal the fame of that hero. But though he remained eighteen months at Acre, an expedition to Nazareth, the capture of two small castles, and the surprise of a caravan, comprehend the whole history of his military labors. Instead of the laurels of a conqueror, accident invested him with the glory of a martyr. One day, while reposing

in his tent, a man of the tribe called *Assassins* (hence the use of the word for murderer) entered, and aimed a desperate blow at the heart of the prince, who received it on his arm, grappled with him, and, throwing him on the ground, despatched him with his own weapon. Still, however, the danger was great; the dagger had been dipped in poison; several wounds had been received in the struggle, and

Edward is wounded in his tent.



Edward, aware of the probable consequences, hastened to prepare and sign his will. Fortunately, every dangerous symptom was removed by the skill of an English surgeon, who pared away the sides of the wounds; and, in a few weeks, the king, through the attentions of an affectionate wife and the aid of a vigorous constitution, was restored to perfect health.

The conclusion of a truce with the sultan for ten years, gave a long respite to the Christians of Acre, and allowed the prince an opportunity of returning to Europe with honor.

As he travelled through Sicily and Calabria, he received the first news of his father's death. His

A truce concluded, and Edward returns to England.

journey through Italy was a triumphal procession; he was considered as the champion of Christendom, the martyr of the cross. He proceeded to Paris, and did homage to Philip for the lands which "he held by right of the crown of France." From Paris it was expected that he would hasten to England; but he was called back to Guienne by the distracted state of that province, and detained there till the following year. He came to England in August, 1274, and was crowned at Westminster with his consort. Almost two years had elapsed from Henry's death, and yet the kingdom had remained tranquil.

Edward's first contest was with Wales. Prince Llewellyn aspired to the honor of asserting the independence of his country, and had resolved not to acknowledge a superior, unless he were compelled by the fortune of arms.

War with Wales.

At first, the English prelates and barons interceded in his favor; his excuses and delays exhausted their patience; they pronounced him a rebel, and granted supplies toward the expenses of the war. Edward's military tenants assembled in the counties of Shropshire and Cheshire; at midsummer he crossed the Dee, advanced along the coast, took and fortified the two castles of Flint and Rhuddlan, obtained possession of Anglesea, and with his fleet cut off the communication between Snowdon and the sea. Llewellyn, confined to barren mountains and forests, soon felt the privations of famine; and in a few weeks was compelled to throw himself without reserve on the mercy of his adversary.

Edward made peace on stringent conditions, but did not insist on their performance. In the opinion of Edward, the subjugation of Wales was now accomplished. He flattered himself that what

he had begun by force, he had completed by kindness. But he had formed a false estimate of the Welsh character at that period. Hatred of the English had been bequeathed to the natives as a sacred legacy, by their fathers, through many generations; nor was there an individual, from the prince to the peasant, who was not ready at any time to draw the sword for the independence of his country.

On Palm Sunday, 1282, David, brother of Llewellyn, surprised the strong castle of Hawarden. This was the signal of a general The war in Wales renewed. insurrection. Llewellyn immediately joined his brother, and besieged the castles of Flint and Rhuddlan; the different chieftains assembled their families and dependants; and the Welsh poured from their mountains into the marches, laid the country waste with fire and sword, and inflicted every calamity on the inhabitants. The Welsh had added artificial to the natural defences of their mountains; the king either could not or would not attempt to force their position. He reduced Anglesea; but the advantage was balanced by a severe disaster. A bridge of boats had been hastily thrown across the Menai, and a numerous force passed from the island to discover the position of the enemy. As they incautiously ascended the hill, a party of Welshmen suddenly started from a place of concealment. Their appearance and shouts intimidated the English, who fled in confusion to the beach; but the tide had divided the bridge, and the fugitives poured in such numbers into the boats that they sank, and almost the whole party was lost.

Llewellyn refused the terms which Edward offered, and trusted to the severity of the winter for the dissolution of the invading The Welsh finally subdued. army. Edward had ordered a strong force to assemble in the vicinity of Carmarthen; and Llewellyn, leaving the defence of Snowdon to his brother, hastened to Bluit, in Radnorshire. The English, under Edmund Mortimer and John Giffard, appeared on the left bank of the Wye. They defeated the Welsh in a battle, and Llewellyn was slain in a barn.

The independence of Wales expired with Llewellyn. As soon as his death was known, the other chieftains hastened to make their submission, and were received with kindness by the policy of Edward. David alone held back. He was soon, however, taken prisoner by Edward, who caused him to be tried and executed.

Edward spent more than a year in Wales, or near the borders, that he might secure the permanency of his conquest. To allure the Welsh from the roving manner of life to which they had been accustomed, he established corporate bodies of merchants in the principal towns; and to restrain their habits of violence and bloodshed, introduced the jurisprudence of the English courts, divided the country into shires and hundreds, and issued new forms of writs, adapted to the Welsh manners and tenures. During the king's stay in the country, Eleanor, his queen, was delivered of her son Edward, in the castle of Carnarvon. The natives claimed the child as their countryman; and when he was afterward declared Prince of Wales, joyfully hailed the event, as if it had proclaimed the restoration of their independence. The title "Prince of Wales" has since been always conferred on the eldest son of the sovereign of England.

From the final pacification of Wales to the commencement of the troubles in Scotland, elapsed an interval of four years, one of which was spent by Edward in England, in legislating for his own subjects, the rest on the continent in the difficult but honorable office of arbitrator between the kings of France, Arragon, and Sicily. While Edward was thus employed in the concerns of foreign states, the people of England complained that he neglected the interests of his own kingdom. The refusal of a supply by the parliament admonished him to return; and he soon found in the unfortunate situation of Scotland an ample field for the exercise of his policy and ambition. His sister Margaret had been dead fifteen years, and her daughter Margaret alone of the Scottish royal family survived. Edward saw, and resolved not to forfeit the opportunity. He had it now in his power to unite the English and Scottish crowns on the head of his own son, by marrying him to the infant queen, whose death, however, soon put an end to the negotiations which were entered on.

By the demise of Margaret, the posterity of the three last kings of Scotland had become extinct; and no fewer than thirteen claimants appeared, who, with one exception, founded their pretensions to the crown on their descent from the royal family. The true heir, however, was to

be sought among the descendants of David, earl of Huntingdon, the brother of King William. From Margaret, the eldest of his daughters, was sprung John Baliol; from Isabella, the second, Robert Bruce, and from Ada, the third, John Hastings. The point therefore to be decided was, whether the crown belonged of right to Baliol, the representative of the elder daughter, though more remote by one degree, or to Bruce, the representative of the second daughter, because he was nearer by one degree. The conflicting claims of Bruce and Baliol split the whole nation into two factions. The decision was referred by common consent to the judgment and impartiality of Edward. Edward accepted the office, not as arbitrator selected by the parties, but as lord paramount, whose duty and right it was to administer justice in disputes between his vassals. He had already announced his pretensions to the prelates, barons, and commonalty of Scotland, and summoned them to meet him at Norham, on the borders of the two kingdoms. After much delay, the decision was unanimously in favor of Baliol, and that prince swore fealty to Edward.

Baliol, to obtain a crown, had consented to wear it as a vassal. He soon felt the consequences of vassalage, and was taught by a succession of petty indignities to regret the more humble station from which he had risen. Every suitor in his courts, who was dissatisfied with the decision of the king, could appeal to the equity of his superior lord. The only appeal which could give uneasiness to the new king was brought by Macduff, the son of Malcolm, earl of Fife. During the Scottish interregnum, the regents, by the command of the king of England, had heard his claim, and adjudged to him the possession of certain lands. Baliol, however, by the advice of his council, and on the ground that these estates ought to remain in the hands of the king during the minority of another claimant, cast Macduff into prison. Macduff appealed to the equity of their common lord; and Baliol was summoned to answer his complaint in the king's court, in Trinity term. Baliol attended, and as soon as the complaint of Macduff had been read, arose, disclaimed all intended contempt of Edward, and maintained that he was not bound to answer the appellant. The court decided against him, and Macduff prayed judgment in his own favor. Edward observed to Baliol, that he had sworn fealty. The king of Scots replied,

that it was a matter which regarded the rights of his crown, and in which he did not dare to answer without the advice of the good men of his realm. Edward now required the advice of the prelates, lords, and judges forming his council, by whom it was resolved, that Baliol had offered no defence; that the king of Scots by refusing to answer had committed a manifest contempt and disobedience; and that until he made satisfaction for such contempt and disobedience, three of his castles in Scotland, with their royalties, should be sequestrated in the king's hands. But before this judgment was pronounced, Baliol obtained an adjournment till the following Easter. Baliol obtained adjournment after adjournment, till the war ensued which deprived him of his kingdom.

While Edward thus exercised his newly acquired superiority over his vassal the king of Scots, he was doomed to experience, as duke of Aquitaine, similar mortifications from the superior jurisdiction of his lord, the king of France. The pretended offence, for which that monarch deprived him of Gascony, grew out of a private dispute between some sailors on the French coast. The mariners of each country took part in the quarrel, and the seas were covered with hostile squadrons, which, without any commission from their sovereigns, made war on each other, and under the influence of passion, perpetrated outrages unknown to legitimate hostility. A Norman fleet, Engagement between the Norman and English fleets. amounting to more than two hundred sail of all descriptions, after riding for some time triumphant in the Channel, pillaged the coast of Gascony, and returned with their plunder to St. Mahé, a port in Bretagne. Here they were discovered by the mariners at Portsmouth and the cinque ports, who had collected eighty stout ships, well manned, and prepared for battle. A challenge was given and accepted. The English captured every ship of the enemy, and, as no quarter was given, the majority of the crews perished in the ocean.

This defeat, so murderous and disgraceful, provoked the resentment of Philip. From the king of England he could only demand redress; from the duke of Aquitaine he could exact it. A pre-emptory summons was issued, ordering Edward Philip orders Edward to appear and answer. to appear, and answer for these offences and contempts against his sovereign. The king, who saw the real object

of Philip, endeavored to appease his resentment. Philip said that his sole object was to guard his honor; and a promise was given that, if Gascony were surrendered to him during forty days, it should, at the expiration of that period, be faithfully restored. The citation against Edward was withdrawn, and possession was given of Gascony to the French king. At the expiration of forty days, Philip was reminded of his engagement, but he gave a positive refusal. Edward prepared to enforce his right at the head of a powerful army. But the elements seemed to have conspired with his own subjects to frustrate his design. For seven weeks he was detained at Portsmouth by contrary winds; and the Welsh, who believed him to have sailed, rose in every part of the principality. A second time the conquest of Wales was achieved. Edward condemned the chieftains who had joined in the rebellion to close confinement in separate castles; their estates he gave to their heirs, but with a threat, that if they should imitate the perfidy of their fathers, they must expect a more severe punishment. The admonition was remembered; and from that period the Welsh began to attend to the cultivation of the soil, the profits of commerce, and the arts of peace.

When Edward returned to his capital, he prepared to recover his transmarine dominions; again he was recalled to oppose his adversaries within the island. The Scottish barons asserted their independence. longed to assert the independence of their country, but, warned by the fate of the Welsh insurgents, sought to fortify their efforts with the aid of the French monarch. The timid mind of Baliol wavered; he calculated the power of Edward, and trembled at the consequences of a failure. At last he yielded, and an alliance, offensive and defensive, was hastily concluded with France. Edward cited the king of Scots before his court, to be held at Newcastle upon Tyne, in the beginning of March, 1296. Had Baliol obeyed the summons, he would have found himself in the midst of an army of forty thousand men; but his barons were careful to keep him secluded in the Highlands, and made the most active preparations for the invasion of England. The English army invested Berwick; the next day it was carried by assault, and seven thousand men perished in the massacre. For this loss the Scots consoled themselves with the destruction of Corbridge and Hexham, and Baliol sent to the English mo-

narch a formal renunciation of homage. Scotland was soon subdued, and Baliol met the deputies of his conqueror, and expressed his sorrow for his alliance with the French king, and for his rebellion against his liege lord. But this did not remove the resolution of the king of England. Baliol had refused to hold Scotland of Edward; he was there-<sup>Baliol is deprived of his crown.</sup>fore deemed unworthy to recover it, and was compelled to sign at Kincardin an instrument, in which he acknowledged the right of Edward to enter into possession of Scotland. Edward appointed the Tower of London for his residence, and granted to him the full liberty of a circle of twenty miles round the walls of the city. Baliol soon retired to France, by Edward's permission, and died in 1305.

At this period Scotland owed little to the exertions of her nobles. It was an individual\* hitherto unknown, the youngest son of a country gentleman, who kindled and nourished the flame of Scottish patriotism. William Wallace was born in the neighborhood of Paisley. He had<sup>William Wallace.</sup> committed murder; he fled from the pursuit of justice to the woods, and there was joined by men of similar fortunes. There was another leader of outlaws, Sir William Douglas, who had been made prisoner at Berwick, and had received both liberty and a grant of his property, from the generosity of Edward. He joined with Wallace in an attempt to surprise at Seone the chief justiciary, Ormsby, who lost his treasures, but saved himself by flight. Animated by their example, other independent chieftains arose in different counties, and assaulted the English. The steward of Scotland and the bishop of Glasgow determined to collect these parties into one body, and invited the different leaders to rally round them. The summons was obeyed by Wallace and Douglas, by Sir Alexander Lindsay, Sir Andrew Moray, and Sir Richard Lundy. The younger Bruce, earl of Carriek, was so-

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\* It appeared to many that Dr. Lingard wrote too disparagingly of Wallace. In reply to observations on this subject, the historian, in the preface to the last edition of his works, states that all the light which twenty years' additional examination of Scottish annals, by various writers, had thrown upon the matter in dispute, had failed to prove his estimate of the character of Wallace incorrect.

licited to support their cause. He knew not how to decide, but at last hastened with his retainers to the camp of the patriots.

Edward had now undertaken the recovery of Guienne; nor could he be diverted from his object by the danger of losing Scotland. He cherished the hope that his deputy might be able to put down the insurgents. Two armies were formed, one on

The English army led into Scotland. the eastern, the other on the western coast. The latter, under Henry Lord Percy and Sir Robert Clifford, discovered the Scots near Irvine, on the right bank of the river. But the ardor of the patriots had been chilled by the dissensions of their chieftains, and they all abandoned the cause except Wallace and Moray.

The king's general, Warenne, with a numerous army, reached the town of Stirling. Wallace and Moray assembled all their forces behind the hills in the neighborhood of Cambuskenneth. Warenne ordered the English to cross the Forth by a bridge, which was so narrow that no more than two armed men could march over it at the same time. Wallace at a distance watched

The success of Wallace. their movements; and as soon as he saw about five thousand horse and foot on the left bank of the river, ordered his followers to pour down from the heights. All who had crossed, with very few exceptions, fell by the sword, or perished in the river. Warenne withdrew as speedily as possible into England. Wallace and Moray now styled themselves "the generals of John, king of Scotland;" they crossed the borders and ravaged the open country in Northumberland and Cumberland.

From this period we lose sight of Moray. His associate, Wallace, appears alone on the scene, as "the guardian of the kingdom, and general of the armies of Scotland," under which title he summoned a parliament to meet at Perth. But he had now reached the meridian of his greatness—and his fall was even more rapid than his rise. As long as the attention of the king was directed to the recovery of his transmarine dominions, Wallace had triumphed. But Edward, as soon as he was freed from all danger on the part of the French monarch, landed at Sandwich, met his parliament at York, and repaired to Roxburgh, where he found himself at the head of eight thousand horse, and eighty thousand foot, principally Irish and Welsh. Wallace with



his Scots lay in the forest of Falkirk: here he engaged Edward's army, and was defeated. From twenty to forty thousand Scots are said to have perished. Wallace himself escaped. But his sun had now set for ever—he hastened to resign his office of guardian, and spent the rest of his life a wanderer in the forests.

Wallace is defeated in the forest of Falkirk.

After his victory, Edward traversed Scotland in different directions; but the impossibility of procuring provisions for his army compelled him to return to England. William Lambertson, bishop of St. Andrew's, Robert Bruce, earl of Carrick, and John Comyn the younger, were appointed a council of regency, to govern in the name of Baliol. The regents despatched envoys to Rome, who interested the pope in their favor. They referred their quarrel with the king of England to his decision. The pontiff interfered, and a letter was written to Edward, in which the former expressed his hope that the king, desisting from an unjust aggression, would set at liberty the bishops, clergy, and natives of Scotland, whom he held in captivity. He concluded by reserving to his own decision every controversy pending between England and Scotland.

Edward returns to England.

Edward refused to acknowledge the pope as a judge, but was willing to explain his right to him as a friend. A long letter was written, in which he enumerated every instance which he could collect, of homage done by the kings of Scotland to the Saxon or Norman princes; and contended, in a tone of triumph, that these formed a satisfactory justification of his conduct.

At this period, the pope had a dispute pending with Philip of France; and, during the progress of this quarrel, each was anxious to obtain and preserve the friendship of Edward: the pontiff, therefore, ceased to interfere in the contest between England and Scotland.

In the following year, 1303, hostilities were resumed. Edward passed the borders at the head of an army, with which it would have been folly for the Scottish patriots to contend. The Scots hastened to make their peace; and, after some consultation, a very comprehensive treaty was concluded between Edward and Comyn, the Scottish guardian. All the Scotch accepted the conditions of peace, except Wallace, who preferred the life of an outlaw, his original

Hostilities resumed between England and Scotland.

profession, and endeavored to elude the vigilance of his enemies among his native forests and mountains, and Sir William Oliphant, who defended Stirling for ninety days, when he at last surrendered to Edward. The successful siege of Stirling completed the reduction of Scotland. Wallace was soon the prisoner of the English monarch. He was surprised, it is said, in his bed, by Sir John Monteith, and in a few days he stood at the bar in Westminster-hall, with a wreath of laurel round his brow, in derision of a prediction attributed to him, that he would one day be crowned at Westminster. The king had already appointed a commission of five justices, not to preside at the trial, but to pronounce judgment after a certain form which had been sent to them. Wallace was sentenced and led to execution on the 23d of August, 1305.

The countrymen of Wallace revered him as the protomartyr of their independence; his blood animated them to vengeance; the huts and glens, the forests and mountains which he had frequented became consecrated in their eyes; and as the remembrance of his real exploits gradually faded, the aid of fiction was employed to embellish and eternize the character of the hero. If we may believe the Scottish writers who lived a century or two after his death, he was gigantic in stature, powerful of limb, and patient of fatigue beyond his contemporaries.

The character of Wallace. He knew no passion but the love of his country. His soul was superior to bribery or insult; and at the call of liberty he was as ready to serve in the ranks as to assume the command of the army. His courage possessed a talismanic power, which led his followers to attempt and execute the most hazardous enterprises; and which on Stainmore compelled the king and army of England to flee from his presence, even before they entered upon action. Under so brave and accomplished a leader, Scotland might have been saved. She was lost through the jealousy of her nobles, who chose to crouch in chains to a foreign despot rather than owe their deliverance to a man of inferior family! Of all this a part may perhaps be true, but much is contradicted by history.

To settle the government of his late acquisition, Edward summoned a Scottish parliament at Perth, in which ten commissioners were chosen to confer with the king in person at London. The

result of their deliberation was, that John de Bretagne, Edward's nephew, should be appointed <sup>The parliament</sup> guardian of the realm, with the aid of the present chamberlain and chancellor, both Englishmen; and that, for the better administration of justice, Scotland should be divided into four districts.

Having carried our narrative so far respecting Scotland, we must now go back a little in time, to consider some other portions of Edward's reign. To support the expense of his <sup>Oppressive tax-</sup>various wars, Edward had recourse to a system of <sup>tion.</sup> oppressive taxation. By the people, however, at last preparations were made for resistance to his exactions. Edward had (in 1297) assembled two bodies of troops, with one of which he intended to sail to Flanders, the other he destined to reinforce the army in Guienne. At Salisbury he gave the command of the latter to Bohun earl of Hereford, the constable, and to Bigod earl of Norfolk, the marshal of England; but both of these noblemen refused the appointment, on the alleged ground, that by their office they were bound only to attend on the king's person. Edward, in a paroxysm of rage, addressing himself to the marshal, exclaimed, with an oath: "Sir earl, you shall go or hang." "Sir king," replied Bigod, also with an oath, "I will neither go nor hang." Hereford and Norfolk immediately departed, and arranged a plan of resistance to the royal exactions. Edward appointed a new constable and marshal; and, to divide and weaken his opponents, sought to appease the clergy, and to move the commiseration of the people. He received the primate with kindness, ordered the restoration of his lands, which had been confiscated, and named him one of the council to Prince Edward, whom <sup>Edward endeav-</sup>he had appointed regent. On a platform before <sup>vors to conciliate</sup> the entrance of Westminster hall, accompanied by his son, the <sup>the people.</sup>archbishop, and the earl of Warwick, he harangued the people. He owned that the burdens which he had laid on them were heavy; but protested that it had not been less painful to him to impose than it had been to others to bear them. "Behold," he concluded, "I am going to expose myself to danger for you. If I return, receive me again, and I will make you amends; if I fall, here is my son; place him on the throne, and his gratitude shall reward your fidelity." At these words, the king burst into tears;

the archbishop was equally affected; the contagion ran through the multitude; and shouts of loyalty and approbation persuaded Edward that he might still depend on the allegiance of his people. This exhibition was followed by writs to the sheriffs, ordering them to protect the clergy from injury, and to maintain them in the possession of their lands.

He now ventured to proceed as far as Winchelsea on his way to Flanders. Here a paper was put into his hands, purporting to be a national remonstrance. It complained that the last royal summons had called on the people to accompany the king to Flanders, a country in which they were not bound to serve; that even if they were, they had been so impoverished by taxation as to be unable to bear the expense; and that to undertake an expedition to Flanders in the existing circumstances was imprudent; since it would expose the kingdom without protection to the inroads of the Welsh and Scots. Edward replied, that he could return no answer on matters of such high importance without the advice of his council, a part of which had already sailed for Flanders.

At length the king sailed, accompanied by the barons and knights who had espoused his cause; and, two days later, Bohun and Bigod with a numerous retinue proceeded to the Exchequer. The constable, in presence of the treasurer and judges, complained of the king's extortions, and forbade them, in the name of the baronage of England, to levy the last tax which had been granted by the great council. From the Exchequer they rode to the Guildhall, where they called upon the citizens to join in the common cause. The citizens gave assurance of their co-operation to the barons, who immediately retired to their respective counties.

The king was soon informed of these proceedings, and ordered the barons of the Exchequer to disregard the prohibition. But in a few weeks his obstinacy was subdued by a succession of untoward events. The people and clergy universally favored the cause of the earls; the Scots, after their victory at Stirling, had burst into the northern counties; and Edward himself lay at Ghent in Flanders, unable to return to the protection of the kingdom, and too weak to face the superior force of the French king. In these circum-

National remonstrance.

Bohun and Bigod proceed to the Exchequer.

Edward compelled to yield to the demands of the earls.

stances, the lords who composed the council of the young prince summoned a parliament. In the conferences which followed, several very valuable additions were made to the national charters. The most important of these was one by which the crown relinquished the claim of levying taxes without the consent of the nation. In return, an aid in money was granted both from the clergy and laity, and a common letter was written to the king, assuring him that his faithful barons were ready at his word to join him in Flanders, or to march against his enemies in Scotland; but requiring at the same time, and in a tone of defiance, his ratification of the acts done by his son against the sixth day of December. With a reluctant hand, Edward signed the confirmation of the two charters with the additional articles, and a separate pardon for the earls and their followers.

As soon as an armistice had been concluded between him and the king of France, Edward returned to England. When he met his parliament at York, the earls of Hereford and Norfolk required that he should ratify his confirmation of the charters. He stated as an objection, the necessity of hastening to oppose the Scots, solemnly promised to comply with their request on his return, and brought forward the bishop of Durham and three earls, who swore "on his soul" that he should fulfil his engagements. The victory of Falkirk and a long series of successes gave a lustre to his arms; still, when the parliament assembled the next year, he was reminded of his promise; and at last he ratified his former concessions, but with the addition of a clause, which, by saving the rights of the crown, virtually annulled every provision in favor of the subject. Bohun and Bigod instantly departed with their adherents; and the king, to ascertain the sentiments of the people, ordered the sheriffs to assemble the citizens in the cemetery of St. Paul's, and to read to them the new confirmation of the charters. The reading of the document was repeatedly interrupted by shouts of approbation; but when the illusory clause was recited, the air rang with expressions of discontent, and curses were poured on the head of the prince who had thus disappointed the expectations of his people. Edward took the alarm, summoned a new parliament to meet him in three weeks, and granted every demand. He afterward, however, sent deputies to the pope to ask the pope-  
Edward meets his parliament.  
Edward grants every demand.

tiff to annul the concessions which he had made. The pope declared all such concessions invalid; but this declaration proceeded on the supposition that the concessions were contrary to the rights of the crown, and was accompanied with a clause saving to the king's subjects the rights of which they were previously in possession. Whether it were that with these limitations the papal rescript did not fully meet the king's wishes, or that he was intimidated by the rebellion of the Scots, he made no public use of its contents; but suffered the concessions, galling as they were, to remain on the statute roll at his death, and to descend to future sovereigns as the recognised law of the land. Thus, after a long struggle, was won from an able and powerful monarch the most valuable of the privileges enjoyed by the commons of England at the present day. If we are indebted to the patriotism of Cardinal Langton, and the barons at Runnymede, the framers of the great charter, we ought equally to revere the memory of Archbishop Winchelsea, and the earls of Hereford and Norfolk. The former erected barriers against the abuse of the sovereign authority; the latter fixed the liberties of the subject on a sure and permanent foundation.

Notwithstanding the instances of oppression which we have mentioned, Edward has obtained the name of the English Justinian, from the improvements which were made during his reign in the national code, and the administration of justice; improvements for which his people were perhaps as much indebted to his necessities as his wisdom; since they were always granted at the request of his parliament, and purchased with the vote of a valuable aid.

It had employed Edward thirteen years to forge the fetters of Scotland; in less than six months she was again free. To understand this important revolution, we must advert to the rival houses of Baliol and Bruce. Baliol was dead; and before his death he had more than once renounced for himself and his posterity all right to the crown. As the renunciation had been made in captivity, and was the effect of compulsion, it would probably have been disregarded by the Scots; but his only son was a prisoner in the Tower of London, and the task of supporting the rights of the family devolved on the next heir, John Comyn of Badenoch, the son of Marjory, Baliol's

Scotland again  
free.

sister, a nobleman already distinguished by his efforts to recover the independence of his country. From the fatal battle of Falkirk to the last expedition of Edward, he directed as guardian the councils of Scotland. To the king of England he had long been an object of peculiar jealousy; at the late pacification a sentence of temporary banishment was pronounced against him; and though that sentence had been recalled, he had still been fined in thrice the amount of his yearly income.

Scotland again (in 1306) demanded Edward's attention. The pretensions of Robert Bruce, the original competitor for the crown, had descended to his grandson, of the same name, and about twenty-three years of age.

It chanced that Comyn (another aspirant to the Scotch throne, as being the nephew of Baliol) and Bruce arrived at Dumfries about the same time, in the year 1306, probably Comyn killed by Bruce. to meet the justiciaries who were holding their court in the town. Bruce requested a private conference with Comyn in the choir of the church of the Minorites. They met; the conversation grew warm; Bruce plunged his dirk into the breast of Comyn, and one of his followers completed the murder. Edward was rather irritated than alarmed at the intelligence. Orders were sent to his lieutenant, Aymar de Valence, earl of Pembroke, to chastise the presumption of Bruce. The king vowed that he would revenge the death of Comyn; and conjured his nobles, in the event of his own death in the expedition, to keep his body unburied till they had enabled his son to accomplish his vow. The son swore that he would not sleep two nights in the same place till he had entered Scotland to execute his father's commands. The prince of Wales with his knights companions, departed for the borders; Edward followed by easy journeys; and his military tenants received writs to join him at Carlisle.

Bruce, by the murder of Comyn, had staked his life; he could save it only by winning a sceptre. He assumed the title of king, summoned the Scots to his standard, and was Bruce assumes the title of king. crowned without any opposition at Scone. Bruce and his followers were soon defeated by a relative of Comyn. He embarked in a small ship, steered to the north of Ireland, and, in the unfrequented Island of Rathlin, buried himself during the winter from the knowledge and the pursuit of his enemies.

About the end of winter, Bruce and his followers issued from their retreat. His brothers were defeated, but he was more fortunate. He sailed to Scotland, surprised the English in the vicinity of Turnberry, and hastened for security to the hills and forests. By degrees he was joined by his former vassals, and gained some advantages.

To Edward, the success of his antagonist, trifling as it was, became a continued source of vexation. In July he felt a marked improvement in his health, and ordered the army to advance into Scotland. But the very exertion of mounting on his horse threw him back into his former state of weakness; his progress in four days was confined to six miles; and the next evening he expired at the Burg-on-the-Sands, in the sixty-ninth year of his age, and the thirty-fifth of his reign.

Edward was twice married. His first wife was Eleanor of Castile, who bore to Edward four sons and eleven daughters, of whom several died in their infancy, and not more than three are known to have survived their father. Her death happened at Hardley, near Lincoln, in 1290. The king's affection induced him to follow the funeral to Westminster, and to erect, wherever the corpse rested for the night, a magnificent cross to her memory. Some of these crosses still remain, and are of considerable elegance. His second wife was Margaret of France, by whom he had a daughter, who died in her infancy, and two sons, who survived him.

Edward was tall, but well-proportioned. In temper he was warm and irascible, impatient of injury, and reckless of danger; but his anger might be disarmed by submission, and his temerity seemed to be justified by success. He aspired to unite in himself the sovereignty of the whole island of Great Britain. Nor was he entirely disappointed: Wales was incorporated with England; and the independence of Scotland sought an asylum in the midst of morasses, forests, and mountains. The subjugation of the former, and the attempt to subjugate the latter, comprised, as we have seen, the most interesting occurrences of his reign.



## CHAPTER XVIII.

## Edward the Second.

## CONTEMPORARY SOVEREIGNS.

<i>Popes.</i>	<i>Germany.</i>	<i>France.</i>
Clement V.	Albert.	Philip IV.
John XXII.	Henry VII.	Louis X.
	Louis IV.	Philip V.
<i>Scotland.</i>		Charles IV.
Robert I.		<i>Spain.</i>
		Ferdinand IV.
		Alphonso XI.

Coronation of Edward—War in Scotland—Battle at Bannockburn—Bruce invades Ireland—Truce with Scotland—War with his Barons—The Queen makes war on the King—The King is deposed and murdered.—From A. D. 1307 to 1327.

OF the six sons of the late king, three had preceded him to the grave. The eldest of the survivors, three-and-twenty years of age, bore the name, but inherited little of the character of his father. From his childhood, he had Gaveston. lived in habits of intimacy with Piers de Gaveston, who possessed a taste for dissipation and pleasure; as they advanced in age, the attachment of their early years increased. The king frequently reprehended the excesses of the heir-apparent; and about three months before his death, he made Gaveston abjure the kingdom, and exacted from his son a promise upon oath that he would never recall his favorite without the royal consent. Affairs required the presence of the young prince in London; but before he departed from Carlisle, Edward sent for him to his bedside, commanded him to prosecute the Scottish war, and to carry his dead bones along with the army to the very extremity of Scotland. Soon after, the king died; and his commands, no less than his advice, were forgotten. His successor hastened from the capital to the borders, received at Carlisle the homage of the English, at Dumfries that of the Scottish barons, and at the head of a gallant army advanced in pursuit of Robert Bruce. But war

had few attractions for the young Edward. He halted at Cumnock, in Ayrshire; and, under pretence of making preparations for his marriage and coronation, hastily returned into England.

The first object of the new king had been the recall of his favorite, on whom, during his absence, he had conferred the title of earl of Cornwall. He was made lord chamberlain, affianced to the king's niece, and, when Edward prepared to sail to France, appointed regent of the kingdom, with all those powers which the sovereign on such occasions was accustomed to reserve to himself.

Edward landed at Boulogne, where he found Philip le Bel, king of France. He did homage for Guienne and Ponthieu, and the next day, in the presence of four kings and three queens, married Isabella, to whom he had been contracted four years before, the daughter of the French monarch, and reputed the most beautiful woman in Europe. A few days were given to feasting and rejoicings; and on his return, Edward was accompanied or fol-

lowed by the two uncles of his bride. The coronation was performed with extraordinary magnificence; but outward expressions of joy accorded ill with the discontent which secretly rankled in the breasts of the more powerful nobles.

The barons assembled at Westminster, and sent to Edward a petition for the redress of abuses, and the immediate banishment of the favorite. He promised to return an answer in the parliament to be held after Easter, and in the meantime endeavored, but in vain, to mollify their resentment. At the parliament, their demands were renewed in terms which admitted of neither refusal nor procrastination; letters patent were accordingly issued; Gaveston himself was compelled to leave England; but his enemies had scarcely time to felicitate themselves on his downfall, when, to their surprise and indignation, they learned that he had assumed, by royal appointment, the government of Ireland.

In Ireland, Gaveston displayed the magnificence of a prince, and distinguished himself in several successful engagements with the natives. In England, the king assembled his parliament, and solicited supplies. The commons appended to their vote the unprecedented demand that their peti-

tion for the redress of grievances should be previously granted. He promised to take the demand into consideration, dismissed the commons, and ordered the lords to attend him three months later at Stamford.

During the prorogation, the great object of the king had been to procure the return of Gaveston, without whose company he appeared to consider life a burden. By condescension and liberality he broke the union of the barons, and attached some of the more powerful to his own party. He ordered the favorite to return, flew to Chester to receive him, and conducted him to Stamford. There the prelates and barons had assembled, to give their advice respecting the petitions of the commons in the preceding session. At their request he assented to every article, and obtained from them a grant and their consent that Gaveston might remain in England. Gaveston, once more in possession of the ascendancy, indulged in all his former extravagance.

At length the exhausted state of the treasury compelled Edward to convoke a council at York; but the principal barons refused to attend, under the pretence that they were afraid of Gaveston. Edward prevailed on Gaveston to withdraw to some secret asylum, and called a parliament to meet at Parliament at Westminster. Westminister. The barons obeyed; but their leaders came attended by their retainers in arms. Edward soon found himself completely in their power, and reluctantly consented to the appointment of a committee of peers, who should redress the grievances of the nation.

The committee sat in London. Edward was glad to withdraw from their presence, and summoned his military retainers to follow him into Scotland. Out of ten earls, three Edward invades Scotland. only joined him; and of these, one was Gaveston. In Scotland, the king penetrated as far as the Forth without finding an enemy. He passed the winter at Berwick, and in the spring ordered Gaveston, at the head of the army, to resume the war; but the caution of Bruce allowed him no opportunity of gaining laurels. The time approached when it was necessary for Edward to meet his parliament, and the king proceeded to London. The barons demanded that all grants which had been made by Edward in favor of Gaveston should be revoked; that the king should not leave the kingdom, or levy war without the

consent of the barons; that the new taxes on wool, cloth, wine, and other merchandise, should be abolished; that Gaveston should be banished for ever; and that to prevent delay in the administration of justice, parliaments should be holden at least once, and if need should be, oftener than once every year. Edward objected, complained, and entreated; but the barons were positive and inexorable; and the king, after a long struggle, consented to sign and publish the ordinances. Gaveston landed in France; but Edward and he soon joined each other at York, and a royal proclamation followed, stating that the favorite had returned in obedience to the king's orders.

Among the English nobility, the most powerful was Thomas, the grandson of Henry III., who united in his possession the five Death of Gaveston. earldoms of Lancaster, Lincoln, Leicester, Salisbury, and Derby. The confederate barons appointed him their leader, and he, not finding the king in York, hastened his march toward Newcastle. Edward embarked with Gaveston on board a vessel, and landed in safety at Scarborough. The favorite, for greater security, remained in the castle; the king repaired to York, and unfurled the royal banner. The unfortunate Gaveston, finding the place untenable, surrendered, and was soon put to death.

The first news of this event threw the king into the most violent transports of grief, which gradually subsided into a fixed purpose of revenge. On his way to London, he summoned a parliament, solicited succors from France, and assembled a considerable body of forces. But conferences were held between the deputies of the king and of the barons, in the presence of the foreign ministers, and a form of reconciliation was unanimously adopted.

It is now time to return to the affairs of Scotland. Bruce had obtained several advantages, and at length the news arrived that Affairs in Scotland. Mowbray, governor of Stirling, had consented to surrender that important fortress, if it were not relieved before the feast of St. John the Baptist, 1314. Edward, apparently at peace with his own subjects, judged the opportunity favorable for an expedition into Scotland. A week before the day fixed for the surrender of Stirling, he marched from Berwick, whither he had proceeded, and, though the army was encumbered

by a long train of provision wagons and military engines, reached the neighborhood on the eve of the festival. Bruce had employed the time in making preparations for the combat. His army, consisting of thirty thousand picked men, stretched from the burn of Bannock, on the right, to the neighborhood of the castle on the left. Douglas and Stewart commanded the centre; Edward Bruce took charge of <sup>Battle of Bannock-burn.</sup> the right, and Randolph of the left wing. At daybreak, Bruce's soldiers gathered round an eminence on which Maurice, abbot of Inchaffray, celebrated mass, and harangued his hearers on the duty of fighting for the liberty of their country. At the close of his discourse, they answered with a loud shout, and the abbot, barefoot, with a crucifix in his hand, marched before them to the field of battle. The Scots, with very few exceptions, fought on foot, armed with battle-axes and spears. The king appeared in their front, and bore the same weapons as his subjects. The attack was made by the infantry and archers of the English army, and so fierce was the shock, so obstinate the resistance, that the result long remained doubtful. Bruce was compelled to call his reserve into the line; and, as a last resource, to order a small body of men-at-arms to attack the archers in flank. This movement decided the fate of the English infantry. They fled in confusion; and the knights, with the earl of Gloucester at their head, rushed forward to renew the conflict; but their horses were entangled in pits, the riders were thrown, and the timely appearance of reserved Scots, who had been stationed in the valley, scattered dismay through the ranks of the English. Edward, who was not deficient in personal bravery, spurred on his charger to partake in the battle; but the earl of Pembroke wisely interposed, and led him to a distance. He fled from Bannock-burn, with a party of Scottish cavalry at his heels, nor did he dare to halt till the earl of March admitted him within the walls of Dunbar, whence he proceeded by sea to England. His privy seal and treasures, with the military engines, and provisions for the army, fell into the hands of the conquerors. Bruce thought it was a favorable moment to propose a treaty between the two nations; but when Edward refused him the title of king, the indignant Scot put an end to the negotiation, called his parliament, and proceeded to settle the succession. His only child was an un-

married daughter, called Marjory; and, to avoid the dangers which, in the present circumstances, might attend the reign of a female, it was ordained, with her consent, that if the king died without leaving a son, the crown should go to his brother Edward Bruce, and the heirs male of *his* body, failing whom it should revert to Marjory and her descendants.

But the Scots were not content with asserting their own independence; they undertook to free Ireland from the English yoke.

The Scots invade Ireland. That island was now divided between two races of men, of different languages, habits, and laws, and animated with the most deadly hatred toward each other. The more wild and mountainous districts, and the larger portions of Connaught and Ulster, were occupied by the natives; the English had established themselves along the eastern and southern coasts, and in all the principal cities and towns. By the Irish the efforts of the Scots were viewed with a kindred feeling. The patriots were fighting against the same nation by which *they* had been so cruelly oppressed. They were of the same lineage, spoke a dialect of the same tongue, and retained in many respects the same national institutions. When intelligence arrived of the victory at Bannock-burn, it was received with enthusiasm, and the conviction that the English were not invincible awakened a hope that Ireland might recover her independence. Edward discovered that an active correspondence was carried on between the men of Ulster and the court of Bruce. Alarmed for the safety of his Irish dominions, he despatched the escheator, the Lord Ufford, with instructions to treat with the native chieftains, the tenants of the crown, and the corporations of the boroughs; but, before that nobleman could execute his commission, Edward Bruce, the brother of the king of Scots, with an army of six thousand men, had landed in the neighborhood of Carrickfergus. He was immediately joined by the O'Nials, who directed his march. They burnt Dundalk, and the greater part of Louth was laid desolate. But the approach of Butler the lord deputy and of the earl of Ulster warned the confederates to return. They retired, and Bruce, continuing his retreat, despatched the earl of Moray to Scotland for reinforcements. When they arrived, he penetrated as far as Kildare, defeated the English at Arscoll in that county, and, as he returned, obtained a second victory at Kenyls, in

Meath. His presence animated the Irish of Leinster. The O'Tooles, O'Briens, O'Carrolls, and Archbalds were instantly in arms; Arklow, Newcastle, and Bree were burnt; and the open country presented one continued scene of anarchy and devastation. A treaty was concluded between Edward Bruce and Donald O'Nial, called in Edward's writs prince of Tyrone, but who styled himself hereditary monarch of Ireland. By letters patent, the rights of O'Nial were transferred to Bruce, who was immediately crowned, and entered on the exercise of the regal power.

At Athenree, the English troops were successful; but to balance the exultation caused by this victory, intelligence was brought to Dublin that Robert Bruce, the king of Scotland, had landed with a numerous army in Ulster. The success and final defeat of the Scots in Ireland. The garrison of Carrickfergus, after a most obstinate defence, was compelled to surrender. The two brothers, at the head of twenty thousand men, Scots and Irish, advanced into the more southern counties, and the citizens of Dublin were compelled to burn the suburbs for their own protection. But the Scots, unprepared to besiege the place, ravaged the country. They successively encamped at Leixlip, Naas, and Callen; and at last penetrated as far as the vicinity of Limerick. But it was the depth of winter; numbers perished through want, fatigue, and the inclemency of the season; and the English had assembled an army at Kilkenny to intercept their return. With difficulty the Bruces eluded the vigilance of the enemy, and retired, by Cashel, Kildare, and Trim, into Ulster. It is not easy to assign the reason of this romantic expedition, undertaken at such a season, and without any prospect of permanent conquest. To the Scots it was more destructive than a defeat; and Robert Bruce, dissatisfied with his Irish expedition, hastened back to his native dominions. Soon afterward, Edward Bruce advanced to the neighborhood of Dundalk. He was met by John, Lord Birmingham, and fell in battle, with the greater part of his forces. With Bruce fell the hopes of the Irish patriots; the ascendancy of the English was restored, and the ancient system of depredation and revenge universally revived.

About this period, England suffered severely from famine and pestilence. The Scotch resumed hostilities, and the pope sent legates to proclaim a truce. Bruce The Scotch resume hostilities.

refused to obey, as he was not styled king, and besieged Berwick. The town was taken by surprise, and after a few days the castle surrendered. The fall of Berwick was followed by the reduction of Wark, Harbottle, and Mitford; Northallerton, Boroughbridge, Scarborough, and Skipton were burnt; and Ripon would have experienced the same fate, had it not been redeemed by the payment of a thousand marks.

It was evident that Bruce owed the success which had so long attended his arms, not to any superior prowess or skill, but to the dissension which continued to rage between Edward and his barons. The loss of Berwick opened the eyes both of Edward and of his opponents to the disastrous consequences of their quarrel. The chancellor, by order of the king, repeatedly visited the earl of Lancaster; by mutual consent commissioners were appointed; and at last, in a meeting at Leek, a plan of reconciliation was adopted. A truce concluded between Edward and Bruce. Soon afterward, a truce for two years was concluded between Edward and Bruce.

This suspension of hostilities was employed by the king of Scotland in causing a letter, signed by eight earls and thirty-one The king's letter to the pope. barons, in the name of the commonalty of Scotland, to be sent to the pope. This instrument requested the pontiff to employ his influence with the king of England, and advise him to be content with his own dominions, and to leave to the Scots their own barren soil, the most remote of habitable lands, but which was dear to them because it was their own, and which it was their only object to possess in peace. To the king of England the pope wrote a letter of advice, and earnestly exhorted him to improve the present opportunity, and conclude a useful and lasting peace. Edward assented; commissioners from the pope and king of France were appointed to attend the congress; and hopes were confidently entertained of a favorable result. But the conferences, if any were held, proceeded slowly; the king of England was too much occupied with the rebellion of his barons to attend to other concerns; and Bruce expected to obtain better terms by aiding the rebels than by treaty with the sovereign.

Edward now had another favorite, a young man whose name was Hugh Spenser, and who, by his talents and The Spensers. assiduity, had acquired the esteem of his sovereign.



His growing opulence awakened the jealousy of the nobles. A movement took place against Spenser and his father. The elder Spenser, whose fate was thus connected with that of his son, was one of the most powerful barons, far advanced in age, whose only crime seems to have been his near relationship to the favorite, and his influence in the king's council. Lancaster led the confederates toward the capital, allowing them to live at free quarters on their march, and to plunder the estates belonging to the elder Spenser. From St. Alban's he sent a message to Edward, requiring the banishment of the father and son, and an act of indemnity for the confederate barons. The king replied, with spirit, that the elder Spenser was beyond the sea, employed in his service—the younger with his fleet, guarding the cinque ports; that he would never punish the accused before they had an opportunity of answering their accusers; and that it was contrary to the obligation of his coronation oath to pardon men who disturbed the tranquillity of his kingdom.

The parliament was now sitting at Westminster; and Lancaster, advancing to London, cantoned his followers in the neighborhood of Holborn and Clerkenwell. The confederates spent a fortnight in consultations. At length, they proceeded to Westminster, filled the hall with armed men, and, without informing the king of their intentions, ordered a paper to be read. It was an act of accusation against the Spensers, consisting of eleven counts, charging them with usurping the royal power, and sentencing them to exile. Against this sentence the prelates protested in writing, but the king and the barons of his party, intimidated by the armed men in attendance, gave their assent; the banishment of the two Spensers was duly entered on the rolls; and a general pardon was granted to Lancaster and his associates.

The king felt the indignity which had been offered to his authority, and two months did not elapse before he had the opportunity of revenging it. The queen, on her way to Canterbury, proposed to lodge during the night in one of the royal castles. The custody of the castle had been intrusted by Edward to the Lord Badlesmere. He was absent, but the Lady Badlesmere refused admission to the queen, and during the altercation several of the royal attendants were killed.

Isabella complained loudly of this insult; the chivalrous feelings of the nation were aroused; and the king found himself in a condition to demand and enforce redress. Edward took the castle, hanged Colepepper, the governor, and eleven of his knights, sent the others to different prisons, and confined in the Tower the Lady Badlesmere and her female attendants.

This act of vigor infused new life into the king's friends. Many came forward with the offer of their services, the two Spensers successively returned to England, and the king gladly took the favorite and his father under the royal protection, till a parliament should assemble to repeal the sentence enacted against them.

The popularity of the earl of Lancaster had been for some time on the decline. He joined Bruce in 1322, when the truce expired, and was taken prisoner in a battle in the north of Lancaster put to death. England. The captors conducted him by water to York, and thence to the castle of Pontefract. He was brought before the king, six earls, and the royal barons; of his guilt there could be no doubt; he was told that it was useless to speak in his defence, and was condemned to death, and was beheaded.

From Pontefract, Edward had repaired in triumph to York, where the parliament had assembled. All the members were, or pretended to be, royalists; and every measure proposed by the crown was carried without opposition. The petitions of the Spensers were heard and granted, and the award against them was ordered to be reversed.

The victory which Edward had gained over his domestic enemies inspired him with the hope of wiping away the disgrace of Edward again invades Scotland. Bannock-burn, and of re-establishing his superiority over the kingdom of Scotland. With this view, he assembled the most numerous army that England had seen for many years. But, after advancing as far as the Forth, he was compelled to return, without performing one splendid action or achieving a single conquest.

At length, the destructive war, which with a few pauses had continued three and twenty years, and had repeatedly involved Peace concluded between England and Scotland. one-half of Scotland, and the northern counties of England, in bloodshed and misery, began to draw to a close. Bruce was sensible that his kingdom required a long

interval of tranquillity to repair the havoc of so many campaigns; and experience had taught Edward to doubt the ultimate success of any attempt to enforce his claim of superiority. The proposal was made by the Scots; Bruce consented to waive the title of king in the treaty; and a suspension of arms was concluded for thirteen years between the two nations, to remain in force till the end of that term, even in the event of the death of one or of both of the contracting parties.

At peace with foreign nations, and with his own subjects, Edward might now expect to enjoy that tranquillity to which he had so long been a stranger. But the Lancastrian party was not extinct, nor without the hope of rising from its ashes. There was one man especially, Roger, Lord Mortimer of Wigmore, whose activity and resentment Edward feared. He had twice been convicted of treason, and twice owed his life to the clemency of the king. Having been taken a prisoner in battle, he was sent to the Tower, but escaped to France.

Charles le Bel had now succeeded his brother Philip le Long on the throne of France. Of the real object of this prince in his quarrel with Edward, it is impossible to form a correct notion; this only is evident, that he sought Charles of France quarrels with Edward. pretexts for hostilities, and rejected the most equitable offers. He complained that Edward had not attended at his coronation, nor done him homage for Guienne. The king replied that he had never been summoned to do homage; at the same time he offered to do homage at an appointed day, if the French army were to be recalled from Guienne. But Charles was inexorable, and it was only by the surrender of the last fortress in that province, that Edmund, earl of Kent, and brother to Edward, could purchase a truce for a few months.

During this interval, the pontiff employed all his influence to restore peace, and it was artfully suggested to the papal envoys, that if the queen of England would visit the French court, the king might grant to the solicitations of a sister what he would withhold from an indifferent negotiator. The queen visits France: her intrigues with Mortimer. Edward fell into the snare: Isabella proceeded to France with a splendid retinue; and a treaty was concluded on terms most injurious to the interests of Edward. He now began his journey to France, to do homage at Beauvais, but was detained

at Dover by sickness, and sent a messenger to Charles to account for his delay. An answer was returned, that if Edward would transfer the possession of Guienne and Ponthieu to his son, Charles, at the prayer of Isabella, would receive the homage of the young prince on the same terms on which he had consented to receive that of the father. The offer, though it bore a suspicious aspect, was accepted; the necessary resignations were made; and the young Edward, a boy of twelve years of age, after promising his father to hasten his return, and not to marry during his absence, sailed with a splendid retinue to the French coast. But to the general astonishment, though the ceremony was speedily performed, week after week passed away, and neither mother nor son appeared inclined to revisit England. Mortimer had joined Isabella at Paris; he was made the chief officer of her household; and it was soon publicly reported that the daughter of France and queen of England had abandoned her husband for a rebel and an exile. Edward repeatedly ordered Isabella to return, and was repeatedly disobeyed. Her designs soon began to unfold themselves, for levies of troops were made in her name. At the same time, the king of France, to distract the attention or multiply the perplexities of the English government, sent bodies of troops to make inroads into Guienne. Edward was now fully aware of his danger; he wrote in strong terms to his son and to the king of France; and at last declared war against the latter for the invasion of Guienne, and the detention of his wife and of the presumptive heir of his crown. Charles was induced, by a letter of severe but merited reproach from the pope, to dismiss Isabella from Paris; but he had secretly prepared an asylum for her in the court of his vassal, William, count of Hainault. Here all her plans were matured under the direction of Mortimer. She signed a contract of marriage between her son Edward and Philippa, the second daughter of the count; a body of more than two thousand men at arms, under John de Hainault, was placed at her disposal; all the exiles of the Lancastrian faction crowded round her person; and on the twenty-fourth of September she landed, with her followers, at Orwell in Suffolk.

Edward's friends deserted him, and the unfortunate monarch knew not whom to trust. Afraid to summon the military tenants of the crown, he commanded the men of the neighboring counties

to come to his aid, and offered a free pardon, with a reward of a thousand pounds, for the head of Mortimer.

Isabella, at her landing, was generally hailed as the deliverer of the country. The Lancastrian lords hastened to meet her; the primate supplied her with a sum of money to pay her followers; and the king's brothers were among her adherents. At her approach toward the capital, Edward, as a last resource, threw himself on the loyalty and pity of the citizens. Their answer was cold, and Edward immediately departed, with the two Spensers, to the marches of Wales, where lay the estates of his favorite. But the Welshmen were indifferent to the distress of their lord and of their sovereign; and Edward, with his favorite, took shipping for Lundy, a small isle in the mouth of the Bristol Channel, which had been previously fortified and plentifully stored with provisions.

The queen was not slow to pursue her fugitive consort. She hastened to Bristol; and the earl of Winchester surrendered the town and castle to her, but was executed by her followers. At Bristol, it was ascertained that Edward had put to sea, and the prelates and barons in the queen's interest, assuming the powers of parliament, resolved that by the king's absence the realm had been left without a ruler; and therefore they appointed his son guardian of the kingdom, in the name and by the right of his father.

Edward's evil fortune pursued him by sea as well as land. He was unable to reach the isle of Lundy; and after contending for some days with a strong westerly wind, he landed at Swansea, retired to Neath, and sought to elude the search of his enemies. At length, Henry, earl of Leicester, got possession of Spenser, and Edward, it is said, immediately came forward, and voluntarily surrendered to his cousin, by whom he was sent to the strong fortress of Kenilworth. Spenser was arraigned at Hereford, and, as was to be expected, immediately put to death.

Isabella, with Mortimer and her son, soon proceeded by slow journeys to meet the parliament at Westminster. The hall was filled with the citizens of London. Not a voice was raised in the king's favor. His greatest friends thought it a proof of courage to remain silent. The young

Isabella lands.  
Edward retires.

Edward's son appointed guardian of the kingdom.

Edward taken prisoner.

The proceedings of parliament.

Edward was declared king by acclamation, and presented in that capacity to the approbation of the populace. But though the prince was declared king, his father had neither resigned nor been deposed. To remedy the defect, a bill of six articles was exhibited against Edward, charging him with the violation of his coronation oath, oppression of the church, and cruelty to the barons, and it was resolved that the reign of Edward of Carnarvon had ceased, and that the sceptre should be intrusted to the hands of his son, Edward of Windsor.

The queen pretended to lament the misfortune of her husband, declared that the parliament had exceeded its legitimate powers, and exhorted her son to refuse a crown which belonged to his father. To silence her pretended scruples, a deputation was instructed to proceed to Kenilworth, to give notice to Edward of the election of his son, and endeavor to procure from him a voluntary resignation of the crown. His answer has been differently reported by his friends and opponents. According to the former, he replied that no act of his could be deemed free, as long as he remained a prisoner. By the latter, we are told that he expressed his sorrow for having given such provocation to his people. The barons declared that they renounced their allegiance, and Sir Thomas Blount, the steward of the household, as was always done at the king's death, broke his staff of office and declared that all persons engaged in the royal service were discharged. In three days, the deputation returned from Kenilworth, and the young prince was soon crowned as Edward III.

Edward of Carnarvon was destined to add another to the long catalogue of princes to whom the loss of a crown has been but the prelude to the loss of life. The attention of the earl of Lancaster to alleviate the sufferings of his captive did not accord with the views of the queen and Mortimer. He was given to the custody of Sir John de Maltravers, who, to conceal the place of Edward's residence, successively transferred him from Kenilworth to Corfe, Bristol, and Berkeley, and, by the indignities which were offered to him and the severities which were inflicted, labored to deprive him of his reason or to shorten his life. It was in vain that the deposed monarch solicited an interview with his wife, or to be indulged with the company of his children. Thomas, Lord

Coronation of Edward III.

Edward is murdered in Berkeley castle. Sept. 21, 1327.

Berkeley, the owner of Berkeley castle, was soon afterward joined with Sir John Maltravers in the commission of guarding the captive monarch. It chanced that the former was detained at his manor of Bradley by a dangerous malady, during which the duty of watching the king devolved on two of his officers, Thomas Gournay and William Ogle. One night, while he was under their charge, the inmates of the castle were alarmed by the shrieks which issued from his apartment: the next morning the neighbouring gentry, with the citizens of Bristol, were invited to behold his dead body. Externally, it exhibited no marks of violence; but the distortion of the features betrayed the horrible agonies in which he had expired; and it was confidently whispered that his death had been procured by the forcible introduction of a red-hot iron into his body. No investigation was made; and the corpse was privately interred in the abbey church of St. Peter, in Gloucester.

The first Edward had been in disposition a tyrant. As often as he dared, he had trampled on the liberties or invaded the property of his subjects; and yet he died in his bed, respected by his barons and admired by his contemporaries. His son, the second Edward, was of a less imperious character; no acts of injustice or oppression were imputed to him by his greatest enemies; yet he was deposed from the throne, and murdered in a prison. Of this difference between the lot of the father and the son, the solution must be sought in the manners and character of the age. They both reigned over proud and factious nobles, jealous of their own liberties, but regardless of the liberties of others; and who, though they respected the arbitrary sway of a monarch as haughty and violent as themselves, despised the milder and more equitable administration of his successor. That successor, naturally easy and indolent, fond of the pleasures of the table and the amusements of the chase, willingly devolved on others the cares and labors of government. But in an age unacquainted with the more modern expedient of a responsible minister, the barons considered the elevation of the favorite as their own depression, his power as the infringement of their rights. The result was, as we have seen, a series of associations, having for their primary object the removal of evil counsellors, as they were called, from the person of

the prince, but gradually invading the legitimate rights of the crown, and terminating in the dethronement and assassination of the sovereign. For the part which Isabella acted in this tragedy no apology can be framed. In a few years, her crime was punished with the general execration of mankind. She saw Mortimer expire on a gibbet, and spent the remainder of her life in disgrace and obscurity.

In Edward's reign, the abolition of the Knights Templars took place. That celebrated order was established in 1118, by the patriarch of Jerusalem, and originally consisted of The order of the Knights Templars. nine poor knights, who lived, in community, near the isle of the ancient temple, and took on themselves the voluntary obligation of watching the roads in the neighborhood of the city, and of protecting the pilgrims from the insults of robbers and infidels. By degrees, their number was surprisingly augmented; they were the foremost in every action of danger; their military services excited the gratitude of Christendom; and in every nation legacies were annually left, and lands successively bestowed on the Templars. But wealth and power generated a spirit of arrogance and independence, which exasperated both the civil and ecclesiastical authorities; and after a long investigation into some charges against the order, Pope Clement V. published a bull suppressing the institute, not by way of a judicial sentence establishing its guilt, but by the plenitude of his power, and as a measure of expediency rather than of justice. The possessions of the Templars had reverted as escheats to the lords of the fees, and an act of parliament was passed, assigning them to the hospitallers, for the same purposes for which they had been originally bestowed on the templars.



## CHAPTER XIX.

## Edward the Third.

## CONTEMPORARY SOVEREIGNS.

<i>Popes.</i>	<i>Scotland.</i>	<i>France.</i>
John XXII.	Robert I.	Charles IV.
Benedict XII.	David II.	Philip VI.
Clement VI.	Robert II.	John.
Innocent VI.	<i>Germany.</i>	Charles V.
Urban V.	Louis IV.	<i>Spain.</i>
Gregory XI.	Charles IV.	Alphonso XI.
		Pedro.
		Henry II.

Campaign against the Scots—Death of the Earl of Kent—Fall and Execution of Mortimer—Edward claims the Crown of France—Expedition to Flanders—Truce—Renewal of the War—Victory at Creci—Renewal of the War with France—Victory of Poitiers—Death of the Black Prince—Death of Edward.—From A. D. 1327 to 1377.

FOR some years, Isabella and Mortimer enjoyed the reward of their guilt. Of the forfeited estates of the Spensers and their partisans, the larger portion, with the title of the earl of March, fell to the lot of Mortimer, and a council of regency was appointed, to consist of four bishops, four earls, and six barons.

The first measures of the new government were disconcerted by an unexpected occurrence. Of the truce with Scotland, only a few years had expired; but the state of affairs in England offered to the Scottish king a temptation The truce with Scotland broken. which he had not the virtue to resist. He determined, in violation of his engagements, to wrest, if possible, from the young king a solemn renunciation of that superiority which had been claimed by his father and grandfather. Aware of the intentions of Bruce, the English government had recourse to every expedient to avert hostilities, and it was at last agreed that ambassadors should meet on the borders, and treat of a final peace. The negotiators met: the Scots insisted on their own terms; and when the English demurred, an army of twenty-four thousand men under Randolph and Douglas crossed the borders, and ravaged the county of Cumberland.

Edward consumed six weeks at York, waiting for the arrival of his forces. At length the English, amounting to more than forty thousand men, marched to Durham, but were unable to obtain any certain intelligence of the enemy, and the armies did not meet for some weeks. They encamped near each other on 1st August, 1327, in the neighborhood of Stanhope; but the Scotch retreated to their own dominions without waiting for an engagement. The English army marched back to Durham, and thence to York, where it was disbanded.

This was followed by a peace. It was agreed that there should be final and perpetual concord between the kingdoms of England and Scotland, and that David, the Scottish prince, should be married to the sister of Edward. A parliament was immediately summoned to meet at York; and in it Edward was persuaded to execute a deed of renunciation, for himself and his successors, of all claims of superiority over the crown of Scotland.

When the council of regency was appointed, it had been directed that out of the number, one bishop, one earl, and two barons should daily attend the king, and give him their advice on all matters of importance. But as Mortimer superseded them all, his conduct naturally excited the jealousy of the great barons, and associations were formed to remove him from court. Mortimer, in October, 1328, with a numerous army, entered into Salisbury, where a parliament had been summoned, and Henry, earl of Lancaster, the nominal guardian of the king's person and president of the council, commanded an inferior force near Winchester. The favorite, taking with him the king and queen, advanced toward Winchester. From Winchester he led his followers to Leicester, and plundered the domain of the earl of Lancaster. That nobleman had hitherto retired before Mortimer; he was now joined by the king's uncles, but he was soon deserted by them; and, despairing of success, submitted to ask pardon before the two armies, and entered into recognizances not to oppose the king or his council.

When the parliament assembled at Winchester, the earl of Kent, the king's uncle, the archbishop of York, the bishop of

London, with several knights and gentlemen, were unexpectedly arrested on the charge of having conspired to depose the king, and to replace his father, whose death they disbelieved, on the throne. Kent was adjudged to suffer the penalty of treason, but it was believed that his birth would save him from punishment. Isabella, however, was inexorable; the son of the great Edward was led by the order of his nephew to the place of execution, and after a painful suspense of four hours, a felon from the Marshalsea (no other could be found to perform the office) was induced by a promise of pardon to strike off his head.

Death of the earl of Kent.

Edward was now eighteen, an age when his predecessors had been deemed capable of governing the realm; and Philippa of Hainault, whom he married in 1328, had borne him a son, the same who is so celebrated in history under the name of the Black Prince. He felt the state of dependence in which he was kept, and viewed with concern the conduct of his mother. He confided his thoughts to the discretion of the Lord Montacute, who exhorted him to assume the exercise of the royal authority. The king lent a willing ear to the proposal; a design was formed to seize the person of Mortimer, and it was fixed to make the attempt during the session of the parliament at Nottingham.

When the time came, Isabella, with her son and her favorite, took up her residence in the castle; the prelates and barons were lodged in the town and the neighborhood. Mortimer had taken every precaution for his security; but his enemies entered the castle one night, and they were joined by Edward on the staircase leading to the principal tower. They mounted in silence, till they heard the sound of voices in a room adjoining to Isabella's apartment, where Mortimer was engaged in consultation with the bishop of Lincoln and his principal advisers. The door was instantly forced, and two knights, who endeavored to defend the entrance, were slain. The queen had retired to rest in the adjoining apartment. Alarmed at the noise, she burst into the room. But in defiance of her tears and exclamations, Mortimer was secured; and the next morning the king announced by proclamation that he had taken the reins of government into his own hands, and summoned a new parliament to meet in a few weeks at Westminster.

Edward assumes the reins of government.

By this parliament, Mortimer was condemned, and executed at Tyburn, 29th November, 1330. Isabella, at the solicitation of the pope, was spared the ignominy of a public trial; but Edward reduced her income to three thousand pounds, and confined her to the manor of Risings, where she passed in obscurity the remaining twenty-seven years of her life. The king annually paid her a visit of ceremony; he even added a thousand pounds to her yearly income; but he never more allowed her to assume any share of political power. After these executions he asked the advice of John XXII. for the regulation of his subsequent conduct; and was exhorted by that pontiff to shun the danger of favoritism; and, instead of following the interested counsels of a few individuals, to govern by the united advice of his barons, prelates, and commons assembled in parliament.

Robert Bruce, king of Scotland, had lived to see the independence of his crown acknowledged by the king of England. At his death he left to Randolph, earl of Moray, the guardianship of his son David, who was only in his seventh year. Disputes took place respecting the restoration of certain estates belonging to English barons, landholders in Scotland, which had been seized during the last war. These barons were joined by Edward Baliol, the son and heir of John Baliol, whom the king's grandfather had compelled to resign his crown. After some consultation, they resolved to appeal to the sword; a resolve which placed Edward in a very delicate situation. On the one side he had sworn to observe the peace; on the other, the minority of David offered the most favorable opportunity of recovering that superiority, which he would not have surrendered had not Bruce taken the advantage of similar circumstances to invade England, in violation of his oath. His counsellors, however, determined not to tolerate any open infraction of the treaty; and the sheriffs of the five northern counties were enjoined to forbid the perpetration of any act which could be deemed a violation of the peace. Baliol sailed with about three thousand men from Ravenspur, a port in the mouth of the Humber, to Kinghorn in Fife, ordered his fleet to the mouth of the Tay, and hastened to meet an enemy whose force was twenty times greater than his own. At first he succeeded, and was

crowned at Scone by the bishop of Dunkeld. Astonished at the rapidity of his success, his enemies solicited a suspension of hostilities, and proposed a convention of the states to settle the kingdom. Baliol consented; was surprised at Annan by the earl of Moray during the armistice; and with difficulty escaped to the English marches, a solitary and helpless fugitive.

Edward had secretly concluded two treaties with Baliol. By the first the new king acknowledged that the crown of Scotland was a fief belonging to the crown of England; transferred to Edward the town and castle of Berwick; offered to marry the Princess Jane, if her marriage with David Bruce did not proceed; and engaged to grant to that young prince such an establishment as the king of England should think proper. By the second, each monarch bound himself to assist the other with all his power against every domestic enemy. The expulsion of Baliol suspended the effect of these treaties.

But the real wishes of the English king were soon gratified by the impetuosity of the Scots, and the war was renewed. The campaign was opened by Baliol with the siege of Berwick, which was gallantly defended by the earl of March. Two months elapsed before the king of England arrived; but the operations of the siege were immediately pushed with new vigor; and in a general assault the town was set on fire. The Scottish army advanced in four bodies to attack the besiegers. Edward drew up his army on Halidon Hill, from which the archers annoyed the enemy, as they struggled through the marshy ground at the foot, and climbed up the declivity of the mountain. The Scots were fatigued and disordered before they could reach their opponents; the obstinacy with which they fought served only to increase their loss; and the slaughter is said to have exceeded that of any former defeat. The town and castle were immediately surrendered: and the young king, with his wife, the sister of Edward, was conveyed, for greater security, from Dunbarton into France, where he resided for several years.

Baliol was now again seated on the throne of Scotland, and Edward required him to fulfil his former engagements. A parliament was called at Edinburgh; and all the country to the east of a line drawn from Dumfries to Linlithgow was, by general consent, separated from the crown of

Scotland, and annexed to that of England. This enraged the Scots; while the dissensions among the English barons, who had been restored to their estates, encouraged the friends of David. A new guardian or regent was appointed; the cause of independence again triumphed, and Baliol was compelled to take refuge in the lands which he had ceded to Edward. For several years he contrived to struggle against the obstinacy of his opponents and the perfidy of his followers. As long as he was supported by the king of England, he rose victorious from every disaster; but from the moment that Edward determined to claim the crown of France, the war was suffered to languish; fortress after fortress surrendered to the adherents of David; that prince at length ventured to revisit his kingdom; and Baliol, instead of wielding the sceptre of Scotland, was employed in protecting from insult the northern counties of England.

Edward was engaged during the remainder of his reign in his memorable contest with France. He was advised by his parliament, sitting at Northampton, to claim the French crown, as being, of all the male descendants of Philip the Third, the nearest in blood to the last monarch. The claim was rejected. Philip of Valois was crowned with the full consent of the states, and summoned his English competitor to come and do homage for the duchy of Guienne to him as his liege lord.

Philip kept possession of several fortresses in Guienne, claimed by the king of England; and Edward, when he consented to do homage, did it in general terms, omitting the liege promise of faith and loyalty. In 1331 a partial adjustment of their differences took place; but the opposite interest which each felt in the affairs of Scotland awakened their former jealousy, and hurried them into hostilities.

When David was driven from his throne, Philip took him under his protection and aided his partisans. Edward beheld this conduct with displeasure, and turned his arms from Scotland against France. To carry into execution the mighty designs which he had formed, Edward concluded alliances with the emperor of Germany and other princes. Neither did Philip neglect the storm which he saw gathering around him; and soon more than half of the sovereigns of Europe

were arrayed against each other, and the eyes of all Christendom were directed to the issue of the contest.

Edward, to defray the expenses of his intended expedition, had recourse to forced loans, and he even pawned his jewels and crown. In the summer of 1338 he sailed with a numerous fleet to Antwerp; but, to his disappointment, he soon learned that every attempt to draw the Flemings into the field was fruitless. In the spring of 1339, he summoned his allies to assemble at the appointed time; and about the middle of September he was able to lead an army of fifteen thousand men-at-arms to the walls of Cambrai. No important result followed from this campaign, and Edward soon disbanded his army. The pope soon afterward wrote a long and expostulatory letter to Edward, advising peace, but the king was immovably fixed in his purpose, and immediately afterward publicly assumed the title of king of France. To raise money for the payment of his debts and the expenses of another campaign, he determined to revisit England, and left his queen at Ghent as an hostage for his speedy return. From his parliament he obtained supplies; and was preparing to fulfil his engagement, when advice was brought that Philip, to intercept him on his passage, had assembled, with the aid of the Genoese and Normans, a powerful fleet in the harbor of Sluys. The king immediately collected every vessel in the southern ports, and the next evening discovered the French fleet, over which he gained an important victory.

Crowned with laurels, Edward landed, and marched at the head of two hundred thousand men to undertake, at the same time, the two sieges of Tournay and St. Omer. Yet these mighty preparations, after a few weeks, ended in nothing. Edward asked money from England, but the exchequer was unable to satisfy his wants. Some of the courtiers improved the opportunity to instil into his mind suspicions of the fidelity of his ministers; and suddenly he sailed, in stormy weather, from a port in Zealand, stole unperceived up the Thames, landed about midnight at the Tower, and the next morning displaced the chancellor, treasurer, and master of the rolls, confined three of the judges, and ordered the arrest of most of the officers employed in the collection of the revenue. He returned to France in a few months with twelve thousand men; but, by

attempting too much, effected nothing. He divided his forces into three divisions, with which, at the same time, he pretended to invest Rennes, Nantes, and Vannes, which had lately been retaken by Charles; but the arrival of the duke of Normandy, the eldest son of Philip, compelled him to concentrate and intrench his forces. The French did the same; and the two armies remained for several weeks during the depth of winter in the vicinity of each other. At this juncture, to the equal satisfaction of both parties, two cardinals arrived, and a truce was concluded for three years and eight months. Preparations for the renewal of war were, however, made on both sides. The English parliament recommended the renewal of hostilities, and an army proceeded to Guienne under the command of the king's cousin, the earl of Derby. Edward, having collected a numerous force, sailed from Southampton, with the intention, as he gave out, of invading the southern provinces of France, suddenly altered his course, and anchored in the road of La Hogue, on the coast of Normandy. The province was defenceless, and Edward obtained some important advantages. Philip advanced against him with a very large force, and Edward retreated before him for a time, but at length resolved to give him battle. The spot on which he determined to receive the enemy was the high ground beyond Creci, lying between the river Maye on the right, and Wadicourt to the left. In the evening he invited his barons to supper, entertained them with cheerfulness, and dismissed them with a promise of victory. When they were gone, he entered his oratory, threw himself on his knees before the altar, and prayed that God would preserve his honor. It was midnight when he retired to his bed; he slept little, and at dawn on the morning of the 26th August, 1346, assisted at mass, and received the communion with his son, the young prince of Wales, who had just reached his fifteenth year.

As soon as the troops had breakfasted, the marshals issued their orders, and each lord, under his own banner and pennon, marched to the ground which had been allotted to him on the preceding day. All were dismounted, to take away the temptation of pursuit or flight. The first division, under the nominal command of the prince, the real command of the earls of Warwick and Oxford, consisted of eight hundred men-at-

The eve of the battle of Creci.

Edward prepares for the battle.



arms, a thousand Welsh infantry, and two thousand archers. At some distance behind them, but rather on their flank, was placed the second division of eight hundred men-at-arms, and twelve hundred archers. The third, under the command of the king, comprised seven hundred men-at-arms, and two thousand archers, and was stationed as a reserve on the summit of the hill. The archers of each division formed in its front in the shape of a porteullis; and orders were issued that no man should encumber himself with the charge of a prisoner or quit his post to pursue a fugitive. Edward, on a small palfrey, with a marshal on each side, rode from company to company, speaking to all, exhorting them to defend his honor, and expressing his confidence of victory. About ten o'clock he ordered them to take refreshment. They sat in ranks on the ground, with their bows and helmets before them.

The king of France had marched from Abbeville about sunrise; but the multitude of his followers advanced in so disorderly a manner, that the knights who had reconnoitred the English army advised him to postpone the battle The army of the French king. till the morrow, and employ the interval in marshalling his army. Two officers were immediately despatched, one to the van, the other to the rear, crying out, "Halt, banners, in the name of God and St. Denis." But these orders increased the confusion. By some they were obeyed, by many misunderstood, and by the greater part disregarded. Philip suffered himself to be carried forward by the stream; and, as soon as he saw the English, he lost his temper, and ordered the Genoese to form, and begin the battle.

The Genoese were a body of six, or according to some writers, fifteen, thousand Italians, who fought with cross-bows under two celebrated leaders, Antonio Doria and Carlo Grimaldi. They were supported by the king's brother, the count d'Alençon with a numerous cavalry superbly accoutred. The king himself followed with the rest of the army in four divisions; the amount of the combatants has been estimated by different writers, at every intermediate number between sixty and one hundred and twenty thousand men.

Never, perhaps, were preparations for battle made under circumstances so truly awful. On that very day the sun suffered a partial eclipse; birds in clouds, the The battle of Creci.

precursors of a storm, flew screaming over the two armies; and the rain fell in torrents, accompanied with incessant thunder and lightning. About five in the afternoon the weather cleared up, the sun in full splendor darted his rays in the eyes of the enemy. The Genoese, setting up three shouts, discharged their arrows. But they were no match for the English archers, who received the volley in silence, and returned their arrows in such numbers and with such force, that the cross-bowmen began to waver. The count d'Alençon, calling them cowards, ordered his men to cut down the runaways; but he only added to the disorder. Many of his knights were unhorsed by the archers, and, as they lay on the ground, were despatched by the Welshmen, who had armed themselves with long knives for the purpose.

At length the passage was cleared; the count on one side, and his colleague the earl of Flanders on the other, skirted the English archers, while a numerous body of French, Germans, and Savoyards, forced their way to the men-at-arms under the command of the prince. The second division immediately closed for his support; but the conflict grew fierce and doubtful, and Sir Thomas Norwich was sent to request a reinforcement. Edward, who from a windmill watched the chances of the battle, and the movements of the armies, inquired if his son were killed or wounded. The messenger replied, "No." "Then," said he, "tell Warwick that he shall have no assistance. Let the boy win his spurs. He and those who have him in charge shall earn the whole glory of the day." This answer was hailed as a prediction of victory, and infused new courage into the combatants.

D'Alençon, unable to make any impression on the English in his front, attempted to turn their position by penetrating through a narrow pass on one side of the hill; but he found the outlet barricaded with carts and wagons from the camp, and was repulsed with great slaughter by a body of archers posted behind them. In the mean time, Philip, who had hitherto been only a spectator to the action, grew impatient; he hastened with his force to the aid of his brother; and fought as if it had been his object to refute the taunt of cowardice so often applied to him by Edward. He was wounded in two places; his horse was killed under him; he retired till the blood was stanch'd, and then mounting another charger, rushed into the midst of the

The heroic conduct of Philip.

combatants. But the day was already lost ; his brother, with the flower of the French chivalry, had fallen ; and John of Hainault, seizing the king's bridle, and bidding him reserve himself for victory on some future occasion, led him by force out of the field. With a slender escort of five barons and sixty knights he escaped to the city of Amiens.

The flight of Philip did not terminate the contest. Many of the French continued in detached bodies to charge their adversaries ; but, as their efforts were made without concert, Edward meets his son after the battle. they generally ended in the destruction of the assailants. As the darkness increased, the fighting gradually ceased ; the voices of men seeking their banners from which they had wandered were no longer heard ; and the English congratulated themselves on the repulse of the enemy. The king, ignorant of the extent of his victory, ordered fires to be kindled, and forbade his men to quit their posts. Eager to testify his approbation of the prince, he sprang to meet him, and clasping him in his arms, exclaimed, "Fair son, continue your career. You have behaved nobly. You have shown yourself worthy of me and the crown!" The young Edward sank on his knees, and modestly attributed all the merit to his father.

Eleven princes and twelve hundred knights were slain in this battle. Report made the total number of those killed amount to thirty thousand. A truce of three days was proclaimed for the burial of the dead ; and the king himself attended in mourning at the funeral service.

Among the slain, the most distinguished was John, king of Bohemia. His motto, "Ich dien," (I serve,) was adopted by the prince of Wales, and has been always borne by his successors.

At this time, David, king of Scotland, invaded England, but was defeated at Nevil's Cross, in Cumberland, taken prisoner, and conveyed to London. In Guienne, the earl of Derby obtained several most important advantages over The siege of Calais. A. D. 1346. the French. Edward was engaged in the siege of Calais, a siege which formed a new era in the military history of the age. Contrary to all precedent, not an assault was given, not a single engine was erected against the place. Instead of force, the king relied on the slower but less fallible operation of famine. A numerous fleet blockaded the harbor ; and communication with the

interior was intercepted by the besiegers. The governor turned out of the town every individual who did not possess a sufficient supply of provisions for several months. Men, women, and children, to the number of seventeen hundred persons, advanced in mournful procession to the English camp. Edward ordered them to be received, gave them a plentiful repast, and at their departure distributed to each two pieces of silver. Five hundred more of the inhabitants were driven without the gates. The English lines were, however, shut against them, and the unfortunate sufferers, without covering or provisions, perished miserably.

The king of France approached near Calais to relieve the besieged, but retired without rendering them any aid. It was in vain that the governor solicited terms of capitulation. Edward insisted that he should surrender at discretion; and the inhabitants, who knew that the king had expressed a resolution to punish their habits of piracy, and that his former enmity had been imbittered by the obstinacy of their resistance, received the answer with feelings of despair. They met in the market-place to consult; and the common gloom was dispelled by the generous devotedness of Eustace de St. Pierre, who offered to stake his life for the safety of his fellow-townsmen. Five others imitated his example, and the procession walked from the gate to the English camp. It was headed by the governor, riding on a palfrey, on account of his wounds; fifteen knights followed with their heads bare and their swords pointed to the ground; and then came the six townsmen, barefoot and bareheaded, with halters in their hands. By Edward they were received with an air of severity. The governor presented to him his sword, and the keys of the town; and joining his companions in misfortune, implored on his knees the mercy of the conqueror. The king affected to be inexorable, rejected the intercession of his barons, sent for the executioner, and if he at last yielded, it was with apparent reluctance, to the tears and entreaties of his queen Philippa. The prisoners were left to the disposal of their fair advocate, who clothed them, invited them to a plentiful repast, and at their departure made to each of them a present of six nobles. Thus was Calais severed from the French crown after a siege of twelve months. To secure his conquest, Edward expelled the natives who refused to swear fealty to the king of Eng-

The surrender of the city: the noble conduct of St. Pierre.

land, and re-peopled the town with a colony of his own subjects. It rapidly became a place of considerable opulence; it was appointed the general mart for the sale of merchandise exported from England; and it continued to flourish for more than two centuries under the protection of its conqueror and his successors.

Writers have not always sufficiently appreciated the benefits which mankind derived from the pacific influence of the Roman pontiffs. In an age which valued no merit but that of arms, Europe would have been plunged in perpetual war, had not pope after pope labored incessantly for the preservation or restoration of peace. They rebuked the passions and checked the extravagant pretensions of sovereigns; their character, as the common fathers of Christians, gave to their representations a weight which no other mediator could claim; and their legates spared neither journey nor fatigue to reconcile the jarring interests of courts, and interpose the olive of peace between the swords of contending armies. As soon as the war recommenced between Edward and Philip, Clement had resumed his pacific endeavors; for two years he ceased not to entreat, to admonish, to reprehend; the violence and obstinacy of his belligerent children did not exhaust his patience; and as soon as the French army had reached Whitsand, the cardinals of Naples and Clermont offered their services, to prevent the effusion of blood. But Philip refused to deliver up a town which had so long set at defiance the power of his adversary, and Edward would not forego the expected reward of his perseverance in so tedious a siege. When Calais had fallen, the legates renewed their offer; each king was now willing to admit of a temporary respite; and an armistice, which was concluded for a few months, was, at the repeated instances of the holy see, gradually prolonged for six years. It was a breathing time necessary to the king of France, that he might restore his finances and the spirit of his people; it was welcome to the king of England, who could now repose with satisfaction under the laurels which he had gained. The victories of Creci and Nevil's Cross had stamped the reputation of the English, and raised their sovereign to the first rank among the princes of Europe; and two of the chief of his opponents, David king of Scots, and Charles de Blois, duke of Bretagne, were his prisoners.

In the first week of August, 1348, a plague made its appear-

ance in England. Of its victims, many expired in the course of six hours, and few lingered more than two or three days. From man, the exterminating malady spread itself to the brute creation. The labors of husbandry were neglected; no courts of justice were opened; the parliament was repeatedly prorogued by proclamation; and men, intent only on their own safety, fled from the care of the infected, and slighted every call of honor, duty, and humanity. When historians tell us that one-half or one-third of the population perished, we may suspect them of exaggeration; but it is easy to form some idea of the mortality, from the fact that all the cemeteries of London were soon filled.

Edward had now awaked from the dream of his ambition. Convinced by experience that the French crown lay beyond his reach, he offered to renounce his pretensions in exchange for the sovereignty of the provinces which he held as a vassal in his own right, and in the right of his queen. By Philip, the proposal was rejected with scorn; John, his son and successor, discovered, perhaps feigned, a willingness to accept it. But this prospect, so consoling to the friends of humanity, was closed by the pride of the French people. Edward again took up arms; and a plan of combined operations was concerted between him and his eldest son, now called, from the color of his armor, the Black Prince. The latter, during the year 1355, opened the campaign with an army of sixty thousand men. In the short space of seven weeks he had laid in ashes more than five hundred cities, towns, and villages, in a populous district, which for a century had not been visited with the horrors of war.

During this expedition, the king of England marched from Calais at the head of a gallant army; but all his plans were disconcerted by the superior policy of John, who cautiously shunned an engagement, but was careful, as he retired before his adversary, to lay waste the country around him. The English had not reached Amiens when the want of provisions compelled them to return. A scanty supply was procured in the Boulonnois; and they entered Calais on the tenth day after their departure from it. Here the French monarch sought to amuse Edward with proposals for a general

battle; while his allies the Scots surprised Berwick, poured over the borders, and spread devastation through the northern counties. But at the first intelligence the king hastened to England, met his parliament at Westminster, obtained a liberal aid for six years, and ordered his forces to assemble in Northumberland. Berwick was recovered by the sole terror of his approach; and at Roxburgh he purchased from Baliol his patrimonial property in Galloway, together with his rights to the Scottish throne.

The next year was signalized by the ever-memorable victory of Poitiers. The honor and plunder of the late campaign stimulated the prince of Wales to a similar attempt in a different direction. With a small army of twelve thousand men he left Bordeaux, ascended the Garonne as far as Agen, and, turning to the left, overran the fertile provinces of Querci, Limousin, Auvergne, and Berri. Conquest was not his object, but to inflict on the natives the injuries of war and to enrich his followers at the expense of the enemies. The harvest was trodden under foot; the cattle were slaughtered; the wines and provisions which the army could not consume were destroyed; the farm-houses, villages, and towns were reduced to ashes; and every captive able to pay his ransom was conducted to Bordeaux. He turned from Issodun and Bourges, which threatened a vigorous resistance; but took Vierzon by storm, and Romorantin by setting it on fire. In this desolating expedition, it does not seem to have occurred to the young prince that it was dangerous to penetrate so far into a powerful kingdom, or that his retreat might probably be intercepted by a more numerous force. The king of France had ordered his vassals to join him at Chartres, and crossing the Loire at Blois, pushed forward to the city of Poitiers. Edward, when it was too late, had commenced his march for the same city; but it was his misfortune to know nothing of his enemy but from vague and suspicious reports, while his own motions were accurately observed and daily notified to the French monarch. One day, after a fatiguing march, the English had reached in the afternoon the village of Maupertuis, about five miles from Poitiers, when their van unexpectedly fell in with the rear of the enemy. The danger of his situation immediately flashed on the mind of the

The ravages of the English army.

The armies meet near Poitiers.

prince. "God help us!" he exclaimed; "it only remains for us to fight bravely."

In stating the amount of the hostile armies, historians are greatly at variance; but of their relative numbers, a probable estimate may be formed from the testimony of Sir Thomas Gray, that John had eight thousand, Edward, one thousand nine hundred coats-of-arms under his command. This superiority was partially balanced by the advantage of a position most unfavorable to the operations of the cavalry, which formed the real, the only strength of the French army. It was a rising ground, covered with vineyards, and intersected with hedges, accessible only in one point through a long and narrow lane, which in no part would admit of more than four horsemen abreast. In the morning, the prince ordered his men-at-arms to form on foot in front of the road; one half of his archers he posted before them in the favorite figure of a portcullis or harrow; the other half he ordered to line all the hedges between the main body and the moor on which the enemy was encamped. John arrayed his army in three divisions on foot, under the separate command of his cousin, the duke of Orleans, of his three eldest sons, and of himself and his fourth son, a youth in his sixteenth year. He retained on horseback only three small bodies, one of which, consisting of three hundred knights and esquires, selected from the whole army, was destined for the hazardous attempt of dispersing the archers in front of the English line. These arrangements were hardly completed

Cardinal Perigord endeavors to effect an accommodation.

when the cardinal Talleyrand Perigord arrived on the field, and with uplifted hands besought John to spare the blood of so many noble knights; nor stake on the uncertain issue of a battle the advantages which he would certainly obtain by negotiation. His repeated entreaties wrung from the king a reluctant consent; and riding to the prince, he represented to him the danger of his situation. "Save my honor," said the young Edward, "and the honor of my army, and I will readily listen to reasonable conditions." "Fair son," replied the cardinal, "you have answered wisely: such conditions it shall be my task to procure." The legate was indefatigable in his endeavors. He rode from army to army; he labored to subdue the reluctance of the prince, and to lower the confidence of



the king. Edward offered to restore his conquests, his spoil, and his captives, and not to bear arms against France for seven years. John, at the persuasion of the bishop of Chalons, and Eustace de Ribeaumont, demanded as his ultimatum, that the prince and a hundred of his knights should surrender themselves prisoners of war. The proposal was indignantly rejected; the prospect of a pacification vanished; and the night was spent in preparations for battle. To judge from the opposite numbers, no doubt could be entertained of its issue; but the recollection of the battle of Creci cheered the English with a gleam of hope, and occasionally staggered the confidence of their enemies.

With the dawn of light, the trumpets summoned the two nations to their respective posts. The English had improved the interval to throw up trenches, and form a barricade of wagons, where their position seemed the least difficult of access. The battle of Poitiers. The French had made no other alteration than to place a body of reserve under the duke of Orleans in the rear, and to give the command of the first division to the two marshals, Arnold d'Andreghen and John de Clermont. The cardinal Talleyrand was again in the field; but his entreaties were fruitless, and he was told that so much importunity displeased the king, and might be attended with disagreeable consequences to himself. He then rode to convey the tidings to the prince, who coolly replied, "God defend the right!" and the departure of the legate was made the signal for the commencement of the battle. The French marshals, at the head of their cavalry, fearlessly entered the lane, and were suffered to advance without molestation. At last the order was given; the archers behind the hedges poured in destructive volleys of arrows; the passage was choked with men and horses in the agonies of death; and the confusion became irremediable, from the increasing pressure of the rest of the column. A few knights forced their way through every obstacle; others broke down the hedges, and in small bodies reached different points in front of the English; but not one could penetrate as far as the main body. The arrows were directed with too sure an aim to be eluded by address, and flew with a rapidity not to be resisted by ordinary armor. D'Andreghen was unhorsed and taken; Clermont was killed; the survivors, dismayed by their fate, paused, then retired slowly, and

at last fled with precipitation to the second division, which received them within its ranks.

But that division now began to waver. The archers, the terror of the men-at-arms at a distance, advanced in front, and a body of six hundred English was unexpectedly seen to cross a neighboring hill, and fall on the left flank. The knights in the rear hastily left their banners to secure their horses, and the lords who had the charge of the three princes, alarmed for their safety, sent them to Chauvigni under a guard of eight hundred lances. The departure of so large a body was mistaken for a flight, and the whole division in a few minutes dispersed.

The men-at-arms under Edward had hitherto been spectators of the combat. "Sir," said Sir John Chandos to the prince, "the field is won. Let us mount, and charge the French king. I know him for an intrepid knight, who will never flee from an enemy. It may be a bloody attempt; but, please God and St. George, he shall be our prisoner." The advice was approved, and the army advanced from the enclosures to the moor, which had become the theatre of battle. The duke of Athens, constable of France, was the first to throw himself in their way; his shout of "Mountjoy and St. Denis!" was answered by the national cry of "St. George for Guienne!" and in a few minutes the duke, with the greater part of his followers, was slain. The German cavalry next charged the English, but were easily dispersed, with the loss of the three earls, their commanders. Lastly, John himself, animated by despair, (for his reserve had fled already,) led up his division on foot, and fought for honor, when it was evidently too late to fight for victory.

When kings have fallen, or have been taken in battle, it has always been the fashion to describe them as performing prodigies of valor; but John does not owe his reputation to flattery or pity: it had been previously established in several engagements, and was equally acknowledged by friends and foes. For a while he maintained the unequal contest. He had received two wounds in the face; was beaten to the ground; and was surrounded by a host of adversaries, each of whom was anxious to secure so noble a prize. A young knight, bursting through the crowd, bent his knee, and requested him to surrender, or he would lose his life. He asked for his cousin, the

prince of Wales. "He is not here," returned the knight; "but surrender to me, and I will conduct you to him." "But who are you?" inquired the king. "Denis de Morbecque," he replied, "a knight of Artois, but compelled to serve the king of England, because I have been banished from France." John surrendered to him; and his son Philip was made prisoner at the same time.

Thus ended the battle of Poitiers, in which the whole chivalry of France was defeated by a handful of Englishmen, and the king became the captive of the prince whom he <sup>The admirable conduct of the conqueror.</sup> persuaded himself he had enclosed in his toils. If on such an occasion the youthful mind of the conqueror had betrayed symptoms of vanity, it would have been pardonable; but Edward's moderation in victory added to the admiration which he had inspired by his conduct in battle. There were in his army many knights who could have disputed with him the palm of personal bravery; there was not, perhaps, one his equal in the more amiable accomplishments of modesty and courtesy. He behaved to his royal captive with the respect due to a sovereign, waited on him at table, soothed his afflictions by reminding him of his valor, and assured him, that in the estimation of all who had witnessed his conduct, he had that day fairly won "the prize and garland" of chivalry. The next morning he continued his march with his prisoners to Bordeaux, and having concluded a truce for two years with the dauphin, the regent of France, returned to England in the spring. He landed with John at Sandwich, and proceeded by easy journeys to London. His father had given the necessary directions for his entry into the capital, under the pretence of doing honor to the king of France; an unwelcome honor, which served to re- <sup>His triumphal entry into London.</sup> mind that monarch of his captivity, and to make him the principal ornament in the triumph of his conqueror. Arches were thrown across the streets, tapestry, plate, and arms were suspended from the windows, and the road was lined with crowds of spectators. The lord mayor, at the head of more than a thousand citizens, divided into companies distinguished by their respective devices and colors, proceeded to meet the prince and his attendants in Southwark. The king of France was mounted on a cream-colored charger with magnificent trappings; the young Edward

rode on a small pony, without any thing to distinguish him; but he did not elude the eager eyes of the spectators, who hailed with loud acclamations the conqueror of Poitiers. Some hours elapsed before the cavalcade could reach Westminster Hall, where the king was seated on his throne, surrounded by his prelates and barons. When John entered he rose, descended to embrace him, and led him to partake of a splendid banquet. The palace of the Savoy, and afterward the castle of Windsor, was allotted to him and his son for their residence.

Negotiations for the ransom of David of Scotland occupied much attention for a long time. At length a treaty was agreed upon for a stipulated sum. David died before all Death of David king of Scotland. was arranged; but the great truce (so it was called) was carefully observed, and the money was faithfully paid by Robert, his successor, the first of the house of Stuart who sat on the Scottish throne.

But to adjust the rival claims of the kings of England and France was a matter of infinitely greater difficulty. Edward required an enormous ransom for the king and the other prisoners, and demanded, in return for his renunciation of all claim to the crown of France, the restoration of the provinces which had formerly belonged to his ancestors, to be holden by him in full sovereignty, without any dependence on the French monarch. John, though he delayed, at length acceded to Edward's demands; but a peremptory refusal was unanimously returned by the French when asked to ratify the treaty. Edward complained that he was deceived by his adversaries, and bade them prepare for war.

In autumn, 1359, the king sailed from Sandwich with eleven hundred transports, conveying the most numerous and best appointed army which had been raised in England Edward again invades France. for more than a century. He marched from Calais through Picardy, Artois, and Cambresis, as far as Rheims, which he besieged, but without success.

Edward soon planted his banner before the gates of Paris. After wreaking his vengeance on the suburbs by setting them on fire, he decamped, with a threat that he would Peace finally concluded. soon pay the capital a second and more formidable visit. Peace was, however, concluded shortly afterward. The king of England renounced his pretensions to the crown of France,

and his claim to the ancient patrimonial possessions of his family, Normandy, Anjou, Touraine, and Maine; he restored all his conquests, with the exception of Calais and Guisnes; and reserved to himself Poitou and Guienne with their dependencies, and the county of Ponthieu, the inheritance of his mother. The dauphin, on the part of his father, consented that Edward and his heirs should possess for ever the full sovereignty of the countries secured to him by the treaty; that a ransom of three million crowns of gold should be paid for John within the course of six years; and that Edward should receive and detain as hostages twenty-five French barons, sixteen of the prisoners made in the battle of Poitiers, and forty-two burghers from the most opulent cities in France. John departed to his own dominions, but having returned to England on public business in 1364, he died in London.

The king of England, soon after the peace with France, had united all his dominions between the Loire and the Pyrenees into one principality, and had bestowed it on his eldest son, the Black Prince, with the title of prince of Charles recovers his possessions. Aquitaine. A dispute broke out between young Edward and Charles of France in 1369; and all the English possessions in France were annexed by a judicial sentence to the French crown. Conquest followed conquest; and at the end of six years Charles had not only recovered the districts lost by his father, but had also made himself master of the far greater part of Guienne.

The English king convoked his parliament, inveighed with bitterness against the perfidy of Charles, reassumed the title of king of France, and offered to every adventurer the possession of such fiefs as he might conquer in The death of the Black Prince. that kingdom. Reinforcements were sent to the Black Prince, who lay in the castle of Angoulême, a prey to disease and vexation, till he was roused from inactivity by the intelligence that the dukes of Anjou and Berri were advancing from different points to besiege him with their united forces. He declared that his enemies should find him in the field; his standard was unfurled at Cognac; and there was still such a magic in his name, that the French princes disbanded their armies, and garrisoned their conquests. But the military career of the prince was now terminated. The effort had exhausted his enfeebled constitution;

and by the advice of his physicians he returned to England, where, at a distance from the court and from political concerns, he lingered for six years, (till 1376,) cheering the gloom which hung over him with the hope that his second son Richard (the eldest was dead) would succeed to the crown, and uphold the renown of his family.

In the year 1374, England retained of her transmarine possessions only Calais, Bourdeaux, Bayonne, and a few places on the Dordogne. Edward, weary of this succession of disasters, obtained a truce, which at short intervals was repeatedly prolonged till his death. The pope continually exhorted the kings to convert the truce into a peace; but their resentments were too violent, their pretensions too high, to allow any adjustment.

Edward, in his latter years, lived in obscurity at Eltham. On the morning of his death his domestics separated to plunder the palace; but a priest, who chanced to be present, hastening to the bed of the dying monarch, admonished him of his situation, and bade him prepare himself to appear before his Creator. Edward, who had just strength sufficient to thank him, took a crucifix into his hands, kissed it, wept, and expired on the 21st June, 1377.

The king had been once married to Philippa of Hainault, who died in 1369, and was buried at Westminster. She bore him a numerous family, seven sons and five daughters; of whom three sons and one daughter survived him. His death happened in the sixty-fifth year of his life, and the fifty-first of his reign.

In personal accomplishments Edward is said to have been superior, in mental powers to have been equal, to any of his predecessors. More than usual care had been bestowed on his education; and he could not only speak the English and French, but also understood the German and Latin languages. His elocution was graceful, his conversation entertaining, his behaviour dignified, but also attractive. To the fashionable amusements of hunting and hawking he was much addicted; but to these he preferred the more warlike exercise of the tournament; and his subjects, at the conclusion of the exhibition, often burst into transports of applause when they found that the unknown knight, whose prowess they admired, proved to be their own sovereign. Of his courage as a combatant, and his

abilities as a general, the reader will have formed a competent opinion from the preceding pages. The astonishing victories, which cast so much glory on one period of his reign, appear to have dazzled the eyes both of his subjects and of foreigners, who placed him in the first rank of conquerors; but the disasters which clouded the evening of his life, have furnished a proof that his ambition was greater than his judgment. He was at last convinced that the crowns of France and Scotland were beyond his reach; but not till he had exhausted the strength of the nation by a series of gigantic but fruitless efforts. Before his death all his conquests, with the exception of Calais, had slipped from his grasp; the greater part of his hereditary dominions on the continent had been torn from him by a rival, whom he formerly despised; and a succession of short and precarious truces was sought and accepted as a boon by the monarch who, in his more fortunate days, had dictated the peace of Bretigni.

Still the military expeditions of Edward, attended as they were with a great expenditure of money and effusion of blood, became in the result productive of advantages, which had neither been intended nor foreseen by their author. By plunging the king into debt, they rendered him more dependent on the people, who, while they bitterly complained of the increasing load of taxation, secured, by the temporary sacrifice of their money, permanent benefits both for themselves and posterity. There was scarcely a grievance, introduced by the ingenuity of feudal lawyers or the arrogance of feudal superiority, for which they did not procure a legal, and often an effectual remedy. It was not indeed a time when even parliamentary statutes were faithfully observed. But during a reign of fifty years, the commons annually preferred the same complaints; the king annually made the same grants; and at length, by the mere dint of repeated complaint and repeated concession, the grievances were in most cases considerably mitigated—in some, entirely removed.\*

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\* Dr. Lingard, in this portion of his work, enters at very great length into an investigation of the condition of England in the eventful half-century during which Edward I. reigned. In this dissertation the historian explains, with his usual clearness, the state of the kingdom with regard to taxation, the administration of justice, the additions made to the statute-book, (especially the "Statute

It is in the history of Edward's reign that the name of Wycliffe is first mentioned. He was, about 1360, engaged in a controversy with the different orders of friars. They had  
Wycliffe. been established in England for more than a century; and by their zeal, piety, and learning, had deservedly earned the esteem of the public. Some taught with applause in the universities; many lent their aid to the parochial clergy in the discharge of their ministry; several had been raised to the episcopal dignity; and others had been employed in difficult and important negotiations by their sovereigns. This controversy had no immediate result; but it was the origin of that violent hostility to the friars which Wycliffe displayed in every subsequent stage of his life. By degrees he diverted his invectives from the friars to the whole body of the clergy. The pope, the bishops, the rectors, and curates, smarted successively under the lash.

The coarseness of Wycliffe's invectives soon became the subject of astonishment and complaint. In the last year of Edward, while the parliament was sitting, he was summoned  
Wycliffe at St. Paul's. to answer in St. Paul's before the primate and the bishop of London. He obeyed; but made his appearance between the two most powerful subjects in England, the duke of Lancaster, and Percy, the lord marshal. Their object was to intimidate his opponents; and the attempt was begun by Lancaster, who ordered a chair to be given to Wycliffe. Courtenay, the bishop of London, replied that it was not customary for the accused to sit in the presence, and without the permission, of his judges. A vehement altercation ensued, and the language of Lancaster grew so abusive, that the populace rose in defence of their bishop, and had it not been for his interference, would have offered violence to his reviler. Though the duke escaped with his life, his palace of the Savoy was pillaged.

Wycliffe found it necessary to make the best apology in his

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of Treasons,") the forms of procedure in parliament, the mode of raising the army and navy, and the constitution of the church in England. This part of Dr. Lingard's work should be carefully studied by those who wish to trace the progress of the institutions of the country and the growth of the English constitution; its length prevents our placing it in this abridgment, and it could not well be curtailed. We shall, however, at the close of this work, present the reader with a sketch of the British constitution in its present form.



power, and was permitted to depart with a severe reprimand, and an order to be silent for the future on those subjects which had given so much cause for complaint.

The sequel of Wycliffe's history will be related in the narrative of the reign of the next monarch.

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## CHAPTER XX.

### Richard the Second.

#### CONTEMPORARY SOVEREIGNS.

<i>Popes.</i>	<i>Scotland.</i>	<i>France.</i>
Gregory XI.	Robert II.	Charles V.
Urban VI.	Robert III.	Charles VI.
Boniface IX.		
	<i>Germany.</i>	<i>Spain.</i>
	Charles IV.	Henry II.
	Winceslaus.	John I.
		Henry III.

Coronation of Richard—Insurrection of the people—Wycliffe—Invasion of Scotland—The king goes to Ireland—The despotism of Richard—He proceeds to Ireland a second time—Henry of Lancaster rebels—The king is made prisoner and deposed.—From A. D. 1377 to 1399.

WHILE Edward yet lay on his death-bed, a deputation of the citizens of London waited on Richard of Bourdeaux, the son and heir of the Black Prince, and offered him the throne. The same day his grandfather died; the <sup>Richard is</sup> crowned. next afternoon Richard made his entry into the capital as king, and was crowned on the 16th July, 1377. The following day the prelates and barons held a great council to arrange the form of the new government during the minority of the king, and they chose, "in aid of the chancellor and treasurer," twelve councillors, two bishops, two earls, two barons, two bannerets, and four knights.

The truce between England and France had expired before the death of Edward; and Charles had taken the opportunity to re-

The truce with France. new hostilities, and add to his former conquests.  
 His fleets insulted the English coasts; and he obtained the co-operation of the Spaniards. The king summoned parliament after parliament to demand the aid of his people; and these assemblies, imitating those of the last reign, accompanied every grant with petitions, which procured the confirmation of the statutes already enacted, and led to the acquisition of new and valuable privileges, still enjoyed by the house of commons at the present day.

The duke of Lancaster conducted an army to Bretagne, besieged the town of St. Malo, lay during several weeks before the walls, and then returned to England without fighting the enemy, or achieving a single conquest. Hostilities between England and France.  
 The Scots at the same time violated the truce, burned Roxburgh, and surprised Berwick, which was soon recovered by the earl of Northumberland. Several petty engagements were fought at sea by private adventurers. The French had successively obtained possession of every fortress in Bretagne, with the exception of Brest. Charles, flattering himself that he was secure of his conquest, by a definitive judgment annexed the duchy to the French crown; a precipitate and injudicious measure, which instantly awakened all the national prejudices of the Bretons. They combined to assert their independence, recalled their duke, expelled the French, and earnestly solicited assistance from England. The first expedition under Sir John Arundel was dispersed by a storm, in which the general and the greater part of the men-at-arms perished. A second army was raised, and placed under the command of the earl of Buckingham, the king's uncle. He crossed from Dover to Calais, and directed his march through the heart of France. Charles soon died, the Bretons transferred their jealousy from the French to their allies; and peace was made with the regency which governed France during the minority of Charles VI.

At this period a secret ferment seems to have pervaded the mass of the people in many nations of Europe. Men were no longer willing to submit to the impositions of their rulers, or to wear the chains which had been thrown round the necks of their fathers by a warlike and haughty aristocracy. Discontent among the mass of the people. In England a spirit of discontent agitated the whole

body of the *villeins* or bondsmen, who remained in almost the same situation in which we left them at the Norman conquest. They now rose, and by their union and perseverance contrived to intimidate their lords, and set at defiance the severity of the law. The revolt began in Essex, and in a few days all that county was in a state of insurrection, under the command of an ill-conducted priest, who had assumed the name of Jack Straw.

The men of Kent were not long behind their neighbors in Essex. At Dartford one of the collectors had demanded the tax for a young girl, the daughter of a tyler. Her mother maintained that she was under the age re-<sup>The affair at Dartford.</sup>quired by the statute; and the officer was proceeding to indecent conduct, when her father, who had just returned from work, killed him with a stroke from his hammer. His courage was applauded by his neighbors. They swore that they would protect him from punishment, and by threats and promises secured the co-operation of all the villages in the western division of Kent.

At Maidstone, they appointed Wat, the tyler of that town, leader of the commons of Kent. The mayor and aldermen of Canterbury were compelled to swear fidelity to the good cause; several of the citizens were slain; and five hundred joined them in their intended march toward Lon-<sup>The insurrection of Wat Tyler.</sup>don. When they reached Blackheath, their numbers are said to have amounted to one hundred thousand men. To this lawless and tumultuous multitude one John Ball was appointed preacher, and assumed for the text of his first sermon the following lines:

When Adam delved, and Eve span,  
Who was then the gentleman?

The king, with his cousin Henry, earl of Derby, Simon, archbishop of Canterbury and chancellor, and about one hundred serjeants and knights, had left the castle of Windsor, and repaired for greater security to the Tower of London. The next morning, in his barge, he descended the river to receive the petitions of the insurgents. To the number of ten thousand, with two banners of St. George, and sixty pennons, they waited his arrival at Rotherhithe; but their horrid yells and uncouth appearance so intimidated his attendants, that instead of permitting him to land, they took advantage of the tide, and returned with precipitation. Tyler

and Straw, irritated by this disappointment, led their men into London, where they demolished Newgate, and liberated the prisoners, plundered and destroyed the magnificent palace of the Savoy, belonging to the duke of Lancaster, and burned the Temple with the books and records. To prove, however, that they had no views of private emolument, a proclamation was issued, forbidding any one to secrete part of the plunder; and so severely was the prohibition enforced, that the plate was hammered and cut into small pieces, the precious stones were beaten to powder, and one of the rioters, who had concealed a silver cup in his bosom, was immediately thrown with his prize into the river. To every man whom they met they put the question, "With whom holdest thou?" and unless he gave the proper answer, "With King Richard and the commons," he was instantly beheaded.

The princess of Wales held a council with the ministers in the Tower; and a resolution was taken to try the influence of promises and concessions. In the morning, the Tower-hill The king meets the insurgents at Mile-end. was seen covered with an immense multitude. A herald ordered them, by proclamation, to retire to Mile-end, where the king would assent to all their demands. Immediately the gates were thrown open; Richard with a few unarmed attendants rode forward; the best-intentioned of the crowd followed him; and at Mile-end he saw himself surrounded with sixty thousand petitioners. Their demands were reduced to four: the abolition of slavery; the reduction of the rent of land to fourpence the acre; the free liberty of buying and selling in all fairs and markets; and a general pardon for the past offences. A charter to that effect was granted; and the whole body, consisting chiefly of the men of Essex and Hertfordshire, retired, bearing the king's banner, as a token that they were under his protection.

But Tyler and Straw had formed other and more ambitious designs. The moment the king was gone, they rushed at the head of four hundred men into the Tower, and killed the Conference at Smithfield, and the death of Tyler. archbishop and five others. The next morning, as the king rode through Smithfield with sixty horsemen, he encountered Tyler at the head of twenty thousand insurgents. As soon as he saw Richard, he made a sign to his followers to halt, and boldly rode up to the king. A conversation immediately began; Tyler, as he talked, affected to play with his dagger;

at last he laid his hand on the bridle of his sovereign; but at the instant, Walworth, the lord mayor, jealous of his design, plunged a short sword in his throat. He spurred his horse, rode about a dozen yards, fell to the ground, and was despatched by Robert Standish, one of the king's esquires. The insurgents, who witnessed the transaction, drew their bows to revenge the fall of their leader, and Richard would inevitably have lost his life, had he not been saved by his own intrepidity. Galloping up to the archers, he exclaimed, "What are you doing, my lieges? Tyler was a traitor. Come with me, and I will be your leader." Wavering and disconcerted, they followed him into the fields at Islington, whither a force of one thousand men-at-arms hastened to protect the young king; and the insurgents, falling on their knees, begged for mercy. Many of the royalists demanded permission to punish them for their past excesses; but Richard firmly refused, and ordered the suppliants to return to their homes.

As soon as the death of Tyler and the dispersion of the men of Kent and Essex were known, thousands became eager to display their loyalty. At the head of forty thousand horse, he published proclamations, revoking the charters The insurrection suppressed. of manumission which he had granted. In several parts, the commons threatened to renew the horrors of the late tumult in defence of their liberties; but the approach of the royal army dismayed them; and numerous executions in different counties effectually crushed the spirit of resistance.

When the parliament met, the two houses were informed by the chancellor, that the king had revoked the charters of emancipation which he had been compelled to grant to the *villeins*; but at the same time wished to submit to their consideration, whether it might not be wise to abolish the state of bondage altogether. The minds of the great proprietors were not, however, prepared for the adoption of so liberal a measure; and the charters were repealed by authority of parliament.

In 1382, Richard married Anne of Bohemia, the daughter of the late emperor, Charles IV., a princess of great accomplishments, and of still greater virtue, who, during the twelve The marriage of Richard. years of their union, possessed the affections of her husband, and after her death was long remembered by the people under the appellation of the "good Queen Anne."

While the principal nations of Europe were thus agitated by popular tumults, the Christian world had been thrown into confusion by the opposite pretensions of two competitors for the papacy. Gregory XI., about seventy years after his predecessors had fixed their residence in France, returned, against the unanimous advice of the cardinals, to Rome. At his death three-fourths of the Sacred College consisted of Frenchmen; and the Romans, jealous of their preponderance, surrounded the conclave, and with the most alarming menaces demanded an Italian pope. To appease them, the archbishop of Bari was chosen, and assumed the name of Urban VI. For some months he exercised the pontifical authority without opposition; but his severity alienated his friends and irritated his enemies; the French cardinals seceded to Anagni; and under pretence that the former election had been made through the influence of terror, chose another pontiff, the cardinal of Geneva, who called himself Clement VII. Clement was immediately acknowledged by France, and the allies of France, the kings of Scotland, Spain, Sicily, and Cyprus; England and the rest of Europe continued in their obedience to Urban. From Rome and Avignon, their respective residences, the two pontiffs launched their anathemas, and preached up crusades against one another.

Before we proceed to the subsequent transactions of this reign, it will be proper to resume the history of Wycliffe. The insur-

History of Wycliffe. rection of the commons had created a strong prejudice against the new doctrines of that reformer.

A few weeks before the death of the late king, eighteen propositions, selected from the works and lectures of Wycliffe, had been laid before Gregory XI.; and the writer was summoned to explain his opinions in the presence of the primate and of the bishop of London. At his trial he exhibited to the prelates a paper professing his readiness to submit to the correction of the church, and a revocation of whatever he might have taught contrary to the doctrine of Christ. He then proceeds to explain, qualify, and defend his propositions; and was dismissed, with an order to abstain from the use of language calculated to perplex and mislead the ignorant. Wycliffe died suddenly about two years afterward.

The king had now reached his seventeenth year. The resolution and intrepidity which he had displayed during the insurrec-

tion seemed to portend a fortunate and glorious reign; and the qualities of his heart were recommended by the superior beauty of his person and the elegance of his manners. And yet his reign from this period became a succession of errors and misfortunes, which ultimately cost him his crown and life. His ministers were not selected from the higher classes in the state; and the favor which they enjoyed was construed into a crime by the ancient families. This systematic opposition to his favorites exasperated the king. At first, the duke of Lancaster had been the chief object of suspicion. The prince thought proper to seek an asylum at the Scottish court; nor did he return till the king by proclamation bore testimony to his innocence. Some time afterward, however, a Carmelite friar put into the king's hands the written particulars of a real or pretended conspiracy to place the crown on the head of Lancaster. Richard was advised to communicate it to the duke, who swore that it was false, offered to prove his innocence by battle, and required that the informer might be committed to close custody for future examination. The friar persisted in his story, and was given to the care of Sir John Holand, (a son of the princess of Wales by her first husband,) who strangled him with his own hands. This murder did not remove the secret suspicions of Richard, but he dissembled; and Lancaster crossed the sea to obtain a prolongation of the armistice. A resolution was, however, taken to arrest him on his return; but he disappointed his enemies, and shut himself up in his strong castle of Pontefract, till the king's mother, by repeated journeys and entreaties, reconciled the uncle and nephew, and also obtained a full pardon for her own son, Sir John Holand.

In consequence of a treaty concluded at Paris, the king of France had sent to Scotland an aid of one thousand men-at-arms. The allied forces, after some delay, burst at length into Northumberland, and took three castles; but the approach of Richard with an army of eighty thousand men, compelled them to retire with precipitation. This was the first time that the young king had appeared at the head of an army. While he was at York his mother died. The king of Scots, sensible of his inability, did not attempt to oppose the progress of the English army. Edinburgh, Dunfermline, Perth, and Dundee

were reduced to ashes; and the vanguard had reached the walls of Aberdeen, when advice was received that the Scots were ravaging the counties of Westmoreland and Cumberland. The army was disbanded; and the Scots and French boasted that the havoc which they had wrought in Cumberland and Westmoreland more than balanced the destruction caused by the English in Scotland.

In the next parliament the king confirmed the honors which he had bestowed during the expedition. His uncles, the earls of Cambridge and Buckingham, had been created dukes of York and Gloucester. Henry of Bolingbroke, son to the duke of Lancaster, and Edward Plantagenet, son to the duke of York, were made earls of Derby and Rutland. At the same time, to cut off the ambitious hopes of his uncle Lancaster, he declared Roger earl of March, the grandson of Lionel duke of Clarence, the presumptive heir to the throne.

At this time an embassy from Portugal arrived in London, to solicit the aid of the duke of Lancaster in a quarrel between that country and Castile. The duke accepted the proposal with pleasure; and Richard was glad of any pretext to remove him out of the kingdom. The expedition sailed to Portugal, where the duke was met by King John, and to cement their friendship, a marriage was celebrated between that prince and the eldest daughter of Lancaster. But the next campaign proved unfortunate. The English army wasted away; the conquests made in the last year were lost; and the duke himself, to recover his health, was compelled to take up his residence in Guienne. But these disasters were repaired by his policy. The duke of Berri had proposed to marry Lancaster's only daughter by his present wife Constantia, and heiress to her mother's pretensions to the crown of Spain. Intelligence of this proposal was conveyed to the king of Castile, who took the alarm, and offered to compromise the existing quarrel by the marriage of Henry, his son and heir, to the same princess. The offer was accepted. Henry and Catherine were married, and created prince and princess of Asturias. Their issue reigned over Spain for many generations.

Richard soon found reason to lament the absence of Lancaster, whose authority had hitherto checked the duke of Gloucester.

But that prince now assumed the ascendancy; fomented the discontent of the nobility; new modelled

The king confirms the honors conferred.

Embassy from Portugal.

The French form the design of invading England.



the government, and left to his nephew little more than the empty title of king. The French, encouraged by the absence of the army in Spain, had seriously formed the design of invading England. Their preparations of arms, provisions, and ships were immense. The earl of Arundel received the command of the English fleet, with instructions to destroy the ships of the enemy as soon as they had landed their forces. The confidence of the nation revived; but the opportunity was seized by Gloucester to plot the overthrow of the administration. The intended invasion, from unforeseen occurrences, was delayed from week to week, till it became necessary to postpone it to the following year; and Richard summoned a parliament to meet at Westminster, in which the two parties made the experiment of their strength. The session was opened by a speech from the chancellor, who informed the houses that the king intended to lead an army into France in support of his right to the French crown; and that if such a measure met with their approbation, they must provide the funds necessary to defray its expense. But the lords and commons, instead of applying to these subjects, presented a petition for the removal of the ministers. Richard retired to his palace at Eltham, and ordered the two houses to proceed to the consideration of the supply. They refused to obey until he should grant their petition, and return to his parliament. After a struggle of almost three weeks, he came to Westminster, and dismissed the obnoxious ministers. But this condescension encouraged his adversaries; and the commons impeached the late chancellor. He was acquitted on four charges; on the others his answers were pronounced insufficient; and he was therefore adjudged to pay a fine, and to be confined in prison during the king's pleasure. Soon after the dissolution of the parliament he was released.

The objects of the party in opposition to the court more clearly unfolded themselves, and it was proposed to establish a permanent council, with powers to reform the state of the nation. To such a measure the king declared Contest with the Parliament. that he would never give his assent, and threatened to dissolve the parliament. At length, when one of the lords represented to him that if he should persist in his refusal, his life would be in danger, his obstinacy was subdued; and with a reluctant hand he signed a commission to inquire into all the alleged grievances,

and to provide such remedies as should appear good. The commissioners commenced their labors with examining the revenue accounts; and the sequel affords a strong presumption that the royal administration had been foully calumniated; for we hear not of any frauds discovered, or of defaulters punished, or of grievances redressed. The earl of Arundel alone, who had been appointed admiral of the fleet, reflected a lustre on the new administration, by some very bold achievements on the French coast.

Richard had now reached his twentieth year, and resolved to emancipate himself from the actual control of the commissioners.

The king and the judges. He made a journey through England, and wherever he came, his arrival was distinguished by some act of grace. He held a council of several judges at Nottingham, in which he enjoined them, on their allegiance, to inform him what was the law of the land on the different questions which should be laid before them. In their reply they maintained, that the commission which had superseded the king in the exercise of the royal authority was subversive of the constitution. They affixed their seals to this answer, and promised on their oaths to keep it secret; but the next day it was betrayed by Sir Roger Fulthorpe, one of the number, to the earl of Kent, and was by him communicated to the duke of Gloucester.

Richard, ignorant of this unfortunate discovery, proceeded to make arrangements to secure a majority in the next house of commons. The commission was to expire on the 19th of November, 1387, and on the 10th Richard entered the capital. He was received with unusual expressions of joy and respect; the mayor and principal citizens wore the livery of white and crimson; and an immense crowd accompanied him to the church of St. Paul's, and thence to his palace at Westminster.

Elated with his reception, the king retired to rest; the next morning he learned with astonishment that a numerous body of

The king's favorites accused of treason. forces had reached the neighborhood of London under the command of the duke of Gloucester and the earls of Arundel and Nottingham, the constable, admiral, and marshal of England. The ensuing day they were joined by the earls of Derby and Warwick; and these five noblemen accused five of the king's favorites with treason. Richard, unable to re-

sist, received them on the next Sunday. They began with the most solemn protestations of attachment and loyalty; then accused of treason the archbishop of York, the duke of Ireland, the earl of Suffolk, Sir Robert Tresilian, and Sir Nicholas Brembre. Richard answered, that he would summon a parliament, in which justice should be done.

It now became evident that flight alone could save the obnoxious councillors. The earl of Suffolk reached France; the archbishop concealed himself in Newcastle; and the duke of Ireland repaired to the northern borders of Wales. Here, however, he received letters from the king, authorizing him to raise forces, and promising to join him on the first opportunity. With joy he unfurled the royal banner; and his hopes were encouraged by the accession of Molyneux, the constable of Chester. In a meeting at Huntingdon, Gloucester agreed with the earls of Arundel and Warwick and Sir Thomas Mortimer, to depose Richard, and take the crown under their own custody. Their intention was defeated by the opposition of the earls of Derby and Nottingham. In the mean time, the duke of Ireland, at the head of five thousand men, rapidly advanced toward the Thames; but Gloucester and his friends, acquainted with his motions, marched in the night by different roads from the neighborhood of London, occupied all the passes before his arrival, and in the first contest defeated him. On their return to London, Gloucester and Derby took from the mayor the keys of the city, and required an audience of the king, who had retired into the Tower. The intimidated monarch yielded to all their demands, and assented to the arrest of his friends.

As soon as the parliament met, Gloucester exhibited articles of impeachment against the five who had been accused of treason: the latter, with the exception of Sir Nicholas Brembre, who was in prison, were called, but did not answer to their names; and judgment was immediately prayed against them for their default. But the decision was put off till the next day; and all the judges, with the exception of Sir William Skipwith, were arrested by Gloucester's orders, on their seats in court, and committed to separate cells in the Tower.

The next morning, the king called upon the judges to give to

the lords their opinion respecting the bill of impeachment; who unanimously declared that it was illegal. The peers, however, resolved to proceed, and again demanded judgment; but the house adjourned till the next day, when the demand was repeated, and the primate instantly rising, observed, that the canons forbade the clergy to interfere in judgments of blood. All the bishops and abbots immediately left the house.

Eight days were spent in examining the bill of impeachment. Of the articles in this instrument, fourteen were declared to amount to treason; the accused were found guilty of them all; and the duke, the earl, and Tresilian were separately adjudged to suffer death. The case of the archbishop of York was reserved. Of the victims, three were already beyond their reach. The earl of Suffolk had arrived at Paris; the duke of Ireland had found an asylum in Holland; and the archbishop was still concealed in Northumberland; but Tresilian and Brembre were executed.

For nearly twelve months Richard continued a mere cipher in the hands of the party. The duke governed with greater lenity than might have been expected from his vindictive disposition; but his administration was not distinguished by any act of sufficient importance to dazzle the eyes of the nation, or to give stability to his power. The terror which Gloucester had inspired insensibly wore away; several of his partisans offered their services to the king; and Richard, by one bold action, instantaneously dissolved that authority which had been cemented with so much blood. In a great council held after Easter, he unexpectedly requested his uncle to tell him his age. "Your highness," the duke replied, "is in your twenty-second year." "Then," added the king, "I must certainly be old enough to manage my own concerns. I thank ye, my lords, for your past services, but do not require them any longer." A new treasurer and new chancellor were appointed; the former council was dismissed, and the king gave his confidence to a few tried friends, with the duke of York and the young earl of Derby, who, though they originally belonged to the commission, had either never forfeited, or had regained the royal favor. Gloucester submitted with reluctance, and after an interview with his nephew, retired into the country.

The king was now his own master, and for some years his administration was tranquil and happy. He preserved uninterrupted harmony between himself and his people. The king enjoys tranquillity. Though he retained a deep sense of the injuries which he had suffered, he had the prudence to suppress his resentment; and on the return of the duke of Lancaster from Guienne, recalled the duke of Gloucester to a seat in the council.

A long and angry controversy took place at this time respecting the appointment of English bishops, which ended entirely to the advantage of the crown; for though the right of election remained to the clergy, it was merely nominal, as they dared not reject the person recommended by the king; and though the pope still conferred the great dignities of the church by "provision," the "provisor" was invariably the person who had been nominated by the crown.

If the war between the kings of England and France still continued, it was more from the difficulty of adjusting their differences than from any real enmity between the two monarchs. Ireland at this period. Of late, hostilities had been suspended by a succession of negotiations which, in 1394, terminated in a truce for four years. Soon afterward, Richard was deprived of his consort, the good queen Anne, who died at his palace of Shene, and was interred at Westminster. The king appeared inconsolable; and to divert his melancholy, was advised to visit his Irish dominions. They had formerly produced a yearly income of thirty thousand pounds; now the receipts were not equal to the ordinary expenses of the government. To understand the cause of this defalcation, we must take a hasty review of the past transactions in Ireland. After the fall of Bruce, the second Edward was too much occupied by his domestic enemies, the third by his wars with Scotland and France, to attend to the concerns of the sister island; and the natives, by successive encroachments, gradually confined the English territories within narrower limits. The greater part of Ulster was recovered by the O'Nials; the O'Connors won several districts in Connaught; and in Leinster the O'Brians maintained with perseverance, and often with success, the cause of Irish independence. Had the natives united in one common effort, they might have driven the in-

vaders into the ocean; but they lost the glorious opportunity by their own dissensions and folly. Their hostilities were generally the sudden result of a particular provocation, not of any plan for the liberation of the island; their arms were as often turned against their own countrymen as against their national enemies; and several septs received annual pensions from the English government as the price of their services in protecting the borders from the inroads of the more hostile Irish.

Neither did the English pale present a scene of less anarchy and disunion. The settlers were divided into two classes, the

The English pale. English by race and the English by birth. The former were the descendants of the first invaders,

and considered themselves as the rightful heirs to the lands and emoluments which had been won by the swords of their progenitors. The farther they were removed from their seat of government, the less did they respect its authority; and, as they lived in the constant violation of the English laws, naturally sought to emancipate themselves from their control. Hence many adopted the dress, the manners, the language, and the laws of the natives, and were insensibly transformed from English barons into Irish chieftains. Of these, the most powerful was Thomas Fitz-Maurice, who collected, without distinction of country, every adventurer under his standard; expelled the English settlers who refused to conform to his wishes; encouraged intermarriages with the natives, and established among his dependants the customs of tanistry and gavelkind. Yet such was the weakness of the government, that to secure his fidelity, he was created earl of Desmond, and his possessions were erected into a county palatine.

The English by birth comprised the persons born in England whom the king had invested with office in Ireland, and the

The English by birth. crowds of adventurers whom penury or crime annually banished from their own country. To the

old settlers they were objects of peculiar jealousy and hatred; by the government they were trusted and advanced, as a counterpoise to the disaffection of the others. Edward III. had gone so far as to forbid any person to hold office under the Irish government who was not an Englishman, and possessed of lands, tenements, or benefices in England; but the prohibition aroused the indignation of the English by race; in defiance of his authority, they

assembled in convention at Kilkenny, and so spirited were their remonstrances, that he revoked the order, and confirmed to them the rights which they had inherited from their ancestors.

Edward had appointed his son Lionel, duke of Clarence, to the government of Ireland. The prince landed with an army, obtained some advantages over the natives, and left the island, having rather inflamed than appeased <sup>The statute of Kilkenny.</sup> the jealousy between the two parties. Some years later he returned; a parliament was held under his influence; and the result was the celebrated statute of Kilkenny. Its provisions were directed not against the natives but the descendants of the English settlers, who, "to the ruin of the common weal, had rejected the laws of England for those of Ireland." It enacted that marriage, nurture of children, and *gossiped* with the Irish, should for the future subject the offender to the penalties of high treason; and that the Englishman who should adopt an Irish name, or the Irish language, or the Irish dress, should be constrained by imprisonment or forfeiture to give security that he would conform to the manners of his own country. It was, however, declared high treason for any Englishman to decline the authority of his own laws, and submit his cause to the decision of the Brehon judges.

Still the former dissensions prevailed among the strangers, and the Irish gradually extended their conquests. To restore tranquillity, Richard, in his ninth year, created the <sup>Richard lands in Ireland.</sup> earl of Oxford, his favorite, marquis of Dublin, and afterward duke of Ireland; bestowed on him the government of Ireland for life; and granted to him and his heirs all the lands which he should conquer from the natives, with the exception of such as had already been annexed to the crown, or conferred on former adventurers. Thirty thousand marks were allotted for the expedition by the parliament and the most sanguine hopes of success were generally cherished—when the whole plan was defeated by the dissension between the king and his barons, and the subsequent exile and death of the duke. Now, however, the moment seemed to be arrived when the English ascendancy might be restored, and the natives reduced to the most complete submission. With four thousand men-at-arms and thirty thousand archers, Richard landed at Waterford; the

duke of Gloucester, the earls of Rutland and Nottingham, aided him with their advice; and though the state of the country, intersected with lakes, morasses, and forests, impeded his progress—though the enemy, by retiring into inaccessible fortresses, shunned his approach—yet, in a short time, the idea of resistance was abandoned. The northern chieftains met the king at Drogheda; the southern attended his deputy, the earl of Nottingham, at Carlow; and all, seventy-five in number, did homage, promised to keep the peace, and submitted to pay a yearly tribute. The four principal kings, O’Nial, O’Connor, O’Brian, and McMurchad, followed Richard to Dublin, where they were instructed in the manners of the English by Sir Henry Christal; submitted to receive, though with some reluctance, the honor of knighthood, and, arrayed in robes of state, were feasted at the king’s table. Grievances were redressed, the laws enforced, tyrannical officers removed, and the minds of the natives became somewhat more reconciled to the English.

But while the king was thus establishing his power in Ireland, he was suddenly recalled to his English dominions. The disciples of Wycliffe, under the denomination of Lollards, had seized the opportunity of his absence to commence a fierce attack upon the revenues and the discipline of the church, and had prepared an inflammatory petition, which was to be presented to the house of commons. No one was found to present the petition; but the prelates solicited the protection of the king, who at his return to London, severely reprimanded the patrons of the Lollards, and ordered their teachers to be expelled from the university of Oxford.

On the death of his queen, Richard solicited the hand of Isabella, the daughter of Charles VI., a princess in her eighth year.

Richard marries Isabella. His offer was accepted, and the truce already existing between the two kingdoms was prolonged for twenty-eight years. Richard sailed to France to receive the princess; the kings feasted each other in their pavilions between Ardres and Calais; the marriage ceremony was performed by the archbishop of Canterbury, and the young queen was afterward crowned with the usual magnificence at Westminster.

This alliance with the royal family of France encouraged Richard to execute a scheme of vengeance which he had long



cherished within his own breast, but which it had been prudent to conceal. His mind was perpetually harassed by what he saw and heard of Gloucester's conduct; a repetition of petty injuries kept alive his resentment, and the memory of the past urged him to get rid of a prince who still continued to display the same hostility to his sovereign. Richard caused him to be arrested, and to be delivered to the custody of the Duke of Gloucester arrested: he dies in prison. earl of Nottingham, earl marshal. That nobleman pretended to conduct him to the Tower; but when they had reached the Thames, he put him on board a ship, sailed down the river, and lodged his prisoner in the castle of Calais, of which he was governor. Richard repaired to the castle of Nottingham, where it was determined to copy the former example of the prisoners, and to "appeal" them of treason. The time of trial was fixed for the ensuing parliament.

When parliament met, the earl marshal received an order to bring his prisoner, the duke of Gloucester, to the bar of the house, that he might reply to the "appeal" of treason. Three days later an answer was returned, that the duke had died. The time, the place, the suddenness of the death, will create a suspicion that this unfortunate prince had been murdered; and in the next reign it was pretended that Richard had sent assassins to Calais, by whom the duke was smothered between two beds. The duke was declared to have been a traitor, and all his property confiscated to the crown.

Richard having punished many other noblemen, saw himself triumphant over all his opponents. The last of the lords appellants had been banished; and even his uncles, through affection or fear, seconded all his measures. He had attained what seems for some time to have been the great object of his policy. He had placed himself above the control of the law. But he had forfeited all that popularity which he had earned, and the security in which he indulged hurried him on to other acts of despotism, which inevitably led to his ruin. He raised money by forced loans; he compelled the judges to expound the law according to his own prejudices; and, that he might obtain a more plentiful harvest of fines, put seventeen counties out of the protection of the law, under the pretence that they had favored his enemies.

The duke of Lancaster died in 1399, and his son, though an exile, expected to succeed to the estates of his father. But Richard maintained that his banishment, like an outlawry, had rendered him incapable of inheriting property. This iniquitous proceeding seems to have exhausted the patience of the nation, for Henry (on the death of his father he had assumed the title of duke of Lancaster) had long been the idol of the people. Consultations were held; plans were formed; the dispositions of the great lords were sounded; and the whole nation appeared in a ferment. Yet it was in this moment, so pregnant with danger, that the infatuated monarch determined to leave his kingdom, to avenge his cousin and heir, the earl of March, who had been surprised and slain by a party of Irish.

Having appointed his uncle, the duke of York, regent, during his absence, the king proceeded to Bristol, where the report of plots and conspiracies reached him, and was received with contempt. At Milford Haven he joined his army, and embarking in a fleet of two hundred sail, arrived in two days in the port of Waterford. His cousin the duke of Albemarle had been ordered to follow with a hundred more; and three weeks were consumed in waiting for that nobleman, whose delay was afterward attributed to a secret understanding with the king's enemies. At length, Richard led his forces against the Irish. But while he was thus occupied with objects of inferior interest in Ireland, a revolution occurred in England which eventually deprived him both of his crown and his life.

When the king sailed to Ireland, Henry of Bolingbroke, the new duke of Lancaster, resided in Paris, where he was hospitably entertained, but at the same time narrowly watched by the French monarch. To elude the suspicions of the French ministers, Henry procured permission to visit the duke of Bretagne; and on his arrival at Nantes, hired three small vessels, with which he sailed from Vannes to seek his fortune in England. After hovering for some days on the eastern coast, he landed at Ravenspur in Yorkshire, and was joined by the earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland; before whom he declared upon oath, that his only object was to recover the honors and estates which had belonged to his father.

The duke of York, to whom the king had intrusted the government during his absence, was accurately informed of his motions, and had summoned the retainers of the crown to join the royal standard at St. Alban's. The earl of Wiltshire had been appointed to wait on the young queen at Wallingford; but fled with precipitation to Bristol. York himself followed with the army in the same direction. It might be that, to relieve himself from responsibility, he wished to be in <sup>Insurrection in</sup> England. readiness to deliver up the command on the expected arrival of Richard from Ireland; but at the same time he left open the road from Yorkshire to the metropolis, and allowed the adventurer to pursue his object without impediment. Henry was already on his march, and the small number of forty followers, with whom he had landed, swelled by the time that he had reached St. Alban's to sixty thousand men. He was received in London by a procession of the clergy and people, with addresses of congratulation, and presents, and offers of service. His stay in the capital was short. He turned to the west, and entered Evesham on the same day on which York reached Berkeley. After an interchange of messages, they met in the church of the castle; and, before they separated, the doom of Richard was sealed. York united his force with that of Henry, and caused Sir Peter Courtenay, who held the castle of Bristol, to open its gates. The duke of York remained at Bristol; Henry with his own forces proceeded to Chester, to secure that city, and awe the men of Cheshire, the most devoted adherents to the king.

We may now return to Richard in Ireland. Henry had been in England a fortnight before the king heard of his landing. The intelligence appears to have provoked indignation <sup>Richard returns</sup> as much as alarm. But he referred the matter to <sup>to England.</sup> his council, and was advised to cross over to England with the ships which had brought Albemarle. That nobleman diverted him from this intention. The earl of Salisbury received orders to sail, and to summon to the royal standard the natives of Wales; Richard promised to follow in the fleet from Waterford in the course of six days. The earl obeyed; the men of Wales and Cheshire answered the call; and a gallant host collected at Conway. But Richard appeared not according to his promise; distressing reports were circulated among the troops; and the royal-

ists, having waited for him almost a fortnight, disbanded in spite of the tears and entreaties of their commander. At last, on the eighteenth day, the king arrived in Milford Haven with several thousands of the troops who had accompanied him to Ireland. With such a force, had it been faithful, he might have made a stand against his antagonist; but on the second morning when he arose, he observed from his window that the greater part had disappeared. A council was immediately summoned, and a proposal made that the king should flee by sea to Bourdeaux; but the duke of Exeter objected that to quit the kingdom in such circumstances was to abdicate the throne. His opinion prevailed, and at nightfall the king, in the disguise of a Franciscan friar, stole away from the army toward Conway. His flight was soon known. The royal treasure, which Richard left behind him, was plundered; Albemarle, Worcester, and most of the leaders, hastened to pay their court to Henry, and the rest attempted in small bodies to make their way to their own counties.

The royal party reached Conway, where, instead of a numerous force, they found only the earl of Salisbury with a hundred men. In this emergency the king's brothers undertook to visit Henry at Chester, and to sound his intentions. When the two dukes were admitted into the presence of Henry, they bent the knee, and acquainted him with their message from the king. He took little notice of Surrey, but leading Exeter aside, spoke to him in private. He was gratified to learn from the envoys the place of Richard's retreat, and detained them at Chester, that the king, instead of making his escape, might await their return. He despatched the earl of Northumberland at the head of four hundred men-at-arms and a thousand archers to Conway, with instructions not to display his force, lest the king should put to sea, but by artful speeches and promises to draw him out of the fortress, and then to make him prisoner. The earl took possession in his journey of the castles of Flint and Rhuddlan; and a few miles beyond the latter, placing his men in concealment under a rock, rode forward with only five attendants to Conway. He was readily admitted; and to the king's anxious inquiries about his brothers, replied, that he had left them well at Chester, and had brought a letter from the duke of Exeter. In it that nobleman said, or

The king is taken prisoner and conducted to the castle of Flint.

rather was made to say, that full credit might be given to the offers of the bearer. These offers were, that Richard should promise to govern and judge his people by law, and that Henry should be made grand justiciary of the kingdom. Richard expressed his approbation of the articles, and departed soon afterward toward Flint to meet Henry, according to an arrangement. They came to a steep declivity, to the left of which was the sea, and on the right a lofty rock, overhanging the road. The king dismounted, and was descending on foot, when he suddenly exclaimed: "I am betrayed. God of paradise, assist me! Do you not see banners and pennons in the valley?" Northumberland with eleven others met them at the moment, and affected to be ignorant of the circumstance. "Earl <sup>The king betrayed.</sup> of Northumberland," said the king, "if I thought you capable of betraying me, it is not too late to return." "You cannot return," the earl replied, seizing the king's bridle; "I have promised to conduct you to the duke of Lancaster." By this time he was joined by a hundred lances and two hundred archers on horseback; and Richard, seeing it impossible to escape, exclaimed: "May God reward you and your accomplices at the last day!" and then turning to his friends, added, "We are betrayed; but remember that our Lord was also sold, and delivered into the hands of his enemies."

They reached Flint in the evening. The unfortunate king rose after a sleepless night, heard mass, and ascended the tower to watch the arrival of his opponent. At length, he saw the army, amounting to eighty thousand men, winding along the beach till it reached the castle, and surrounded it from sea to sea. He was soon summoned into the court to receive the duke of Lancaster. Henry came forward in complete armor, with the exception of his helmet. As soon as he saw the king, he bent his knee and advancing a few paces, he repeated his obeisance with his cap in his hand.

"Fair cousin of Lancaster," said Richard, uncovering himself, "you are right welcome." "My lord," answered the duke, "I am come before my time. But I will show you the reason. Your people complain that for the space of twenty or two-and-twenty years, you have ruled them rigorously; but, if it please God, I

will help you to govern better." The king replied, "Fair cousin, since it pleaseth you, it pleaseth us well."

Henry dismissed the greater part of his army, and conducted his prisoner to the capital. The king was sent to Westminster, and thence on the following day to the Tower.

Henry now aspired to exchange the coronet of a duke for the crown of a king. After several consultations it was resolved to combine a solemn renunciation of the royal authority on the part of Richard with an act of deposition on the part of the two houses

Henry aspires to the crown. Richard is deposed. of parliament. The next day [30th of September, 1399] the two houses met amid a great concourse of people in Westminster Hall. The duke occupied his usual seat near the throne, which was empty and covered with cloth of gold. A document purporting to be the resignation of the king was read; each member standing in his place signified his acceptance of it aloud; and the people with repeated shouts expressed their approbation. Henry now proceeded to the second part of his plan, the act of deposition. For this purpose the coronation oath was first read; thirty-three articles of impeachment followed, in which it was contended that Richard had violated that oath; and thence it was concluded that he had by his misconduct forfeited his title to the throne. The bishop of Carlisle, to the astonishment of the Lancastrians, rose, and demanded for Richard what ought not to be refused to the meanest criminal, the right of being confronted with his accusers; and for parliament what it might justly claim, the opportunity of learning from the king's own mouth, whether the resignation of the crown, which had been attributed to him, were his own spontaneous act. The house, however, voted the deposition of Richard; and eight commissioners ascending a tribunal erected before the throne, pronounced him [30th Sept., 1399] degraded from the state and authority of king.

By the law of succession the throne belonged to the descendants of Lionel, the third son of Edward III.; and their claim, it is said, had been formally recognised in parliament. All waited in anxious suspense, till the duke, rising from his seat, and forming with great solemnity the sign of the cross on his forehead and breast, pronounced the following words: "In the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, I, Henry of

Henry assumes the title of king.

Lancaster, claim this realm of England." Both houses admitted the claim unanimously. The archbishop of Canterbury now took him by the hand, and led him to the throne. He knelt for a few minutes in prayer on the steps, arose, and was seated in it by the two archbishops.

With the authority of Richard had expired that of the parliament and of the royal officers. Henry immediately summoned the same parliament to meet again in six days, appointed new officers of the crown, and as soon as he had received their oaths, retired in state to the royal apartments. Thus ended this eventful day, with the deposition of Richard of Bourdeaux, and the succession of his cousin, Henry of Bolingbroke.

The features of Richard were handsome, but feminine; his manners abrupt; his utterance embarrassed. He possessed some taste for literature, and occasionally gave indications of resolution and spirit. But he was passionately fond of parade and pleasure; and the loss of his crown has been sometimes attributed to his extravagance and pecuniary exactions. Character of Richard. It would, however, be difficult to prove that his expenses were greater than those of his predecessors; it is certain that his demands on the purses of his subjects were considerably less. "What concern have you," he once observed to the commons, "with the establishment of my household, as long as I maintain it without asking you for assistance?" His misfortunes may be more correctly traced to the early age at which he mounted the throne, and to the precautions taken by his mother and her friends to defeat the supposed designs of his uncles. By these he was estranged from the princes of his blood, whose pride refused to pay court to a boy; and whose neglect compelled him to fix his affections on his ministers and companions. Jealousies and rivalry ensued, which ended in the celebrated commission of government, and the ruin, perhaps originally undeserved, of the royal favorites. When the king had recovered the exercise of his authority, he reigned in comparative tranquillity for a long period; but his conduct in the twenty-first and twenty-second years of his reign betrayed such a thirst for revenge, such habits of dissimulation, such despotic notions of government, and so fixed a purpose of ruling without control, that no reader can be surprised at the catastrophe which followed. We may, indeed, abhor the wiles

by which he was ensnared; may sympathize with him in his prison; and may condemn the policy which afterward bereaved him of life; but at the same time we must acknowledge that he deserved to be abandoned by the people, on whose liberties he had trampled, and to forfeit that authority which he sought to exalt above the laws and constitution of his country.

## CHAPTER XXI.

### Henry the Fourth.

*Surnamed of Bolingbroke.*

#### CONTEMPORARY SOVEREIGNS.

<i>Popes.</i>	<i>Scotland.</i>	<i>France.</i>
Boniface IX.	Robert III.	Charles VI.
Innocent VII.	James I.	
Gregory XII.	<i>Germany.</i>	<i>Spain.</i>
Alexander V.	Wincellaus.	Henry III.
John XXIII.	Robert.	
	Sigismund.	

Coronation of the king—The death of Richard—Henry invades Scotland—Rebellion of the Percies, and that of Glendower—Transactions with France—The death of Henry.—From A. D. 1399 to 1413.

THE new king assumed the name of Henry IV., and was crowned within a fortnight after the deposition of his predecessor.

The new parliament: its proceedings. The new parliament had already assembled; and, as the members were the same individuals who sat in the last, they displayed an equal obsequiousness to the will of the monarch. The attainders of the earls of Arundel and Warwick were reversed. Henry's eldest son was created prince of Wales, duke of Guienne, Lancaster, and Cornwall, and earl of Chester, and was declared in parliament the apparent heir to the throne. The lords who had formerly "appealed" the duke of Gloucester and his associates of treason, were now summoned to justify their conduct. They all made the same defence, that



they had neither advised nor framed the appeal. Disputes arose, but Henry by his authority silenced them, and a compromise was effected, by which the lords appellants forfeited the honors and the estates which they had obtained from Richard in reward of their appeal.

To prevent the recurrence of those vindictive proceedings which had twice disgraced the last reign, several useful statutes were enacted. One confined the guilt of treason to the offences enumerated in the celebrated act of Edward III.; another abolished appeals of treason in parliament, and sent the accuser to the established courts of law; and another forbade, under the heaviest penalties, any person besides the king to give liveries to his retainers.

Before the close of the session, the earl of Northumberland delivered to the lords a message, asking their advice respecting the future treatment of the deposed monarch, whose life the king was resolved to preserve at all events. They answered that he should be conducted secretly to some castle, where no concourse of people could assemble; should be placed under the custody of trusty officers; and should be excluded from all communication with those who had formerly been in his service. Four days later, the king came to the house, adjudged the unfortunate Richard to imprisonment for life, and ordered him to be guarded in the manner suggested by the lords.

Henry was now in possession of the grand object of his ambition; but he soon learned that it was more easy to win the crown than to retain it. The hostility of foreign princes, who continued to treat him as an usurper, and the wavering fidelity of his own subjects, of whom some panted to revenge the wrongs of the late king, and others were discontented that their services had not been more amply rewarded, kept him in a state of perpetual alarm. During the lapse of nine years, he was constantly harassed, sometimes by secret attempts on his life, sometimes by overt acts of rebellion; on one occasion by the inroads of the Scots, and on another by the descents of the French; but his power seemed to grow with his difficulties, and by his vigilance, temper, and activity, he not only succeeded in keeping the crown on his own head, but peaceably transmitted it to his posterity. The first attempt against him was made by five

Richard imprisoned for life.

Frequent conspiracies against the life of Henry.

of the lords appellants, who had so narrowly escaped with their lives in the last parliament. Within a month after its dissolution, they agreed to hold a tournament at Oxford, and employ that opportunity to seize the person of the king, and subsequently to proclaim and liberate Richard. The conspirators were arrested, tried, and executed; and this premature and ill-concerted conspiracy strengthened the throne of the new king. But he had still reason to fear the hostility of a dangerous adversary, the king of France, who had been deeply offended by the deception practised upon him by Henry at his departure from Paris. At first he had an intention of sending ambassadors to the parliament; but this design was soon abandoned; the voice of his people pronounced in favor of war. To avert the threatened storm, Henry appointed commissioners to treat with Charles for a confirmation of the existing truce. They proceeded to Calais; and a herald hastened to the capital to solicit a safe-conduct for the ambassadors of the king of England; but Charles returned a peremptory refusal—he knew no king of England but Richard, his son-in-law. Charles, however, soon received intelligence which left no doubt on his mind that Richard was dead. All thought of war was instantly abandoned; he had now nothing to fight for; and on this account he signed an instrument stating that he should not disturb the truce.

Hitherto, from the day on which Richard had been consigned to secret and perpetual confinement by advice of the lords, all trace of him seemed to be lost. No man in England pretended to know where he was, or in what manner he was treated. But after the public statement of his death by the king of France, the secret could be no longer kept. His dead body was conveyed with funeral pomp from the castle of Pontefract to the capital, and then, during two days on which it lay in St. Paul's, *shown openly to the people*; that is, was exposed with the face bare from the eyebrows to the chin. Henry himself attended the obsequies—with what feelings, must be left to the imagination of the reader. After the mass on the second day, the corpse was removed to the abbey church of Westminster; a dirge was chanted; and the procession moved forward to Richard's once favorite residence at Langley. There he was interred: the king perhaps feared the recollections which his tomb might some-

The mysterious death of Richard.

times awoken, if he had been buried at Westminster. Richard may possibly have died of disease in his bed; but the events immediately preceding provoke a suspicion that he owed the loss of his life to the order of the man who had already bereaved him of his crown. By some it was said that, on the eighth day after Henry's departure from Windsor, Sir Piers Exton with seven assassins entered his cell; that Richard, aware of their object, wrested a battle-axe from one of the number, and laid several at his feet; but that Exton with one blow brought him to the floor, and with another deprived him of life. The more general belief was that the captive died of starvation: voluntary starvation, if we may give credit to the friends of Henry, in consequence of Richard's grief for the fate of his adherents; compulsory starvation, if we listen to the opposite party, in consequence of orders given by him who hoped to profit by his death. But of this there is no proof.

The new king determined to signalize the commencement of his reign by an expedition into Scotland. He summoned all persons possessed of fees, wages, or annuities, granted by Edward III., the Black Prince, Richard II., or the duke of Lancaster, to meet him at York, under the penalty of forfeiture; and from the banks of the Tyne despatched heralds to King Robert and the barons of Scotland, commanding them to appear before him in the castle of Edinburgh, on the 23d of August, and do to him homage for the Scottish crown and their several fiefs. He marched to Leith without opposition; but the castle of Edinburgh was in the hands of the duke of Rothsay, the eldest son of the king, who derided the pompous claim of his adversary. Henry waited several days in vain for the arrival of the Scottish army, and the English having consumed their provisions, retired in haste within their own borders.

From Scotland the king's attention was suddenly diverted to the principality of Wales, where, during his absence, the standard of independence had been raised by Owen, commonly styled Owen Glendower. It happened that a powerful and wealthy neighbour, the lord Grey of Ruthyn, appropriated to himself without ceremony a considerable portion of Owen's patrimony; and the injured Welshman petitioned the king in parliament for redress. In scornful and insulting lan-

guage a refusal was conveyed. Owen was not a man to sit down inactive under an affront. The natives burst suddenly into the English borders, and in a few days Owen appeared at their head, declaring himself the rightful prince of Wales. Thrice within two years did Henry lead a numerous force against the insurgents, and thrice was he baffled by the conduct rather than the arms of his opponent, who, retiring among the mountains, left the invaders to contend with the inclemency of the season and the asperities of the country. By degrees Glendower assumed a bolder attitude. Henry collected his retainers at Shrewsbury; divided them into three armies, under himself, his eldest son, and the earl of Arundel; and thus invaded Wales at the same time from three different quarters. Still both force and policy proved unavailing. No enemy was to be discovered in the field; the heavens fought in favor of the natives; the valleys were deluged in rain; the king's tent was torn from its fastenings, and borne away in a storm; and the monarch, convinced that it was fruitless to contend with a man who could call to his aid spirits from the vasty deep, returned with disgrace into England.

In the mean while, Henry had committed the charge of the Scottish war to the earl of Northumberland, and his son, Sir Henry Percy, or "Hotspur," the wardens of the western and the eastern marches. By them he was informed that an unknown Englishman had lately been received at the Scottish court, under the designation of Richard Plantagenet, king of England. The vigilance of the king was excited by this intelligence. He published several proclamations against the propagators of false reports. Arrests and executions followed; and several persons, in different parts, suffered the barbarous punishment of treason.

The Scotch spread the havoc of war along each bank of the Tyne. But the earl of Northumberland, his son Henry Percy,

The battle of Homildon. surnamed Hotspur, and the earl of March, assembled an army, and on Holyrood day, 1402, was fought a great and decisive battle. The Scots occupied the hill of Homildon, near Wooler; the English the opposite eminence. Percy ordered his archers to descend into the valley, from which they discharged their arrows with such force and precision that they provoked Earl Douglas with his men-at-arms to advance and attempt to disperse them. The archers retired

slowly; and, halting at intervals, with repeated volleys arrested the progress of the enemy. Douglas was pierced with six wounds, and was taken prisoner; the foremost and bravest of his companions experienced a similar fate; and the rest, disheartened and in confusion, fled toward the Tweed.

The lord Grey and Sir Edmund Mortimer were at this time prisoners of war in the possession of Owen Glendower. The first with the royal permission purchased his liberty; the second, when he solicited a similar permission Intrigues of Mortimer. from the king, met with a peremptory refusal. The reason of this difference could not be concealed. From the pretensions of Grey, Henry had nothing to apprehend; but Mortimer, as the uncle, and therefore the natural protector of the young earl of March, was an object of distrust. Henry Percy, who had married Mortimer's sister, repeated the request: but the king was inexorable. The friendship between the king and the Percies had long been on the wane. Their anxiety to effect the liberation of Mortimer, gave occasion to several messages and led to one personal interview, with Glendower and Hotspur. Mortimer, to free himself from his fetters, married the daughter of Glendower, and informed the more trusty of his retainers that he had joined the Welshman in his righteous quarrel, with the view of winning the crown for King Richard, if Richard was still alive, or, if he was dead, for the earl of March, the lawful heir. Hotspur hastened to North Wales, where he possessed considerable influence. He was accompanied by Douglas and his Scottish knights; his uncle Worcester, the lieutenant of South Wales, joined him with all the force which he could raise; and the archers of Cheshire, a race of men devotedly attached to the late king, answered his summons, calling on them to fight with him for Richard, who was still alive, against Henry of Lancaster, the mortal foe of that monarch. The king when he heard of these proceedings marched to the west; directed by messengers all his faithful subjects to join him, and entered Shrewsbury at the moment when the insurgents were first descried from the walls. Hotspur was disappointed but not discouraged; he retired to Haytleyfield, at a small distance; and though Owen with his Welshmen had not yet joined him, made preparations for a battle, which proved one of the most obstinate and bloody recorded in English history.

The two armies were nearly equal, consisting severally of about fourteen thousand men of approved valor. As soon as they were arrayed in front of each other, the king, apprehensive of the result, sent the abbot of Shrewsbury to his opponents with proposals of peace, which, after a long hesitation, were rejected by the advice of the earl of Worcester. "Then, banner, advance," cried Henry. The air resounded with the adverse shouts of "St. George," and "Esperance, Percy;" and the archers on both sides discharged their arrows with the most murderous effect. Percy and Douglas, who had long been rivals for glory, and were esteemed two of the most valorous knights in Christendom, rushed with thirty attendants into the centre of the enemy. Every thing yielded before them. The king's guards were dispersed; the earl of Stafford, Sir William Blount, and two others, who, to deceive the enemy, wore the royal arms, were slain; the standard was beaten to the ground; and the prince of Wales received a wound in his face. Their object had been to kill or secure the person of Henry; but he, by the advice of the Scottish earl of March, had changed his armor, and was performing the duty of a valiant warrior in a distant part of the field. The two chiefs, disappointed in their expectation, determined to cut back their way through the enemy, who had closed behind them; and they had nearly effected their purpose, when Percy fell by an arrow which seems to have been shot at random, and pierced his brain. With him fell the courage and the confidence of his followers, who, as soon as the loss of their leader was ascertained, fled in every direction.

Another attempt against Henry was made in Yorkshire, in 1405, at the instigation of Lord Bardolf. The insurgents, numbering eight thousand men, assembled at Shipton-on-the-Moor, a few miles from York, and were joined by Archbishop Scrope and the earl marshal. To disperse them, Prince John, with the earl of Westmoreland, hastened to the forest of Galtres. The latter requested and obtained a conference with the opposite leaders, in the open space between the two armies. The archbishop and the earl were unexpectedly and forcibly conducted to the army of the royalists; and the insurgents, learning the captivity of their leaders, retired to their homes. Henry, at the first rumour of these commotions,

Lord Bardolf excites an insurrection against Henry.

had marched toward the north: at Pontefract, the two captives were presented to him. The king commanded the chief justice Gascoigne to pronounce on them the sentence of death; but that inflexible judge refused, on the plea that the laws gave him no jurisdiction over the life of the prelate or of the earl marshal, who had a right to be tried by their peers. A more obsequious agent was found in a knight of the name of Fulthorpe, who by the king's order called them both before him, and without indictment or trial condemned them to be beheaded, which judgment was immediately carried into execution.

From York, which he deprived of its franchises, Henry advanced with thirty thousand men against the earl of Northumberland. That nobleman, at the very outset, had concluded a treaty with the regent of Scotland, The insurrection <sup>quelled.</sup> and had solicited aid, but in vain, from the king of France and the duke of Orleans. As Henry advanced, he fell back on his Scottish allies. His castles of Prudhaw, Warkworth, and Alnwick were successively reduced; and the Scots, to whom he had delivered the town of Berwick, set it on fire, and retired beyond the borders. The earl and Lord Bardolf accompanied them. The castle made a show of resistance; but a shot from an enormous piece of ordnance shattered one of the towers; the garrison in dismay threw open the gates; and the son of the baron of Greystock, with the six principal officers, were immediately executed. Henry returned in triumph into the south.

In the beginning of 1408, Northumberland and Bardolf burst into England, surprised several castles, raised the tenantry, who were still attached to their exiled lord, and augmenting their numbers as they advanced, The fate of North- <sup>umberland and</sup> Bardolf. penetrated as far as Knaresborough, where they were joined by Sir Nicholas Tempest. Sir Thomas Rokeby, having collected a body of tried men, prevented them from crossing the river, and following their footsteps, overtook them on Bramham Moor, in the neighborhood of Tadcaster. The contest was soon decided between the rabble of the insurgents and an experienced soldiery. The earl fell in the field; Bardolf was taken, but died of his wounds.

We may now return to the history of Glendower. The whole of the north and a great part of the south of Wales acknowledged

The war against  
Glendower.

his authority; even Charles of France had received his ambassadors as those of an independent prince. Henry committed the conduct of the war to his eldest son, and the young hero gained a decisive victory over Griffith, the son of Glendower; and pursuing his career, reduced after a long siege the castle of Lampeder, in Cardiganshire. But French auxiliaries had now arrived, and had taken Caermarthen. Haverfordwest was saved by the earl of Arundel; and the king hastened to the assistance of his son; but no action of importance followed; Henry, after the loss of fifty wagons conveying his treasure and provisions, retired; and the French, unable to subsist in a depopulated country, returned to their homes. At the end of four years, however, the southern division of Wales entirely submitted to Henry. The natives of the north, disheartened by their misfortunes, insensibly withdrew themselves from the standard of Glendower; and that chieftain, appalled by the steady advance of his enemy, ordered the greatest part of his forces to burst into Shropshire, and ravage the country. They were defeated, and their leaders suffered the punishment of treason. Owen contrived to spin out the contest among the wilds and mountains of Snow-dun till long after the accession of the next sovereign.

We may now return to Henry's transactions with foreign powers. It was to him a most fortunate circumstance that Charles of France continued for many years subject to fits of insanity, and that the government of that kingdom was divided by the ambitious views of the dukes of Burgundy and of Orleans. When it was rumored that Richard was still alive, and had effected his escape into Scotland, France received the intelligence with undissembled joy, and many a French knight boasted that he was ready to peril his life in the cause of King Richard and the lady Isabella. They resolved, however, to discover the truth by sending a confidential agent to Scotland, and the result was a conviction that the real king had been murdered, and that the Richard in Scotland was an impostor. From that moment the hatred of the French people was directed against the supposed murderer. There was indeed no declaration of war, but the most powerful of the French nobles were encouraged to insult Henry and to plunder his subjects. One of them, Walleran, inflicted severe injuries on the inhabitants

France seeks to  
provoke Henry to  
hostilities.



of the Isle of Wight and of the southern coast of England. Three princes of the house of Bourbon, embarking in the same cause, burnt the town of Plymouth; and the admiral of Bretagne swept the narrow seas, and carried as prizes into the French ports several ships, with nearly two thousand prisoners. But that which sank still deeper into Henry's mind was a challenge which he had received from his former friend and sworn brother, Louis duke of Orleans, to fight him with one hundred knights on a side in the marches of Guienne. After a silence of more than four months, Henry replied by an ambiguous letter, which provoked a repetition of the challenge, with reproaches of rebellion, usurpation, and murder. To the two first, Henry made but evasive replies. But the charge of murder he met with the most emphatic denial.

Some time afterward, the duke of Orleans was murdered one evening in the streets of Paris by eighteen assassins in the pay of the duke of Burgundy; who, however, was received into favor by his weak and vacillating sovereign; and the princes of the house of Orleans, after several ineffectual petitions for justice, sought their revenge by force of arms. Henry viewed these commotions with pleasure, for they offered him the opportunity of retaliation upon France. He took part with each French faction in turn, but without results of much importance.

Henry had married Mary de Bohun, daughter of the earl of Hereford, who bore him four sons, of whom the eldest at his father's accession was in his twelfth year. An act was passed vesting the succession to the crown in his four sons and their heirs, in the order of seniority. Of the four princes, Henry, the eldest, from his proximity to the throne, chiefly attracted the public notice. In the battle of Shrewsbury he had given proofs of personal courage: the success <sup>Prince Henry and Judge Gascoigne.</sup> of the war against the insurgents of Wales, which was carried on under his nominal command, reflected a lustre on his youth; and the commons, in an adulatory address, allotted to him the praise of three virtues—of filial respect for the king, of bravery in the field of battle, and of modesty in the readiness with which on all occasions he submitted his own judgment to that of his council. His father, however, had little reason to be satisfied with his conduct. He was headstrong and impetuous in the pursuit of pleasure; and when he was not actually employed in military service,

plunged without restraint into all the vices and follies of youth. Probably the reader's recollection has already transported him to those pages in which the frolics and the associates of the prince have been portrayed by the inimitable pencil of Shakspeare. It may be, indeed, that the particular facts and personages are the mere creatures of the poet's imagination; but it cannot be denied that they are perfectly in unison with the accounts of the more ancient writers, and the traditionary belief of the succeeding century. It should, however, be added, that in the midst of his excesses he occasionally displayed proofs of an ingenuous mind. It happened that one of his associates had been arraigned for felony before the chief justice Gascoigne, the same inflexible magistrate who had withstood the illegal commands of the king at York. The prince imperiously required the release of the prisoner; and, when that was refused, drew his sword on the judge. But Gascoigne coolly ordered him into confinement in the prison of the King's Bench; and the young Henry had the good sense to submit to the punishment. When the incident was related to his father, "Happy," he exclaimed, "the monarch who possesses a judge so resolute in the discharge of his duty, and a son so willing to yield to the authority of the law!"

To domestic trouble must be added the state of the king's health and the anxieties of his conscience. Though he was only in his Declining health of the king. forty-sixth year, he bore about him all the symptoms of declining age. Soon after Archbishop Scrope's insurrection, he became afflicted with the most loathsome eruptions on his face, which by the common people were considered as a punishment for the death of that prelate; and a succession of epileptic fits, gradually increasing in violence, was now hurrying him to the grave. The prospect of his fate brought, we are told, to his recollection the means by which he had acquired, and the blood by which he had preserved the crown. He began at length to doubt the certainty of his favorite maxim, that the success of the enterprise was a proof that it had received the approbation of heaven. One day, when he was lying in a fit, and to all appearance was dead, the prince conveyed into another room the crown, which according to custom had been laid on a cushion by the bedside. The king returning to himself, sternly asked who had borne it away; and on the report of his guards, required

the immediate return of the prince. Pacified by his dutiful expressions, he asked him with a sigh, "Alas! fair son, what right have you to the crown, when you know your father had none?" "My liege," answered the young Henry, "with the sword you won it, and with the sword I will keep it." After a pause the king faintly replied, "Well, do as you think best; I leave the issue to God, and hope he will have mercy on my soul."

His last fit seized him while he was praying in St. Edward's chapel at Westminster. He was carried into the abbot's chamber, and quickly expired, on the 19th

Death of Henry.

March, 1413, and in the fourteenth year of his reign. Of his three younger sons, Thomas had been created duke of Clarence, John and Humphrey remained without any title. His daughters Blanche and Philippa were married, the first to the duke of Bavaria and the other to the king of Denmark. By Jane of Navarre, his second wife, he left no issue.

In the preceding reigns the reader has observed the house of commons continually advancing with a silent but steady pace toward importance and authority; under Henry it assumed a still higher tone, addressed the sovereign with greater freedom, and pushed its inquiries into every department of the administration. The king's pecuniary embarrassments, the defect in his title, and the repeated insurrections in favor of Richard and the earl of March, made it his interest to court the affections of the people through their representatives; and the men who originally were deemed of no other use than to grant their money, became by almost imperceptible degrees a coequal and coefficient part of the legislature.

This reign supplies the first instance of a capital execution for the theological crime of heresy. Whether it were that men refused to distinguish between fact and opinion, The first instance of punishment for heresy. and on that account visited erroneous persuasion with the same punishment as criminal action, it may not be easy to determine; but we unfortunately find that, in almost every country, whatever may have been the religious belief of the sovereign and the legislature, the severest penalties have repeatedly, and till a very late period, been enacted against dissent from the doctrines established by law. Sir Edward Coke, the great luminary of the English bar in the reign of Queen Elizabeth,

teaches that heresy is so extremely and fearfully punished, because it is a crime not against human but divine majesty.

In 1401, an act was passed for the protection of the church and the suppression of the Lollards, which enacted that if any person convicted of heresy should refuse to abjure such doctrines, or after abjuration should be proved to have relapsed, then the sheriff of the county, or the mayor and bailiffs of the nearest borough should, on requisition, be present at the pronouncement of the sentence, should receive the person so condemned into custody, and should cause him to be burnt on a high place before the people, that such punishment might strike terror into the minds of others. William Sawtre, who had been rector of Lynn, suffered death under this statute soon after its enactment.

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## CHAPTER XXII.

### Henry the Fifth.

#### CONTEMPORARY SOVEREIGNS.

<i>Popes.</i>	<i>Scotland.</i>	<i>France.</i>
John XXIII.	James I.	Charles VI.
Martin V.	<i>Germany.</i>	<i>Spain.</i>
	Sigismund.	Henry III.
		John I.

The Succession of Henry—Invasion of France—Battle of Azincourt—Second Invasion of France—Made Regent of France—His Success in France—His Death and Character.—A. D. 1413 to 1422.

THE late king had outlived his popularity, and the intelligence of his death excited little regret in any part of his dominions.

Henry of Monmouth ascends the throne. His eldest son, Henry of Monmouth, immediately (March 19, 1413) ascended the throne. As soon as his father expired, he withdrew to his closet, spent the rest of the day in privacy and prayer, and in the evening hastened to his confessor, a recluse in the church of Westminster; by whom

he was confirmed in the resolution to atone for the scandal of his past by the propriety of his subsequent conduct. The dissolute companions of his pleasures were instantly dismissed; and men of knowledge and experience were invited round the throne. As an act of justice, he set at liberty the earl of March, who from his childhood had been kept in confinement by the late monarch, for no other crime than his right to the throne; after some time he restored the son of Hotspur, an exile in Scotland, to the honors and hereditary estates of the Percies; and when the remains of the unfortunate Richard were removed by his orders from Langley to Westminster Abbey, he testified his respect for that prince by attending as chief mourner in the funeral procession.

The Lollards were very active at this time under the guidance of Sir John Oldeastle, who had been a friend of Henry when prince of Wales, and was now denounced to the king as the supporter of false doctrine. On his trial, his demeanor was as arrogant and insulting as that of his judge was mild and dignified. Not content with signifying his dissent from the established creed, he poured out a torrent of abuse against all those by whom it was upheld. He was brought to the bar on two different days, and persisting in his opinions, was pronounced an obstinate heretic. The primate, however, when he delivered him to the civil magistrate, procured from the king a respite of fifty days; during which Oldeastle found the means to escape from the Tower.

The king next directed his attention toward the French throne, which was still occupied by an imbecile monarch, and was daily undermined by the rage of contending factions. To the aspiring mind of Henry, these troubles opened a most alluring prospect. He determined to revive the claim, and tread in the footsteps of his great-grandfather, Edward III. A little more than a year had elapsed from his accession, when he unexpectedly demanded the crown of France, with all its appurtenances, as the heir of Isabella, daughter of Philip IV. The French deemed the claim an insult to the national independence. Henry consented that Charles should continue to possess his throne, but required, as the price of his forbearance, conditions which would have reduced France to a secondary station among the powers of Europe. They were partly granted, but the con-

cession did not satisfy the expectations of Henry. He recalled his ambassadors, summoned a parliament, avowed his intention of vindicating his right by arms, and obtained a supply. The grant being large, created considerable alarm in the French court, and Henry resolved to make a second attempt by negotiation, which proved fruitless. The king now declared his resolution "to recover his inheritance" by arms; and the duke of Bedford, one of his brothers, accepted the office of regent during the royal absence. Henry pawned his jewels, solicited loans, and by great exertions amassed the sum of five hundred thousand nobles in ready money.

The French ministers now sent ambassadors to the king at Winchester; the next day the archbishop of Canterbury informed them that his sovereign would accept nothing short of the restoration of all the territories which had ever been possessed by his predecessors.

Every preparation was soon complete; the army had assembled at Southampton; and the king superintended the embarkation. At that very moment, while his mind was occupied with visions of conquest and glory, he was suddenly alarmed with the intelligence that a conspiracy against his life had been

A conspiracy against the king. formed in the bosom of his own family and household, of which the ringleader was his cousin Richard, a brother to the duke of York, and lately created earl of Cambridge. Several of the conspirators were tried, condemned, and after a fruitless appeal by the earl of Cambridge to the mercy of his royal relative, were executed.

Henry's impatience had hastened the trial and execution of the conspirators. As soon as the wind would permit, he left Southampton; and after a rapid voyage, entered the mouth of the Seine with a fleet of fifteen hundred sail, carrying six thousand men-at-arms and twenty-four thousand archers. Three days were consumed in landing the men, stores, and provisions; and immediately Harfleur, a strong fortress on the right bank of the river, was invested by land and blockaded by water. The garrison repeatedly assailed the besiegers; but in the fifth week they submitted to an unconditional surrender. Henry marched to Calais through the hostile provinces of Normandy, Picardy, and Artois.

Henry invades France.

The progress of the English was slow, and often they were compelled to pass the day without food. As they crossed the river Bresle, they were attacked by the garrison of Eu, with loud shouts and amazing impetuosity; <sup>The slow progress of the English.</sup> but they received the assailants with coolness, and after a sharp contest, drove them back to the fortress. A council of the French was held at Rouen, in the presence of Charles, and a resolution was taken to give battle to the English. Henry was at Monchy when three heralds were introduced to him. They delivered their message on their knees, announcing that their countrymen were ready to meet him in the field on the Friday following. The king answered, with apparent indifference, that the will of God would be done. On the 24th October, 1415, the duke of York discovered several large masses of the enemy marching in the direction of Azincourt; and Henry, having reconnoitred them from an eminence, gave orders to form a line of battle. The men remained in their ranks till it was dark; but as no enemy approached, they broke up in the evening, and advanced in silence by a white road which lay before them. Fortunately it led to Maisoncelles, a large village, where they found better food and more comfortable accommodation than they had known for some weeks.

The French general selected a strong position in the fields in front of the village of Azincourt, through which it was necessary for the king of England to cut his way, unless he would consent to yield himself prisoner. <sup>The village of Azincourt.</sup> His marshals had allotted their stations to the different divisions of the army; and each lord had planted his banner on the spot which he intended to occupy during the battle. The night was cold, dark, and rainy; but numerous fires illuminated the horizon, and bursts of laughter and merriment were repeatedly heard from the French lines. The men collected round their banners, spent their time in revelling and debate, discussed the probable events of the next day, and fixed the ransom of the English king and his barons. No one suspected the possibility of defeat; and yet they could not be ignorant that they lay not far from the field of Creci.

To the English it was a night of hope and fear, of suspense and anxiety. They had been wasted with disease, broken with

The English previous to the battle. fatigue, and weakened by the many privations which must attend the march of an army through a hostile country, and in the presence of a superior force. But they were supported by the spirit and confidence of their gallant leader, and by the proud recollection of the victories won in similar circumstances by their fathers. As men, however, who had staked their lives on the issue of the approaching battle, they spent their intervening moments in making their wills, and in attending to the exercises of religion. The king himself took little repose. He visited the different quarters of the army, sent, as soon as the moon arose, officers to examine the ground, arranged the operations of the next day, ordered bands of music to play in succession during the night, and before sunrise summoned the men to attend at matins and mass. From prayer he led them into the field, and arrayed them, after his usual manner, in three divisions and two wings, but so near to each other, that they seemed to form but one body. The archers, on whom he rested his principal hope, were placed in advance of the men-at-arms. Their well-earned reputation in former battles, and their savage appearance on the present day, struck terror into their enemies. Many had stripped themselves naked; the others had bared their arms and breasts, that they might exercise their limbs with more ease and execution. Besides his bow and arrows, his battle-axe or sword, each bore a large, strong stake on his shoulder, which he was instructed to fix obliquely before him on the ground, and thus oppose a rampart of pikes to the charge of the French cavalry. The king himself appeared on a gray palfrey, followed by a train of led horses ornamented with the most gorgeous trappings. His helmet was of polished steel, surmounted with a crown sparkling with jewels; and on his surcoat were emblazoned in gold the arms of England and France. As he rode from banner to banner, cheering and exhorting the men, he chanced to hear an officer express a wish to his comrade that some of the good knights, who were sitting idle in England, might by a miracle be transported to the field of battle. "No," exclaimed Henry, "I would not have a single man more. If God gives us the victory, it will be plain that we owe it to his goodness; if he do not, the fewer we are, the less will be the loss to our country. But fight with your usual courage, and God and



the justice of our cause will protect us. Before night, the pride of our enemies shall be humbled in the dust; and the greater part of that multitude shall be stretched on the field, or captives in our power."

The French were drawn up in the same order, but with this fearful disparity in point of number, that while the English files were but four, theirs were thirty men deep. The constable himself commanded the first division, the Disposition of the French troops. dukes of Bar and Alençon the second, the carls of Marle and Falconberg the third. The distance between the two armies scarcely exceeded a quarter of a mile; but the ground was wet and spongy; and D'Albret, faithful to his plan, ordered his men to sit down near their banners, and await in patience the advance of the enemy. Their inactivity disconcerted the king, who expected to be attacked. He improved the opportunity, however, to order a plentiful refreshment to be distributed through the ranks, while two detachments stole away unperceived by the French; of which one was instructed to lie in ambush in a meadow at Tramecourt, on their left flank, and the other to alarm them during the battle, by setting fire to the houses in their rear. Just as the king had made every preparation for the attack, he was surprised by the approach of three French knights, who demanded permission to speak with him. One of The king and baron de Helly. them was the baron de Helly, who had been a prisoner in England, and was said to have broken his parole. He took the opportunity to deny the charge, and offered to meet in single combat between the two armies any man who should dare to repeat it. The king, who saw the object, instantly replied, "This is not the time for single combats. Go, tell your countrymen to prepare for battle before night, and doubt not that for the violation of your word, *you* will a second time forfeit your liberty, if not your life." "Sir," returned Helly, "I shall receive no orders from you. Charles is our sovereign. Him we obey; and for him we shall fight against you, whenever we think proper." "Away, then," resumed the king, "and take care that we are not before you." Immediately stepping forward, he exclaimed, "Banners, advance!" At the same moment Sir Thomas Erpingham threw his warder into the air; Impetuous charge of the English. and the men, falling on their knees, bit the ground,

arose, shouted, and ran toward the enemy. At the distance of twenty paces they halted to recover breath, and then repeated the shout. It was echoed back by the detachment in the meadow, which, issuing from its concealment, instantly assailed the left flank of the French. At the same moment the archers, having planted their stakes, ran before them, discharged their arrows, and retired behind their rampart. The constable had appointed a select battalion of eight hundred men-at-arms to break this formidable body. Of the whole number, not more than seven score ever came into action. These were quickly despatched; the others, unable to face the incessant shower of arrows, turned their visors aside, and lost the government of their horses, which, frantic with pain, plunged in different directions into the close ranks of the first division. It was a moment of irremediable confusion. Nor did the archers lose the opportunity. Slinging their bows behind them, and with their swords or battle-axes in their hands, they burst into the mass of the enemy, killed their constable and principal commanders, and in a short time totally dispersed the whole body.

Henry, who had followed with the men-at-arms, ordered the archers to form again, and immediately charged the second division. The Frenchmen, though the fate of their fellows had checked their presumption, met the shock with courage, and maintained for two hours a most bloody and doubtful contest. The king's life was repeatedly in imminent danger. Seeing his brother, the duke of Clarence, wounded and lying on the ground, he hastily strode across his body, and bravely repelled the efforts of the assailants, till the prince was safely removed by his own servants. Soon afterward he was charged by a band of eighteen French knights, who had bound themselves to each other to kill him or take him prisoner. One of them with a stroke of his mace brought the king on his knees; but he was instantly rescued by his guards, and his opponents were all slain. At length the duke of Alençon, the French commander, fought his way to the royal standard. With one stroke he beat the duke of York to the ground; with a second he clove the crown on the king's helmet. Every arm was instantly uplifted against him. The duke, aware of his danger, exclaimed, "I yield; I am Alençon." Henry held out his hand; but his

The danger of  
Henry: the valor  
of Alençon.

gallant enemy had already fallen. The death of the duke was followed by the flight of the survivors.

There still remained the third and most numerous division of the enemy. Though dismayed, it was yet unbroken; and the English were preparing for the charge, when the alarming intelligence arrived that a powerful force approached the rear of the army. In this emergency, the king hastily gave orders that all the prisoners should be put to death The execution of the prisoners ordered.—orders which in most instances were unfortunately executed before the mistake could be discovered. The force which had been so greatly magnified, consisted only of six hundred peasants under Robinet de Bournonville and Ysambert d'Azincourt; who had profited of the moment to enter Maisonceles, plunder the baggage, and drive away the horses of the army. That this enterprise should prove so disastrous to their countrymen they could not have foreseen; but they were afterward called to account, and severely punished by their immediate lord, the duke of Burgundy.

During this interval the ranks of the third division began to waver; and their irresolution was augmented by the flames kindled in their rear by the English detachment. Of the whole number no more than six hundred could be The battle of Azincourt. persuaded to follow their leaders, the earls of Falconberg and Marle, who boldly rushed on the conquerors, and found, what they probably sought, captivity or an honorable death. The English were in no condition to pursue the fugitives. As soon as resistance ceased, the king with his barons traversed the field, while the heralds examined the arms and numbered the bodies of the slain. He then called to him Montjoy, the French king-at-arms, and asked him to whom the victory belonged. "To you, sir," replied Montjoy. "And what," continued the king, "is that castle which I see at a distance?"—"It is called the castle of Azincourt," was the answer. "Then," resumed Henry, "let this battle be known by the name of the battle of Azincourt."

Henry soon proceeded to Calais, and assembled a council, in which it was determined to return to England, because Henry considered that he had demonstrated his right to Henry returns in triumph. the crown of France; that God, by granting him the victory at Azincourt, had given the divine sanction to his

claim; and that the same Providence would hereafter furnish him with the opportunity of again seeking and ultimately recovering his inheritance. He sailed to Dover; the crowd plunged into the waves to meet him; and the conqueror was carried in their arms from his vessel to the beach. The road to London exhibited one triumphal procession: the lords, commons, and clergy, the mayor, aldermen, and citizens, conducting Henry into the capital.

In 1416, Sigismund, emperor of Germany, visited England; and his mediation between that country and France was seconded by the presence and exhortations of William of Bavaria, duke of Holland and count of Hainault; but peace did not take place.

Henry invaded France again in 1417. He came prepared now to make permanent conquests; and his army, amounting to sixteen thousand men-at-arms, and probably an equal number of archers, was provided with a long train of artillery and military engines. Fortress after fortress fell into the hands of the invaders. Touques, Auvillers, and Villers surrendered after short sieges; if Caen refused to capitulate, it was carried by assault; Bayeux submitted spontaneously, and obtained the confirmation of its privileges; and the campaign was terminated by the successive reduction of several other towns.

While Henry was occupied in Normandy, a feeble attempt had been made to deprive him of England. In consequence, it is said, of a secret understanding between the Scottish cabinet and the Lollards, the duke of Albany and the earl Douglas suddenly crossed the borders, and laid siege, the former to the castle of Berwick, the latter to that of Roxburgh. It proved, however, a "foul raid." They had persuaded themselves that the kingdom had been left without a competent force for its protection; but when they learned that the dukes of Bedford and Exeter were approaching at the head of a numerous force, they decamped with precipitation, and disbanded their armies. At the same time Sir John Oldcastle emerged from his concealment, and arrived in the neighborhood of London. The retreat of the Scots defeated his projects. At St. Alban's he eluded by a precipitate flight the pursuit of his enemies; but was taken in Wales. At the petition of the commons (the parliament was then sitting) he was arraigned before the peers, condemned, and executed.

In the spring of 1418, Henry resumed his victorious career, and by a reinforcement of fifteen thousand men, was enabled to divide his army and undertake several operations at the same time. Cherbourg, after a resistance of six months, opened its gates, and the whole of Lower Normandy was reduced. France was divided into two separate governments, more hostile to each other than to their natural enemy, the king of England, and equally desirous to purchase by concessions his assistance for their own interest. Henry listened to their proposals, but obstinately refused to accept them; and advanced to lay siege to Rouen, the capital of Upper Normandy. By the French, a confident hope was indulged that Rouen would arrest the victorious career of the English monarch. Its fortifications were strong; numerous batteries covered its walls; the Seine, winding round it, served to protect it from insult; and to fifteen thousand citizens trained to war had been added four thousand men-at-arms.

After a siege of four months, Rouen capitulated, and its fall was felt to the very extremities of France. Negotiations took place, but without effect. The murder of the duke of Burgundy, however, caused fresh dissensions among the French. To the partisans of the late duke it was evident that their security depended on the ruin of the dauphin, and the protection of the king of England. Henry was not slow to name the price at which he would consent to be the minister of their vengeance, or rather of his own ambition. He required the hand of the French princess Catherine, the regency of the kingdom during the life of the king, and the succession to the crown at his death, and these conditions were agreed upon. According to the national custom, Henry and Catherine were first affianced to each other, and after a short interval the marriage was celebrated.

Henry, accompanied by the queen, soon bent his way toward England. His subjects, proud of their victorious monarch, conducted him in triumph to London, where Catherine was crowned with a magnificence hitherto unparalleled in the English annals. After the ceremony, they made a progress through the kingdom; but at York their joy was clouded with the melancholy news of the battle of Beaujé, where his brother, the duke of Clarence, whom the king appointed his lieutenant in Normandy, was defeated and killed. Henry hastened to

Henry's success  
in France.

Henry returned  
to England.

France, and by numerous victories avenged his brother. To add to his good fortune, his queen was delivered of a son, who received in baptism the name of his father. She soon left England, in the company of the duke of Bedford, and hastened with her child to her father and mother. Henry flew to join her; and the two courts repaired together, May 21, 1422, to Paris, at the festival of Whitsuntide.

Henry's attention was now called to the secret malady which he had for some time affected to despise, but which rapidly undermined his constitution, and baffled the skill of his physicians. The progress of his disorder soon extinguished every hope of recovery. He met his fate with composure, and divided the short remnant of his time between the concerns of his soul and those of his family. On the day of his death he called to his bedside the duke of Bedford, the earl of Warwick, and four other noblemen of distinction. To their loyalty he recommended his wife and her child; and then appointed the earl of Warwick tutor to the prince, and the duke of Gloucester guardian of the kingdom. Then turning to his physicians, he requested to know how long he might expect to live; and was told, that the Almighty had it in his power to restore him to health. Dissatisfied with the evasion, he repeated his question, and required a direct answer. "Then, sir," replied one of them, falling on his knee, "attend to the health of your soul, for you cannot live more than two hours." He heard the awful denunciation unmoved, sent for his confessor, and spent the remaining moments in exercises of devotion. While the assistants recited around his bed the penitential psalms, he interrupted them at the verse, "Thou shalt build up the walls of Jerusalem," and said in a faint voice, that it had always been his intention to visit Palestine, and free the holy city from the yoke of the Saracens. He expired in a few hours, on the last day of August in the year 1422.

The splendor which conquest threw around the person of Henry during his life still adheres to his memory four centuries after his death. But he was not only a warrior, he was also a statesman. The praise of constitutional courage he may share with many of his predecessors; he surpassed most of them in the skill with which he fomented the dissensions among his antagonists, and improved to the best advantage the unexpected events which check-

ered the busy scene of French politics. Success, however, gave a tinge of arrogance to his character. He did not sufficiently respect the prejudices, nor spare the feelings, of his new subjects; the pomp and superiority which he displayed mortified their vanity; and the deference which he exacted from the proudest of the French nobility was reluctantly yielded by men who, under the weak reign of Charles, had been accustomed to trample on the authority of their sovereign. Continually engaged in war, he had little leisure to discharge the duties of a legislator; but he has been commended for his care to enforce the equal administration of justice, and was beloved by the lower classes, both in France and England, for the protection which he afforded them against the oppression of their superiors. To those who served him, if he were a stern, he was also a bountiful master; and though he punished severely, he rewarded with munificence. By military men he was beloved and adored. The body of the king was conveyed to Paris and Rouen, where it lay in state; and from Rouen by short journeys to Calais, where a fleet was in waiting to transport it to England. As the procession approached the metropolis, it was met by the bishops, the mitred abbots, and the clergy; and the obsequies were performed in presence of the whole parliament, first in St. Paul's and then in Westminster Abbey. The corpse was interred near the shrine of Edward the Confessor; and the tomb was long visited by the people with feelings of veneration and sorrow.

## CHAPTER XXIII.

## Henry the Sixth.

## CONTEMPORARY SOVEREIGNS.

<i>Popes.</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>Germany.</i>	<i>France.</i>
Martin V.		Sigismund.	Charles VI.
Eugenius IV.		Albert.	Charles VII.
Nicholas V.		Frederic III.	
Calixtus III.		<i>Scotland.</i>	<i>Spain.</i>
Pius II.		James I.	John II.
		James II.	Henry IV.
		James III.	

Government during the minority—Siege of Orleans—Joan d'Arc. Charles is crowned at Rheims and Henry at Paris—The King's Marriage—Loss of the French Provinces—Cade's Insurrections—The Duke of York is declared heir to the throne—He is killed in battle—His son Edward is proclaimed king.—From A. D. 1422 to 1461.

THE French throne was preserved from ruin by the premature death of Henry V. The new king, the son of Henry and Catherine, was hardly nine months old. On the first advice of his father's decease, several peers assembled at Westminster, issued commissions in the name of Henry VI. to the judges, sheriffs, and other officers, and summoned a parliament to meet in the beginning of November. A council was appointed, of which the duke of Gloucester was named president, in the absence of his brother the duke of Bedford, not with the title of regent, which might be construed to import a delegation of the sovereign authority, but with that of "protector of the realm and church of England;" an appellation which could serve only to remind him of his duty.

The regency of France was given to the duke of Bedford by Charles VI. But Charles survived this transaction only a few days, and the dauphin assumed the insignia of royalty with the title of Charles VII., king of France. On the other side, the regent did not neglect the interests of his nephew. The dukes of Bedford and Bretagne married each a sister of the duke of Bur-



gundy, and then separated to raise forces in support of the common cause. It was not long before the flames of war were rekindled. The country was pillaged by both parties; towns were taken and retaken; and the fortune of the belligerents was nearly balanced by alternations of defeat and success. After some time the war was suffered to languish; and the operations on both sides were confined to skirmishes and sieges, unimportant in their consequences to the two parties, but most disastrous to the unfortunate inhabitants.

After some years it was determined to cross the Loire, and to attack Charles in the provinces which had always adhered to his cause. With this view, several councils were held at Paris; the regent yielded, it is said with regret, to the majority of voices; and a resolution was taken to commence with the reduction of Orleans. Montague, earl of Salisbury, had lately returned from England with a reinforcement of six thousand men. After the earl of Warwick, he was the most renowned of the English commanders; and to him by common consent was intrusted the conduct of the siege. On the part of the French no preparation was omitted, no sacrifice spared, to preserve the city and annoy the aggressors. The English commander was killed, and the command devolved on the earl of Suffolk, who received several reinforcements and successively established his men in different posts round the city. The fall of Orleans was confidently anticipated; and the most gloomy apprehensions prevailed in the councils of the French monarch, when the French throne was saved from ruin by Joan d'Arc, the daughter of a small farmer at Domremy, a hamlet in Champagne, situate between Neufchateau and Vaucouleurs. This interesting female was born about the year 1412. Her education did not differ from that of the other poor girls in the neighborhood; but she was distinguished above them all by her diligence, modesty, and piety. Near Domremy was a solitary chapel, called the Hermitage of the Virgin. Joan was accustomed to visit this hermitage every Saturday and to hang up a garland of flowers, or burn a taper of wax in honor of the mother of Christ. These her early habits are worthy of notice, as they probably served to impress on her mind that romantic character which it afterward exhibited. The child was fond of solitude; whatever interested

her, became the subject of long and serious thought; and in these day-dreams the young enthusiast learned to invest with visible forms the creations of her own fancy. Besides religion, there was another sentiment which sprang up in the breast of Joan. Young as she was, she had heard enough of the calamities which oppressed her country, to bewail the hard fate of her sovereign, driven from the throne of his fathers. It chanced that in May, 1428, a marauding party of Burgundians compelled the inhabitants of Domremy to seek an asylum in Neufchateau. The village was plundered, and the church reduced to a heap of ruins. On their departure the fugitives returned, and the sight wound up the enthusiasm of Joan to the highest pitch. She escaped from her parents, prevailed on an uncle to accompany her, and announced her mission to Baudricourt, one of the French generals, who, though he treated her with ridicule, deemed it his duty to communicate her history to the dauphin, and received an order to forward her to the French court. To travel a distance of one hundred and fifty leagues, through a long tract of country, of which one portion was possessed by hostile garrisons, and the other perpetually infested by parties of plunderers, was a perilous and almost hopeless attempt. But Joan was confident of success; on horseback, and in male attire, with an escort of seven persons, she passed without meeting an enemy; and on the tenth day at Fierbois, a few miles from Chinon, announced to Charles her ar-  
Joan introduced to the king. rival and object. An hour was fixed for her admission to the royal presence: and the poor maiden of Domremy was ushered into a spacious hall, lighted up with fifty torches, and filled with some hundreds of knights, among whom Charles himself had mixed unnoticed, and in plain attire. Joan entered without embarrassment; the glare of the lights, the gaze of the spectators did not disconcert her. Singling out the dauphin at the first glance, she walked up to him with a firm step, bent her knee, and said, "God give you good life, gentle king." He was surprised, but replied, "I am not the king, he is there," pointing at the same time to a different part of the hall. "In the name of God," she exclaimed, "it is not they, but you are the king. Most noble lord dauphin, I am Joan the maid, sent on the part of God to aid you and the kingdom; and by his order I announce to you that you will be crowned in the city

of Rheims." The following day she made her appearance in public and on horseback. From her look she was thought to be in her sixteenth or seventeenth year; her figure was slender and graceful, and her long black locks fell in ringlets on her shoulders. She ran a course with the lance, and managed her horse with ease and dexterity. The crowd burst into shouts of admiration; they saw in her something more than human; she was, they thought, a knight descended from heaven for the salvation of France. Men of every rank caught the enthusiasm; and thousands offered their services to follow her to battle.

Sixty bastiles or forts, erected in a circle round Orleans, had effectually intercepted the communication with the country; and the horrors of famine were already felt within the walls, when it was resolved by the French cabinet to make a desperate effort to throw a supply of provisions into the city. A strong body of men, under some of the bravest officers in France, assembled at Blois, and Joan solicited and obtained permission not only to join, but also to direct, the expedition. To the English commanders, she sent orders in the name of God to withdraw from France, and return to their native She is admitted into Orleans. country. Dunois, the governor of Orleans, led her secretly into that city, where she was received by the citizens with lighted torches and acclamations of joy. Her presence created in the soldiers a spirit of daring and a confidence of success. Day after day sallies were made, and the strongest of the English forts successively fell into the hands of the assailants. One day while she was in the act of planting a ladder, an arrow passed through an opening in her corslet, and fixed itself between the chest and the shoulder. Her companions conveyed her out of the crowd; the wound was dressed; and the heroine, after a few minutes spent in prayer, rejoined the combatants. At her appearance the assailants redoubled their efforts, and the fort was soon won.

Suffolk, disconcerted by repeated losses, determined to raise the siege, and the soldiers, with feelings of shame and regret, turned their backs to the city. The earl of Suffolk was soon besieged in a neighboring town, and the place was carried by storm. More than three hundred of the garrison perished; and Suffolk with the remainder fell into the hands of the enemy.

Joan had always declared that the object of her mission was

twofold, the liberation of Orleans and the coronation of the king at Rheims. Of these the first had been accomplished, and she vehemently urged the execution of the second. Though to pene-

Charles, under her direction, proceeds to Rheims.trate as far as Rheims was an enterprise of difficulty and danger, for every intermediate fortress was in the possession of the enemy, Charles determined to trust to his own fortune and the predictions of his inspired deliverer. Having sent a strong division of troops to alarm the frontiers of Normandy, and another to insult those of Guienne, he commenced his march with an army of ten thousand cavalry. The citizens of Rheims, having expelled the Burgundian garrison, received him with the most flattering testimonies of joy. The coronation was performed in the usual manner; but as none of the peers of France attended, Charles appointed proxies to perform their duties. During the ceremony Joan, with her banner unfurled, stood by the king's side; as soon as it was over, she threw herself on her knees, embraced his feet, declared her mission accomplished, and with tears solicited his leave to return to her former station. But the king was unwilling to lose the services of one who had hitherto proved so useful; and at his earnest request she consented to remain with the army, and to strengthen that throne which she had in a great measure established. Bedford obtained fresh assurances of fidelity from the duke of Burgundy, withdrew five thousand men from his Norman garrisons, and received an equal number from his uncle Beaufort. With these he went in pursuit of Charles, who was unwilling to stake his crown on the uncertain event of a battle. In the neighborhood of Senlis, however, the two armies undesignedly came in sight of each other. The English, inferior in number, prepared for the fight after their usual manner; the French officers, flushed with success, impatiently demanded the signal for battle. But the defeats of Azincourt and Verneuil had taught Charles not to rely on mere superiority of number. The armies separated as if it had been by mutual consent. The regent hastened into Normandy, and Charles, at the solicitation of his female champion, took advantage of the duke's absence to make an attempt on the capital. Soissons, Senlis, Beauvais, and St. Denis opened their gates. He advanced to Montmartre, published an amnesty, and directed an assault on the fauxbourg of St. Honoré.

The action lasted four hours. At its very commencement Joan received a dangerous wound, was thrown into the ditch and lay there unnoticed, till she was discovered in the evening, and carried off by a party sent to search after her. Charles, mortified by the obstinate resistance of the Parisians, retired to Bourges; while the maid, looking on her wound as an admonition from heaven that her commission had ceased with the coronation at Rheims, consecrated her armor to God in the church of St. Denis. Her services, however, were still wanted. At the solicitation of her sovereign, she consented to resume the profession of arms, and accepted a patent of nobility for herself and her family, accompanied with a grant of income equal to that of an earl.

At the commencement of spring, the duke of Burgundy undertook to reduce the city of Compeigne; and the maid was selected to raise the siege. Her troops were defeated, however; she was taken prisoner, and was handed over to the regent, Bedford.

The unfortunate maid was treated with neglect by her friends, with cruelty by her enemies. If ever prince had been indebted to a subject, Charles VII. was indebted to Joan The death of Joan d'Arc, May 30, 1431. d'Arc; yet from the moment of her captivity she appears to have been forgotten. We read not of any sum offered for her ransom, or attempt made to alleviate the rigor of her confinement, or notice taken of her trial and execution. The bishop of Beauvais, in whose diocese she had been taken, claimed the right of trying her in his court on an accusation of sorcery and imposture. It is generally supposed that this claim was made at the suggestion of the duke of Bedford. The inquiry was opened at Rouen; on sixteen different days she was brought to the bar; the questions, with her answers, were laid before the university of Paris; and the opinion of that body concurred with the judgment of the court. Still the sentence was delayed from day to day; and repeated attempts were made to save her from the punishment of death, by inducing her to make a frank and explicit confession. But the spirit of the heroine continued undaunted; she proudly maintained that she had been the inspired minister of the Almighty. The fatal day, however, arrived, and the captive was placed at the bar; but when the judge had prepared to pronounce sentence, she yielded to a sudden impulse of terror,

subscribed an act of abjuration, and, having promised upon oath never more to wear male attire, was remanded to her former place of confinement. Her enthusiasm, however, revived in the solitude of a prison, and her judges condemned her, on the charge of having relapsed into her former errors. She was led sobbing and struggling to the stake; but the expectation of a heavenly deliverer did not forsake her though she saw the fire kindled at her feet. She then burst into loud exclamations, protesting her innocence, and invoking the aid of the Almighty; and just before the flames enveloped her, was seen embracing a crucifix, and calling on Christ for mercy. This cruel and unjustifiable tragedy was acted in the market-place of Rouen, before an immense concourse of spectators, about twelve months after her capture.

No sooner had Charles been crowned at Rheims, than the duke of Bedford determined that his nephew Henry VI. should be also crowned at the same place. The young king, as a preparatory step, received the regal unction at Westminster in his eighth year; but six months elapsed before he was enabled to leave England. At length, the sums necessary for his journey were raised by loan; the cardinal of Winchester consented to accompany him; and the duke of Gloucester was appointed the king's lieutenant during his absence. Henry proceeded to Rouen; but the prospect of penetrating to Rheims grew fainter every day; and at the end of eighteen months [17th of December, 1430] the coronation took place in Paris. After a few days Henry was re-conducted to Rouen, where he resided a year, and then returned by Calais to England.

The war languished during the two following years, and then an attempt was made to cause a general pacification, under the mediation of the pope, as the common father of Christian princes. To this proposal Eugenius IV. gladly acceded; and in 1435 was held the Congress of Arras, the most illustrious meeting for political purposes which Europe had yet witnessed; but the pretensions of the two courts were so opposite and extravagant, that every hope of pacification speedily vanished.

Before the dissolution of the Congress of Arras, the duke of Bedford expired at Rouen, and was succeeded by Richard, duke

of York. The duke of York was succeeded by Beauchamp, surnamed the Good, earl of Warwick, with the title of lieutenant-general and governor of France.

The pope repeatedly exhorted the rival powers to lay aside their arms, but was thwarted by the obstinacy of the French cabinet.

During Henry's minority, little occurred deserving of being recorded. He was free from vice, but devoid of capacity. Gentle and inoffensive, he was shocked at the very shadow of injustice; but, easy and unassuming, was <sup>The marriage of</sup> Henry. always ready to adopt the opinion of his advisers. When he was twenty-three years old, his council suggested that it was time he should marry; and every one foresaw that the queen, whoever she might be, would possess the control over the weak mind of her husband. The choice of Henry was directed toward Margaret, the daughter of René, king of Sicily and duke of Anjou. In personal beauty she was thought superior to most women, in mental capacity equal to most men of the age. The marriage was agreed on. Margaret landed at Porchester, was married to Henry at Tichfield, and crowned, May 30, 1444, with the usual ceremony, at Westminster.

The deaths of the duke of Gloucester and cardinal Beaufort removed the two firmest supports of the house of Lancaster, and awakened the ambition of Richard, duke of York, <sup>Richard, duke of</sup> who, by the paternal line, was sprung from Ed- York. ward Langley, the youngest son of Edward III., and by the maternal had become, after the death of the earl of March in 1424, the representative of Lionel, the third son of the same monarch. He had been appointed regent of France during five years; but the duke of Somerset, who sought to succeed to the influence of his relatives, the late cardinal and the duke of Gloucester, expressed a wish to possess that command; and York was reluctantly induced to exchange it for the government of Ireland. The affront sank deep into his breast; he began to consider Somerset as a rival; and, to prepare himself for the approaching contest, sought to win by affability and munificence the affections of the Irish.

If Henry felicitated himself on the acquisition of an accomplished and beautiful wife, his dreams of happiness were disturbed

The French king recovers his possessions. by the murmurs of the people. It was said that his union with Margaret had been purchased at too great a price in the cession of Anjou and Maine. Obstacles were opposed to the cession of Maine by the persons holding grants of land in that country; and the French king, weary of the tergiversation of the English government, resolved to cut the knot with the sword, and invested the capital of the province with an army. Henry, who was in no condition for war, surrendered almost the whole province, and obtained in return a truce for two years.

Maine was soon filled with French troops; and the king and duke of Bretagne resolved to unite their forces, and sweep the English from the soil of France. Within two months one-half of Normandy was in their possession. They soon also obtained the city of Rouen; and within the space of a year and six days, Normandy, with its seven bishoprics and one hundred fortresses, was entirely recovered by the French monarch.

Charles, however, was not satisfied without the conquest of Guienne; and soon the French banner waved in triumph from the mouth of the Garonne to the very borders of Spain. When nothing but Calais remained to England, Charles offered to treat of peace. The proposal was rejected with an idle threat, that Henry would never sheath his sword till he should have reconquered all that had been lost.

Every tongue was employed in bewailing the fallen glory of England, and every place resounded with eries of vengeance on the head of the minister, Suffolk. His enemies in the lower house had formed themselves into a powerful party, who requested that he might be immediately committed to the Tower. But the lords, having consulted the judges, replied that they had no power to order any peer into confinement unless some specific charge were brought against him. Two days later the speaker returned, and accused him of having aided the king of France, who, he pretended, was then making preparations to invade the country. On this charge, he was arrested and confined in the Tower.

The arrest of Suffolk: his fall. On the day appointed for his trial he was introduced into the house of lords, and falling on his knees before the king, solemnly declared his innocence. But whatever might be his guilt or inno-



cence, it was evident that his enemies thirsted for his blood; nor would the commons grant any supply till their cry for vengeance had been appeased. It became therefore the policy of the court to devise the means of satisfying them without endangering his life; and he was sentenced to banishment for five years. He sailed from Ipswich with two small vessels, and sent a pinnace before him to inquire whether he might be permitted to land in the harbor of Calais. But the pinnace was captured by a squadron of men-of-war; and one of the largest ships in the navy bore down on the duke's vessels. He was ordered on board, and received on deck by the captain with the ominous salutation of "Welcome, traitor." On the second morning, a small boat came alongside, in which were a block, a rusty sword, and an executioner; the duke was lowered into it, and beheaded.

The news of this tragical event plunged the king and queen into the deepest distress; and the people of Kent were roused by rumors of the signal vengeance which Henry had determined to inflict on them for having furnished Insurrection of John Cade. the ships which intercepted his friend. An Irish adventurer, whose real name was John Cade, but who had assumed that of Mortimer, cousin to the duke of York, seized the moment to unfurl the standard of insurrection. At the head of twenty thousand men he marched to Blackheath. Henry instantly dissolved the parliament, and summoning his forces, advanced to London. Cade demanded that the relatives of the duke of Suffolk should be banished from the court, and the dukes of York, Exeter, Buckingham, and Norfolk, with the earls and barons, be employed about the king's person.

Henry had levied between fifteen and twenty thousand men, with whom he marched to suppress the insurgents; but Cade withdrew before the king's arrival, and was pursued. At Sevenoaks he turned on his pursuers. Henry disbanded his forces, and retired to the castle of Kenilworth, while Cade took possession of London. He was, however, soon afterward taken and beheaded. The chief of his followers were executed; of whom some confessed on the scaffold that it had been their intention to place the duke of York on the throne.

This nobleman, leaving his government of Ireland without permission, landed in England, and hastened toward London with

Somerset returns from France. four thousand men. He was introduced to Henry, behaved with insolence in his presence, and extorted a promise that he would summon a parliament. The duke of Somerset now returned from France. The king and queen hailed his arrival as a blessing. He was the nearest of kin to Henry, and it was hoped that his fidelity and services would prove a counterpoise to the ambition of Richard.

For several months the nation was agitated by quarrels between the adherents of the two parties, by acts of violence and bloodshed, and by fruitless attempts to effect a reconciliation. The king, at the head of an army, soon marched against the duke of York; but he, avoiding the direction of the royalists, advanced to London by a different road, and finding the gates shut against him, proceeded as far as Dartford. Henry followed him, to demand an explanation of his conduct. The duke asserted that he was come to vindicate his innocence. To satisfy him, Henry ordered the duke of Somerset into custody; on which York disbanded his army, and swore fealty to the king.

At this time the inhabitants of Guienne offered to renew their allegiance, and solicited the aid of an English army. This was granted, and the command given to the earl of Shrewsbury. The expedition, however, did not succeed, and from that period Guienne was incorporated with the dominions of the French monarch.

In 1453, the queen was delivered of a son, whom she called Edward. It was in vain that the king's enemies attempted to throw doubts on the legitimacy of the young prince; and the prospect of an undisputed succession was hailed with joy by the friends of tranquillity.

Henry about this time sank into a state of mental, as well as bodily incapacity. His situation rendered it necessary to prorogue the parliament, and recalled the duke of York into the cabinet. The conduct of the duke of York. He soon gained the ascendancy over his rival, and Somerset was committed to the Tower. A committee of peers was chosen to visit the king; and as soon as they had reported that he was incapable of transacting business, an act was passed appointing the duke protector. The king soon recovered his health, and with it the use of his reason. Though he received the duke of York with his usual kindness,

he put an end to the protectorate, liberated the duke of Somerset from the Tower, and labored most earnestly to reconcile the two dukes.

York retired from court, invited his friends to meet him in the marches of Wales, and soon saw himself at the head of three thousand men, with the duke of Norfolk, the earl of Salisbury, and his son, the celebrated earl of Warwick. At the news Henry left London, and early the next morning, as he entered St. Alban's, was surprised to behold the banners of the Yorkists advancing toward the town. A battle ensued, and the king was defeated and taken prisoner. The king is taken prisoner. Henry, now at the mercy of his enemies, was compelled to lend the sanction of his authority to the very acts by which he had been deprived of his liberty. When the parliament assembled, York and his adherents said that all their proceedings had been actuated by sentiments of the purest loyalty, and they received a full pardon.

Henry soon relapsed into his former disorder, and the duke of York was again named protector. But Henry soon recovered, and the protector's commission was revoked. Two years passed without any important occurrence, during which Henry labored to mitigate the resentments of the two parties. Discord, however, again broke out. York and his followers rebelled. Henry granted an amnesty to the insurgents, and convoked a parliament. Its principal employment was to pass an act of attainder against the duke and duchess of York, and their children the earls of March and Rutland.

The hopes and fortunes of the Yorkists now rested on the abilities and popularity of the earl of Warwick, who had been permitted to retain the command of the fleet with Rebellion headed by the earl of Warwick. the government of Calais. He was now superseded in both; in the former by the duke of Exeter, in the latter by the duke of Somerset. But when Somerset prepared to enter the harbor, he was driven back, and Warwick sailed to Dublin, to concert measures with the duke of York. He soon, with numerous forces, landed in Kent, where he was joined by the lord Cobham with four hundred followers, by the archbishop of Canterbury, who owed his dignity to the favor of the duke during the protectorate, and by most of the neighboring gentlemen. As he advanced, his army swelled to the amount of twenty-five, some

say, forty thousand men. London opened its gates. Henry had collected his army at Coventry, and advanced to Northampton, where he intrenched himself. Warwick, after three ineffectual attempts to obtain a conference with the king, gave to him notice to prepare for battle. A battle was fought, and Henry was taken prisoner. The captive monarch was conducted to London. But though he entered the capital in great pomp, the earl of Warwick riding bareheaded and carrying the sword before him, he was compelled to give the sanction of his authority to such measures as the victors proposed.

The duke of York, by his counsel, delivered to the bishop of Exeter, the new chancellor, a statement of his claim to the crown, and requested that he might have a speedy answer. The lords resolved in favor of the duke of York; but they refused to proceed to the step of dethroning the king. To save their oaths

and clear their consciences, they proposed a compromise—that Henry should possess the crown for the term of his natural life, and that the duke and his heirs should succeed to it after Henry's death. To this both parties agreed. But though the monarch had consented to surrender the interests of his son, they were still upheld by the queen. The lords who had always adhered to the house of Lancaster, assembled an army at York, and the duke of Somerset and the earl of Devon joined them with their tenants from those counties. This union alarmed the other party. York met the enemy with inferior forces near Wakefield, and was either killed in the battle, or taken and beheaded on the spot. The queen with her victorious army advanced on the road to London, and met with no opposition till she had reached the town of St. Alban's. Here, by an important victory, Henry was restored to his friends, and placed at the head of an army. He announced by proclamation that his assent to the late award had been extorted by violence, and issued orders for the immediate arrest of Edward, late earl of March, and son to the late duke of York. But Edward had now united his forces with those of the earl of Warwick; and their superiority in numbers induced the royalists to retire with expedition into the northern counties. They were not pursued. Edward had a more important object in view, and entered London with all the pomp of a victorious monarch. He was immediately

The queen assembles an army in support of the king, A. D. 1455.

proclaimed king in the usual style by the heralds, in different parts of the city.

On the 4th of March, 1461, expired the reign of Henry VI. He was a prince whose personal character commanded the respect even of his enemies, and whose misfortunes still claim the sympathy of the reader. He was vir-<sup>Henry ends his reign, March 4, 1461.</sup> tuous and religious, humane, forgiving, and benevolent; but nature had refused him that health of body and fortitude of mind which would have enabled him to struggle through the peculiar difficulties of his situation

## CHAPTER XXIV.

### Edward the Fourth.

#### CONTEMPORARY SOVEREIGNS.

<i>Popes.</i>	<i>Scotland.</i>	<i>France.</i>
Pius II.	James III.	Charles VII.
Paul II.		Louis XI.
Sixtus IV.	<i>Germany.</i>	<i>Spain.</i>
	Frederic II.	Henry IV.
		Isabella } Ferdinand }

Misfortunes of the Lancastrians—Henry VI. is made prisoner—Insurrection—Edward is made prisoner—His release—Clarence and Warwick leave the kingdom, and return—Edward is expelled, and Henry restored—Edward returns—His victory at Barnet—Death of Henry—War with France—Death of the King.—A. D. 1461 to 1483.

THOUGH Edward had assumed the title of king, the two parties were still nearly balanced. The earl of Warwick, anxious to bring the question to an issue, marched from London at the head of a body of veterans: Edward in a few days followed with the main army. The preparations of the house of Lancaster were equally formidable. The duke of Somerset, with sixty thousand men, lay near York. Between the villages of Tow-<sup>The battle of</sup>ton and Saxton was fought (March 29, 1461) the Towton.

battle which fixed the crown on the brow of Edward. The dukes of Somerset and Exeter conducted Henry and his family to the borders, while the conqueror rode toward York, which he entered the next morning. He soon hastened to London, was crowned at Westminster with the usual solemnity, and created his two younger brothers, George and Richard, dukes of Clarence and Gloucester. Henry VI., his queen, their son Edward, and several others, were adjudged by parliament to suffer all the penalties of treason.

The cause of the red rose, the Lancastrian emblem, now appeared desperate; but it was still supported by the courage and industry of Margaret. To aid her cause, Margaret visited the continent, and invited all true knights to avenge the wrongs of the injured Henry. After an absence of five months she returned, and her hopes were cheered with a temporary gleam of success; but Edward and Warwick advancing with large forces, overcame her troops.

The spirit and activity of Margaret exposed her to numerous privations and dangers. On one occasion it is said that, as she <sup>The misfortunes and privations of the queen.</sup> was riding secretly with her son and the seneschal through a wild and mountainous district, they were surprised by a party of banditti, who despoiled them of their money, jewels, and every other article of value. It is probable that the queen concealed her quality, or such distinguished captives would have been more carefully guarded. The ruffians quarrelled about the partition of the booty; menaces were uttered, and swords drawn, when Margaret, watching her opportunity, grasped her son by the arm, and plunged into the thickest part of the wood. She had not proceeded far when another robber made his appearance. The queen, with the intrepidity of despair, advanced to meet him; and taking the young Edward by the hand, "Friend," said she, "I intrust to your loyalty the son of your king." This address awakened his generosity. He took them both under his protection, and conducted them to the quarters of the Lancastrians. Henry for security had been conveyed to the castle of Harlow, in Wales. The queen sailed to Sluys, in Flanders, and thence proceeded to Bar, in Lorraine, belonging to her father. There she fixed her residence, watching with anxiety the course of events, and consoling her sorrows with the

hope of yet placing her husband or her son on the English throne.

Henry sought an asylum among the natives of Lancashire and Westmoreland—a people sincerely devoted to his interests. Their fidelity enabled him for more than a year to elude the vigilance of the government; but he was at last betrayed by a monk of Abingdon. The unfortunate <sup>Henry betrayed and taken prisoner.</sup> king was met near London by the earl of Warwick, who ordered by proclamation that no one should show him any respect, tied his feet to the stirrups as a prisoner, led him thrice round the pillory, and conducted him to the Tower. Edward now turned his thoughts to his relations with foreign states. To the pope he had already notified his accession, and sent an abstract of the arguments on which he founded his claim. The answer of Pius II. was civil, but guarded. With Scotland, which had so long offered an asylum to his enemies, Edward concluded a peace for fifteen, and afterward prolonged it for fifty-five years; and he was on terms of amity with almost all the powers of Europe.

In these circumstances, the king no longer hesitated to acknowledge in public a marriage which he had some time before contracted in private with Elizabeth—a woman of superior beauty and accomplishments, the relict of Sir John Gray, a Lancastrian. For this purpose he summoned a general council of peers, by whom she was acknowledged as queen.

George, the elder of the surviving brothers of Edward, had received with the title of duke of Clarence a proportionate income, and had been named to the lieutenancy of Ireland, which office, on account of his age, he was permitted to execute by his deputy, the earl of Worcester. This young prince, dissatisfied at the ascendancy of the queen's relations, absented himself frequently from court, and preferred to the company of his brother that of the earl of Warwick, whose daughter he married.

An insurrection burst forth in 1469. Its ostensible cause was the determination of the farmers of Yorkshire to resist some unpopular demand. The peasants flew to arms; but the earl of Northumberland, Warwick's brother, <sup>Insurrection in Yorkshire.</sup> to prevent the destruction of York, attacked and defeated them with considerable slaughter. The rebels, though repulsed, were

not dispersed; and in a few days were said to amount to sixty thousand men.

On the first intelligence of the rising in Yorkshire, Edward had summoned his retainers. He advanced to Newark; but, alarmed at the disaffection which he observed on his march, he despatched letters, written with his own hand, to his brother Clarence, the earl of Warwick, and the archbishop, requesting them to hasten to him at Nottingham, with the same retinue which usually attended them in time of peace. They, however, hastened to increase their forces. A defeat at Edgecoat extinguished the hopes of Edward. The earl Rivers, the queen's father, was discovered, with his son, Sir John Wydeville, in the forest of Deane, and they were put to death. The king's brother and the two Nevilles proceeded in search of Edward, whom they found at Olney, plunged in the deepest distress. He soon discovered that he was their captive. The few royalists who had remained with the king, dispersed with the permission of Warwick. At his command, the insurgents returned to their homes laden with plunder; and Edward accompanied the two brothers to Warwick; whence, for greater security, he was removed to Middleham in Yorkshire.

England exhibited at this moment the extraordinary spectacle of two rival kings, each confined in prison, Henry in the Tower, Edward in Yorkshire. The Lancastrians seized the opportunity to unfurl the standard of Henry. Edward was released, and repaired to the capital, where his return was hailed by his own friends as little short of a miracle. A council of peers was now summoned, in which, after many negotiations, Clarence and his father-in-law condescended to justify their conduct. Edward, with apparent cheerfulness, accepted their apology, and a general pardon was issued in favor of all persons who had borne arms against the king. Yet under this outward appearance of harmony, distrust and resentment festered in their breasts; and a singular occurrence proved how little faith was to be given to the protestations uttered on either side. The archbishop had invited the king to meet Clarence and Warwick at an entertainment, which he designed to give at his seat at the Moor, in Hertfordshire. As Edward was washing his hands before supper, John Ratcliffe, afterward Lord Fitzwalter,



whispered in his ear that one hundred armed men were lying in wait to surprise and convey him to prison. Without inquiring into the grounds of the information, he stole to the door, mounted a horse, and rode with precipitation to Windsor.

An insurrection soon burst out in Lincolnshire, of which the king could at first discover neither the real object nor the authors. The king attacked the insurgents at Erpingham, in Rutlandshire: his artillery mowed down their ranks, and their leaders were taken and executed. Their confessions show that the insurrection had been got up at the instigation of Clarence and Warwick—that a confidential emissary from the duke regulated the movements of the force, and that the avowed object was to raise Clarence to the throne.

Warwick and Clarence fled from England, steered their course toward Normandy, captured every Flemish merchantman which fell in their way, and were received at Harfleur with distinguished honors by the admiral of France. Louis XI. invited them to his court, where they met Henry's queen, Margaret of Anjou. After a struggle, Margaret suffered her antipathy to Warwick to be subdued. The earl acknowledged Henry for his rightful sovereign, and bound himself to aid her, to the best of his power, in her efforts to restore her husband to the throne. To cement their friendship, it was agreed that the prince, her son, should marry his daughter Anne; and, to lull the probable discontent of Clarence, that in failure of issue by such marriage, the right to the crown should, on the death of the prince, devolve on the duke.

Soon afterward, the exiles, under the protection of a French fleet, landed without opposition at Plymouth and Dartmouth. Edward had been drawn as far as York by an artifice of the lord Fitzhugh, brother-in-law to Warwick, who pretended to raise a rebellion in Northumberland, and on the approach of the king, retired within the borders of Scotland. Thus the southern counties were left open to the invaders. Warwick proclaimed Henry VI., ordered all men between sixteen and sixty to join his standard, and marched with an army which increased every hour, in a direct line toward Nottingham. The thoughtless king had affected to treat the invasion with his usual

levity, but soon being convinced that his cause was lost, he fled to Holland.

Queen Elizabeth with her family had remained in the Tower; but perceiving that the tide of loyalty had turned in favor of Henry, she left that fortress secretly, and fled with her mother and three daughters to the sanctuary of Westminster, where she was shortly afterward delivered of a son.

Within a few days, Clarence and Warwick made their triumphal entry into the capital. Henry was immediately conducted from the Tower to the bishop's palace; and thence Henry released from the Tower. walked in solemn procession, with the crown on his head, to the cathedral of St. Paul's. By a parliament summoned in the name of the restored king, Edward was pronounced an usurper, his adherents were attainted, and the crown was entailed on the issue male of Henry VI., and in default of such issue, on the duke of Clarence and his heirs.

Edward solicited assistance from the duke of Burgundy, who feared to aid him publicly; but in secret he made him a present of fifty thousand florins, ordered four large ships to be equipped for his use at Vere, in Holland, and hired fourteen vessels from the Hanse Towns, to transport him to England.

Edward with ten or fifteen hundred men disembarked (March 14, 1471) at Ravenspur, in Yorkshire, the very place where Edward lands in England. Henry IV. landed to dethrone Richard II. Edward directed his march with expedition to the capital, which had been intrusted to the care of the archbishop. That prelate already began to waver. In the morning he conducted Henry, decorated with the insignia of royalty, through the streets of the city; in the afternoon he ordered the recorder to admit Edward by a postern in the walls, alleging that the party of the house of York had gained the ascendancy among the citizens; that the richest of the merchants were the creditors of Edward; that his affability and gallantries had attached numbers to his interests; and that the sanctuaries contained two thousand of his adherents, ready at a signal to unsheath the sword in his favor. However that may be, the archbishop secured a pardon for himself. Warwick followed Edward, expecting to find him encamped before the capital; but he, apprehensive of the Lan-

castrians within its walls, immediately left it, and taking Henry with him, advanced to meet the enemy.

It was late on Easter-eve when the hostile armies met, a little to the north of the town of Barnet. Warwick had already chosen his ground; Edward made his preparations during the darkness of the night; in consequence <sup>The battle of Barnet.</sup> of which, he posted by mistake his right wing in front of the enemy's centre, while his left stretched far away to the west. But at daybreak a fog of unusual density concealed from both parties their relative position; and at five o'clock the king gave by trumpet the signal for battle. It lasted four or five hours. At length the welcome intelligence was brought to Edward, that the body of Warwick had been found, lying near a thicket, breathless and despoiled of armor. This terminated the important battle of Barnet. To Edward the death of Warwick was of greater importance than any victory. That nobleman, by a long course of success, had acquired the surname of the King-maker; and the superstition of the vulgar believed that the cause which he supported must finally succeed.

Edward entered the city in triumph, remanded the unfortunate Henry to his cell in the Tower, and resumed the exercise of the sovereign authority. But he was not long permitted to indulge in repose or festivity. He had fought at Barnet on the Sunday; on the Friday he was again summoned into the field, as Queen Margaret had landed with a body of French auxiliaries at Weymouth. On hearing of the defeat at Barnet, she sank to the ground in despair; and as soon as she came to herself, hastened with her son for safety to the abbey of Cerne. But the Lancastrian lords raised a considerable body of troops to fight under her banner, and a battle took place (May 4, 1471) at Tewksbury. The victory was won by Edward. <sup>The battle of Tewksbury, and the defeat of the queen's forces.</sup> Of the prisoners, the most important was the Lancastrian prince of Wales, who was taken to Edward in the field. To the question, what had brought him to England, he boldly and ingenuously replied, "To preserve my father's crown, and my own inheritance." The king, it is said, had the barbarity to strike the young prince in the face with his gauntlet; Clarence and Gloucester, perhaps the knights in their retinue, despatched him with their swords. Queen Margaret, with her daughter-in-

law, and the ladies her attendants, had withdrawn, before the battle, to a small religious house in the neighborhood. They were afterward discovered, and presented as prisoners to the king.

A week after the battle of Tewksbury, the conqueror made his triumphal entry into the capital; on the next day the dead body of Henry was exposed in St. Paul's. To satisfy the credulous, it was reported, as had been formerly reported of Richard II., that he died of grief; but his death is attributed to the advice, if not to the dagger, of the youngest of the royal brothers, Richard, duke of Gloucester. Margaret was confined first in the Tower, afterward at Windsor, and lastly at Wallingford. After a captivity of five years, she was ransomed by Louis of France, and closed her eventful life, in 1482, in her own country.

Thus, after many a bloody field, and the most surprising vicissitudes of fortune, was the head of the house of York seated on the throne of England, apparently without a competitor. His eldest son, who had been born in the sanctuary during his exile, and had also been named Edward, was now created prince of Wales and earl of Chester, and was recognised as the heir-apparent. Edward's chief disquietude arose from the insatiate rapacity of his brothers, the dukes of Clarence and Gloucester. Clarence, who had married Warwick's eldest daughter, grasped at the succession to all that earl's property; Gloucester, who married the younger, the relict of the prince of Wales, slain at Tewksbury, claimed for himself a proportionate share. After some time, an arrangement took place; but a secret hatred had been kindled in their breasts, which was ready to burst forth on the first and most trivial provocation.

Being at length relieved from all cause of disquietude at home, Edward resolved to prosecute the ancient claim of the English monarchs to the French crown. He soon proceeded to Sandwich, (June 20, 1475,) and his army, consisting of fifteen hundred men-at-arms, and ten times that number of archers, was transported to Calais. Peace was, however, soon made with the French king.

An event occurred in 1477 which imbittered the remainder of Edward's days. His brother Clarence, now a widower, solicited

the hand of Mary of Burgundy; his suit was seconded by all the influence of his sister, the duchess Margaret; and it is thought that he would have succeeded had it not been for the resolute opposition of Edward. The king was jealous of the ambition of a brother who might employ the power of Burgundy to win for himself the crown of England. From that moment the brothers viewed each other as enemies, and scarcely preserved in their intercourse the external forms of decorum. While they were thus irritated against each other, Stacey, one of his servants, was accused of practising the art of magic. On the rack he named as his accomplice Thomas Burdett, a gentleman in the duke's family. They were arraigned together before the judges, and, after a short trial, both were condemned and executed. On the scaffold they protested against the sentence; Clarence immediately professed himself the champion of their innocence, and Edward committed him to the Tower.

A parliament was now summoned, and the unfortunate Clarence stood at the bar of the house of lords under a charge of high treason. Not one of the peers ventured to speak in his favor: the king produced his witnesses, and conducted the prosecution. The peers were persuaded by the arguments of the royal accuser; they found Clarence guilty; and the duke of Buckingham, who had been appointed high steward for the occasion, pronounced on him the sentence of death. About ten days later, it was announced that the duke had died in the Tower. The manner of his death has never been ascertained; but a silly report was circulated that he had been drowned in a butt of Malmsey wine.

In 1480, war was declared between England and Scotland. By some writers, the rupture has been attributed to the intrigues of Louis, who secretly stimulated James to break his alliance with Edward; by others, to the policy of Edward, who sought to convert to his own advantage the dissensions between the king and the nobles of Scotland. James placed himself at the head of the Scottish, the duke of Gloucester at the head of the English army, and the borderers renewed their depredations; yet two years elapsed before the war assumed a formidable appearance; and even then, though it was carried on for a time with vigor, it led to no practical results.

Edward was much disappointed respecting the projected mar-

riage of his daughter Elizabeth with the dauphin of France.

The death of Edward. When she had completed her twelfth year, it was hoped that Louis, according to his engagement,

would have sent for the princess, and have settled on her the stipulated annuity. After some years Louis, forgetting the princess Elizabeth, demanded Margaret of Austria for the dauphin. When the news reached Edward, he burst into a paroxysm of rage. Whether it were owing to the agitation of his mind, or to the sensual life in which he indulged, a slight ailment, which had been treated with neglect, suddenly exhibited the most dangerous symptoms. He spent the few days preceding his death in the exercises of religion, and directed that, out of the treasures which he should leave behind him, full restitution should be made to all whom he had wronged, or from whom he had extorted money. He expired 29th April, 1483, in the twenty-third year of his reign.

Edward is said to have been the most accomplished, and, till he grew too unwieldy, the handsomest man of the age. The love of pleasure was his ruling passion. Few princes have

His character. been more magnificent in their dress, or more licentious in their conduct; few have indulged more freely in the luxuries of the table. But such pursuits often interfered with his duties, and at last incapacitated him for active exertion. Even in youth, while he was fighting for the throne, he was always the last to join his adherents; and in manhood, when he was firmly seated on it, he entirely abandoned the charge of military affairs to his brother the duke of Gloucester. To the chief supporters of the opposite party he was cruel and unforgiving; the blood which he shed intimidated his friends no less than his foes; and both lords and commons during his reign, instead of contending like their predecessors for the establishment of rights, and the abolition of grievances, made it their principal study to gratify the royal pleasure. He was as suspicious as he was cruel. Every officer of government, every steward on his manors and farms, was employed as a spy on the conduct of all around him; they regularly made to the king reports of the state of the neighborhood; and such was the fidelity of his memory, that it was difficult to mention an individual of any consequence, even in the most distant counties, with whose character, history, and influence he was not accurately

acquainted. Hence every project of opposition to his government was suppressed almost as soon as it was formed; and Edward might have promised himself a long and prosperous reign, had not continued indulgence enervated his constitution and sown the seeds of that malady which consigned him to the grave in the forty-first year of his age. He was buried with the usual pomp in the new chapel at Windsor.

The king left two sons, Edward in his twelfth year, who succeeded him, and Richard in his eleventh, duke of York, and earl marshal. Five of Edward's daughters survived him. One of these, Elizabeth, who had once been contracted to the dauphin, was married to Henry VII.

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CHAPTER XXV.

Edward the Fifth.

CONTEMPORARY SOVEREIGNS.

*Pope.*  
Sixtus IV.  
*Scotland.*  
James III.

*Germany.*  
Frederic III.  
*France.*  
Louis XI.

*Spain.*  
Isabella. }  
Ferdinand. }

The conduct of the Duke of Gloucester—The Duke is made Protector—Penance of Jane Shore—He aspires to the Crown—The Crown is offered to him—He accepts it.—A. D. 1483.

As soon as the king had expired, the council assembled, and resolved to proclaim his eldest son by the style of Edward V. The young prince, accompanied by his uncle, Earl Rivers, and his half-brother, Lord Grey, had been sent to Ludlow in Shropshire.

Richard, duke of Gloucester, having the command of the army against the Scots, was employed on the borders at the time of his brother's death; but the moment he heard of that event, he repaired to York, summoned the gentlemen of the county to swear allegiance to Edward V.; and to give

The conduct of  
the duke of Glou-  
cester.

them an example, was himself the first who took the oath. At the same time he despatched letters to profess his affection and loyalty to his nephew, and proceeded southward, avowedly for the purpose of assisting at the coronation. Edward reached Stony Stratford, on his road to London, on the same day on which his uncle arrived at Northampton, about ten miles behind him. Gloucester arrived the next day at Stratford, proceeded to the house where the king resided, and approached him bending the knee and professing loyalty and attachment. But after this outward demonstration of respect, he apprehended Vaughan and Hawse, his confidential servants, ordered the rest of his retinue to disperse, and forbade by proclamation any of them to return into the royal presence under the penalty of death. The prince, abandoned and alarmed, burst into tears, but Gloucester, on his knees, conjured him to dismiss his terrors, and conducted him back to Northampton. The queen-mother, foreboding the ruin of her family, retired with her second son, Richard, her five daughters, and the marquess of Dorset, into the sanctuary at Westminster. The capital was instantly thrown into confusion. The citizens armed themselves, and the adherents of the queen, without a leader, and without information, awaited the result in the most anxious uncertainty.

On the 4th of May, 1483, Gloucester conducted his captive nephew into the metropolis. He was lodged with all the honors of royalty in the palace of the bishop, but soon on the motion of the duke of Buckingham was removed to the Tower, and Gloucester was appointed protector.

While orders were issued and preparations made for the expected coronation, Gloucester was busily employed in maturing his plans, and despatching instructions to his adherents. The council met daily at the royal apartments in the Tower; the confidants of the protector at Crosby-place, in Bishopsgate-street, his residence in London. One day he entered the council-chamber at the Tower, stood at first in silence knitting his brows, and then, in answer to a remark by Lord Hastings, called him a traitor, and struck his fist upon the table. A voice at the door exclaimed, "Treason," and a body of ruffians bursting into the room arrested Hastings, Stanley, and the two prelates York and Ely. The last three were conveyed to



separate cells; Hastings was immediately executed, and a proclamation was issued the same afternoon, announcing that Hastings and his friends had conspired to put to death the dukes of Gloucester and Buckingham.

Of the royal brothers the elder had been now securely lodged in the Tower; the younger still remained in sanctuary under the eye of Elizabeth. Him also, the protector resolved to have at his mercy; and with that intention proceeded to Westminster in his barge. Arrived there, he ordered a deputation of lords, with the cardinal of Canterbury at their head, to enter and demand the young prince from his mother. Elizabeth, convinced of the inutility of resistance, affected to acquiesce with cheerfulness in the demand. She called for her boy, gave him a last and hasty embrace, and turning her back, burst into tears. The innocent victim was conducted with great pomp to the Tower; and while the mother abandoned herself to the prophetic misgivings of her heart, her sons made themselves happy in the company of each other, little suspecting the wiles and cruelty of their unnatural uncle.

Among those who had fallen victims to the sensuality of Edward IV. was Jane, the wife of Shore, a young and opulent citizen. From the moment that her sin became public, she had been abandoned by her husband, but had contrived to retain the principal place in the king's affections till the time of his death. This woman, whose husband was now dead, Richard singled out for punishment. Her plate and jewels he appropriated to himself; her person he delivered over to the ecclesiastical court to be punished according to the canons, and with her feet bare, carrying a lighted taper in her hand, and preceded by an officer bearing the cross, she was compelled to walk through the streets of the capital, lined with an immense concourse of people.

Gloucester now began openly to aim at the crown, and on 24th June, 1483, the duke of Buckingham, attended by several lords and gentlemen, harangued the citizens of London from the hustings at Guildhall. He reminded them of Edward's tyranny, and said that Richard duke of Gloucester was the only true issue of the duke of York. Contrary to his expectations, the citizens were still silent; he at length re-

Elizabeth surrenders her second son.

Penance of Jane Shore.

Gloucester aims at the crown: finally accepts it.

quired an answer, whether they were in favour of the protector or not; and a few persons, hired for the purpose, and stationed at the bottom of the hall, having thrown up their bonnets, and exclaimed "King Richard," the duke gave the assembly his thanks for their assent, and the next morning with many lords and gentlemen proceeded to the palace, and demanded an audience of Gloucester. The protector affected to be surprised at their arrival; expressed apprehensions for his safety; and when at last he showed himself at a window, appeared before them with strong marks of embarrassment and perturbation. Buckingham, with his permission, presented to him an address requesting that he would take upon him the crown and royal dignity.

The protector replied, with affected modesty, that he was not ambitious: that royalty had no charms for him: that he was much attached to the children of his brother, and would preserve the crown to grace the brows of his nephew. "Sir," returned the duke of Buckingham, "if the lawful heir refuse the sceptre, we know where to find one who will cheerfully accept it." At these words Richard affected to pause; and after a short silence replied, that it was his duty to obey the voice of his people; that since he was deemed the true heir and had been chosen by the three estates, he would assent to their petition.

Thus ended this hypocritical farce. The next day, June 26, 1483, Richard proceeded to Westminster in state, took possession of his pretended inheritance, by placing himself on the marble seat in the great hall, and ordered proclamation to be made that he forgave all offences which had been committed against him before that hour.

## CHAPTER XXVI.

## Richard the Third.

## CONTEMPORARY SOVEREIGNS.

<i>Popes.</i>	<i>Germany.</i>	<i>Spain.</i>
Sixtus IV.	Frederic III.	
Innocent VIII.	<i>France.</i>	Isabella } Ferdinand }
<i>Scotland.</i>	Louis XI.	
James III.	Charles VIII.	

Coronation of Richard—The death of his two nephews—Conspiracy against him—He raises an army against the earl of Richmond—Is killed in the battle of Bosworth.—From A. D. 1483 to 1489.

IN less than a fortnight from his acceptance of the throne, Richard was crowned at Westminster with his consort Anne, the daughter of the late earl of Warwick. He employed the first days of his reign in acts of favor and clemency: many of the nobility were raised to a higher rank; and the treasures amassed and left by Edward were lavishly employed in the reward of past, and the purchase of future services.

Richard affected an extraordinary zeal for the suppression of crime and the reformation of manners. In all the great towns he administered justice in person, listened to petitions and dispensed favors; and to please the men of the north, among whom he had for some years been popular, he was again crowned at York with his consort; and the ceremony was performed with the same pomp and pageantry which had been exhibited in the metropolis.

While Richard was thus spending his time in apparent security at York, he was apprized of the tempest which had been gathering behind him. The terror of his presence had before silenced the suspicions of the public; but he was no sooner gone, than men freely communicated their thoughts to each other, commiserated the lot of the young Edward and his brother in the Tower, and openly condemned the usurpation of the crown by their unnatural uncle. The king,

though it was unknown, had already caused the murder of his nephews. By the friends of the princes, a resolution was taken to appeal to arms; and the hopes of the confederates were raised by the unexpected accession of the duke of Buckingham, now a determined enemy to the king; but when their hearts beat with the confidence of success, their hopes were suddenly dashed to the ground by the mournful intelligence that the two princes, for whom they intended to fight, were no longer alive.

Soon after his departure from London, Richard had tampered in vain with Brakenbury, the governor of the Tower. From Warwick he despatched Sir James Tyrrel, his The murder of the two princes. master of the horse, with orders that he should receive the keys and the command of the fortress during twenty-four hours. In the night Tyrrel, accompanied by Forest, a known assassin, and Dighton, one of his grooms, ascended the staircase leading to the chamber in which the two princes lay asleep. While Tyrrel watched without, Forest and Dighton entered the room, smothered their victims with the bed-clothes, called in their employer to view the dead bodies, and by his orders buried them at the foot of the staircase.

The intelligence was received with horror both by the friends and the foes of the usurper; but, if it changed the object, it did not dissolve the union of the conspirators. The Conspiracy in favor of the earl of Richmond. bishop of Ely proposed that the crown should be offered to Henry, the young earl of Richmond, the representative, in right of his mother, of the house of Lancaster; but on the condition that he should marry the princess Elizabeth, to whom the claim of the house of York had now devolved. The suggestion was approved of, and a messenger was despatched to Bretagne, to inform the earl of the agreement, to hasten his return to England, and to announce the eighteenth of October [1483] as the day fixed for the general rising in his favor.

When the answer of Henry was received, it was soon communicated to Richard, who prepared for the contest, summoned all his adherents to meet him with their retainers at Leicester, proclaimed Buckingham a traitor, and sent for the great seal from London. On the appointed day the rising took place. Had Henry then landed, the reign of the usurper would probably have been terminated. But though Henry had sailed from St. Malo

with a fleet of forty sail, the weather was so tempestuous that but few could follow him across the channel; and when he reached the coast of Devon, the insufficiency of his force forbade him to disembark. Buckingham was deserted by his followers, taken prisoner, and executed. The insurgents dispersed; the marquess of Dorset and bishop of Exeter crossed the channel to the coast of Bretagne; and others found an asylum in the fidelity of their neighbors, and the respect which was still paid to the sanctuaries.

When the conqueror had traversed the southern counties, he returned to the capital, and summoned a parliament, which pronounced him undoubted king of this realm of England; and entailed the crown on his son Edward <sup>The king</sup> prince of Wales. Still the king was seriously alarmed at the idea of a marriage between the young earl of Richmond and the eldest of the daughters of Edward IV. Henry of himself could not advance any right to the crown. But the Yorkists, convinced of the death of the two sons of Edward, considered his eldest daughter as rightful sovereign; and the moment Henry bound himself by oath to marry that princess, they swore fealty to him as the future husband of her who was by succession queen of England.

To defeat this project now became the chief policy of Richard. That he might draw the late queen out of the <sup>Death of Rich-</sup> sanctuary, he tempted her with the most flattering <sup>ard's queen.</sup> promises, and harassed her with the most terrible threats; so that at length she came to court. Richard's queen soon died, (it was supposed by poison,) and he was anxious to marry his niece, but was dissuaded from this course. At length he was informed by his emissaries, that the earl of Richmond had raised an army of three thousand adventurers, most of them Normans; and that a fleet was lying in the mouth of the Seine to transport them to England. He affected to receive the intelligence with joy; and immediately, to prepare the public for the event, published a long and artful proclamation, calling on the people to defend him against all traitors. Having issued instructions to his friends in the maritime counties, Richard sent for the great seal, and fixed his head-quarters at Nottingham. On the 1st of August, 1485, his competitor sailed from Harfleur; <sup>Henry lands at</sup> on the seventh he landed at Milford Haven, and <sup>Milford Haven.</sup> directed his march through the northern districts of Wales, a

tract of country in the interest of the Stanleys. He met with little to oppose or to encourage him; and when he took possession of Shrewsbury, his army did not exceed four thousand men. A week elapsed before Richard heard of his landing; but orders were instantly despatched for all his subjects to meet him at Leicester. The duke of Norfolk obeyed, as did the earl of Northumberland, the Lord Lovet, and others. At Leicester the king found himself at the head of a numerous and well-appointed army, which, had it been attached to its leader, might have trampled under foot the contemptible force that followed the banner of his competitor. But Henry, assured by the promises of his secret adherents, continued to press forward. On the twenty-first of

Battle of Bosworth, and the death of Richard.

August Richard rode from Leicester with the crown on his head, and encamped about two miles from the town of Bosworth. The same night, Henry proceeded from Tamworth to Atherston, where he joined the Stanleys, and was encouraged by the repeated arrivals of deserters from the enemy. In the morning both armies (that of Richard was double in number) advanced to Redmore; and the vanguards, commanded by the duke of Norfolk and the earl of Oxford, engaged. Richard was dismayed to see the Stanleys opposed to him, the earl of Northumberland remaining inactive at his post, and his men wavering and on the point of flying, or going over to his competitor. Chancing to espy Henry, he determined to win the day, or perish in the attempt. Spurring his horse and exclaiming, "Treason, treason, treason," he slew with his own hand Sir William Brandon, the bearer of the hostile standard, struck to the ground Sir John Cheney, and made a desperate blow at his rival, when he was overpowered by numbers, thrown from his horse, and immediately slain. Lord Stanley, taking up the crown, placed it on the head of Henry, and the conqueror was instantly greeted with the shouts of "Long live King Henry." The body of the late king was stript, laid across a horse behind a pursuivant at arms, and conducted to Leicester, where, after it had been exposed for two days, it was buried with little ceremony in the church of the Grey Friars. Henry entered the town with the same royal state with which Richard had marched out on the preceding day. He was careful, however, not to stain his triumph with blood. Of all his prisoners three only suffered death: the

notorious Catesby, and two persons of the name of Brecher, who probably had merited that distinction by their crimes.

Of the character of Richard it is unnecessary to say much. If he was guilty of the crimes laid to his charge, he was little better than a monster in human shape. Writers have indeed existed in modern times who have attempted to prove his innocence; but their arguments are rather ingenious than conclusive, and dwindle into groundless conjectures when confronted with the evidence which may be arrayed against them.

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## CHAPTER XXVII.

### Henry the Seventh.

#### CONTEMPORARY SOVEREIGNS.

<i>Popes.</i>	<i>Scotland.</i>	<i>France.</i>
Innocent VIII.	James III.	Charles VIII.
Alexander VI.	James IV.	Louis XII.
Pius III.	<i>Germany.</i>	<i>Spain.</i>
Julius II.	Frederic III.	Isabella. }
	Maximilian.	Ferdinand. }

The Coronation of Henry—The Settlement of the Crown—Insurrection in favor of the pretended Earl of Warwick—War in Bretagne—Imposture of Perkin Warbeck—Marriage and Death of Prince Arthur—Henry's Death and Character.—From A. D. 1485 to 1509.

FROM the field of Bosworth, Henry proceeded to Leicester. Victory had placed the crown on his temples; and the absence of a rival secured to him its present possession. The fall of the usurper excited little regret. No man <sup>The coronation of Henry.</sup> could pity his death, who had pitied the fate of his unoffending nephews. When the conqueror entered the capital, he was received with unequivocal demonstrations of joy. But his coronation was delayed, and the gladness of the public was damped by the sudden spread of a disease, which acquired from its predominant symptoms the appellation of the sweating sickness. At the

end of the month its violence began to abate, and the new king received the rite of coronation from the hands of the cardinal archbishop of Canterbury.

Soon after the coronation the king met his parliament. In the settlement of the crown by legislative enactment, he proceeded with cautious and measured steps. In the act of <sup>The settlement of the crown.</sup> settlement itself, no mention was made of Elizabeth or her heirs; even Henry's own claim was studiously omitted; and it was merely enacted that the inheritance of the crown should be in the person of King Henry VII. and his heirs. But this cautious policy, and in particular this silence with respect to the princess, seems to have alarmed not only the partisans of the house of York, but even Henry's own friends. He soon married Elizabeth, but if the ambition of the princess was flattered by this union, we are told that she had little reason to congratulate herself on the score of domestic happiness; that Henry treated her with harshness and with neglect; and that, in his estimation, neither the beauty of her person nor the sweetness of her disposition could atone for the deadly crime of being a descendant of the house of York.

After his marriage and the dissolution of the parliament, the new monarch, in imitation of his predecessors, resolved to signalize the commencement of his reign by a progress through the kingdom. He was stopped at Pontefract by the intelligence that Lord Lovell had raised a force and was preparing to surprise him at his entry into York. But Henry's court was now attended by most of the southern and northern nobility; and their followers formed a pretty numerous army. The duke of Bedford led the royalists; by his order an offer of pardon was made to all who should return to their duty; and the insurgent force immediately dispersed.

The king made his entry into York with royal magnificence. Thence he returned through Worcester, Hereford, Gloucester, and Bristol, to London, to receive a numerous and splendid embassy sent by James, king of Scotland. As the former truce between the two crowns was supposed to have expired at the death of Richard, both kings readily consented to its renewal, but the turbulence and discontent of the Scottish nobility compelled James to limit its duration to three years. In September, 1486, the



queen was safely delivered of a son, whose birth gave equal joy to the king and the nation. He was christened with extraordinary parade in the cathedral; and at the font received the name of Arthur, in memory of the celebrated king of the Britons, from whom Henry wished it to be thought that he was himself descended. Soon afterward one Richard Simons, a priest of Oxford, entirely unknown in Ireland, landed at Dublin with a boy about fifteen years of age, and presented his ward to the earl of Kildare, the lord deputy, under the name of Edward Plantagenet, son of Clarence, and earl of Warwick, and reported to have been murdered. He implored the protection of that nobleman for a young and innocent prince, who, by escaping from the Tower, had avoided the fate similar to that of his unfortunate cousins, the sons of Edward IV. The boy—he was the son of Thomas Simnel, a joiner at Oxford—had been well instructed in the part which he had to perform. His person was handsome; his address had something in it which seemed to bespeak nobility of descent; and he could relate with apparent accuracy his adventures at Sheriff-Hutton, in the Tower, and during his escape. The Butlers, the bishops of Cashel, Tuam, Clogher, and Ossory, and the citizens of Waterford, remained steady in their allegiance; the rest of the population, relying on the acquiescence or authority of Kildare, admitted the title of the new Plantagenet, without doubt or investigation; and the adventurer was proclaimed by the style of Edward VI., king of England and France, and lord of Ireland.

When the intelligence reached Henry he assembled a great council of peers and prelates, and by their advice published a pardon which extended to every species of treason. He conducted the real earl of Warwick from the Tower to St. Paul's, that he might be publicly recognised by the citizens. This prudent measure satisfied the people of England. They laughed at the imposture in Ireland, while the Irish maintained that theirs was the real Plantagenet. The earl of Lincoln repaired to the court of his aunt, the duchess of Burgundy, consulted with her and Lord Lovell, and receiving an aid of two thousand veterans under Martin Swartz, an experienced officer, sailed to Ireland and landed at Dublin. His arrival gave new importance to the cause of the counterfeit Warwick. Though Lin-

coln had frequently conversed with the real prince at Shene, he advised that the impostor should be crowned, and the ceremony of his coronation was performed by the bishop of Meath. When Henry first heard of the departure of Lincoln, he made a progress through the counties of Essex, Suffolk, and Norfolk, in which the earl possessed considerable interest; and thence proceeded through Northampton and Coventry to his castle of Kenilworth, which he had appointed for the residence of his queen and his mother. He soon found himself surrounded by his friends with their retainers, and orders were published against any robbery or other misconduct by his army.

The two armies, as if by mutual compact, hastened toward Newark. It was in vain that the earl, as he advanced, tempted the loyalty of the inhabitants by proclaiming Edward VI. the head of the house of York. Disappointed but undismayed, Lincoln resolved to stake his life on the event of a battle; and precipitated his march that he might find the king unprepared. The royalists had moved from Kenilworth by Coventry, Leicester, and Nottingham, and their numbers daily increased. The vanguard, under the earl of Oxford, was attacked at Stoke by the insurgents, amounting to eight thousand men. The action was short but sanguinary. The Germans fought and perished with the resolution of veterans; the adventurers from Ireland displayed their characteristic bravery, but with their darts and "skeans" (for the English settlers had adopted the arms of the natives) they were no match for the heavy cavalry; and though a portion only of the royalists was engaged, the victory was won with the slaughter of one-half of their opponents. Simons and his pupil surrendered, the latter of whom obtained his pardon, resumed his real name of Lambert Simnel, was made a scullion in the royal kitchen, and afterward, in reward of his good conduct, was raised to the more honorable office of falconer.

A court was at this time established to punish those who associated themselves under any chief. The limits of its jurisdiction, as fixed by statute, were extended till they included libels, misdemeanors, and contempts; and the power of pronouncing that judgment on delinquents to which they would have been liable if they had been convicted after the due course of law, grew in practice into a power of punishing at dis-

The court of the star-chamber established.

cretion, and with a severity which provoked the curses and hatred of all classes of men. This court was called the court of the star-chamber, from the accidental decorations of the room in which it usually sat.

As soon as the king was relieved from domestic enemies, he was compelled to direct his attention to the continent. The French monarchs had gradually obtained possession of the other great fiefs of the crown; Bretagne alone retained its own prince and its ancient constitution. Affairs in France. But the duke Francis was advanced in age, and weak both in mind and body. His family consisted of two daughters, the elder of whom, named Anne, had reached her twelfth year. Charles VIII. ascended the throne of France in 1483, at the age of fourteen, and the states placed the young king under the tutelage of his elder sister, Anne of France. The duke of Orleans, though he had not reached his twenty-fourth year, was offended with the choice; he raised forces against the regent, and was compelled to seek the protection of the duke of Bretagne. The regency declared war, for the apparent purpose of compelling the duke to pardon the exiles, and give up the French prince, but with the real view of preventing the marriage of Anne of Bretagne. Both parties applied to Henry, who was perplexed, and, unwilling to offend either, offered himself as a mediator between both. Charles, while he professed himself willing to accept the mediation, prosecuted the war with additional vigor. The duke of Orleans was made prisoner and Francis signed a treaty, by which he consented that Charles should retain all his conquests, and that neither of his daughters should marry without the approbation of the French king. But the sequel was still more perplexing. In a few weeks Francis died, and soon afterward his younger daughter followed him to the grave. The king of France, in virtue of his pretended claim, demanded the whole succession; hostilities recommenced; and before Christmas one-half of Bretagne was in the hands of the French. The clamor of the nation now roused Henry from his apathy; he summoned a parliament. The English people were anxious to rescue a young and unfortunate princess from the power of a victorious enemy; but the cold-hearted king had determined to enrich himself from the generosity of the one and the necessities of the other.

To Anne he sent an army of six thousand archers to serve for six months; but on severe conditions, and these auxiliaries, as soon as the six months of their service were completed, returned to their own country without having rendered any important aid.

Soon afterward, Maximilian of Germany married, by proxy, Anne of Bretagne; and, within a few weeks, the lord D'Albret, one of her suitors, to revenge the disappointment, betrayed to the

Anne of Bretagne. French the important city of Nantes. War was now renewed, Maximilian, thinking himself secure, neglected to go and succor his wife; Henry harassed her with demands of money for the repayment of his former expenses; and Charles of France formed a plan, suspected by neither of these powers, of compelling her to break her contract with Maximilian, and to marry himself. When the proposal was made to her, she rejected it with disdain. But a French army soon appeared before the gates of Rennes. There remained no hope of escape. She must be either the wife or the captive of Charles. Subdued at last by importunity and terror, she consented to marry the French king. The English king said he would punish the perfidy of France respecting Bretagne, and after much delay he landed at Calais with 1600 men-at-arms, and 2500 infantry; but soon made peace with the French king.

At this time appeared one of the most mysterious personages recorded in English history. About the time when Henry published his intention of making war against France, The story of Perkin Warbeck. a merchant vessel from Lisbon cast anchor in the cove of Cork. Among the passengers was a youth whom no person knew, about twenty years of age, of handsome features and courtly deportment. It was soon rumored that he was Richard, duke of York, the second son of Edward IV., and as the English settlers were warmly attached to the house of York, the citizens of Cork declared in his favor. He soon afterward accepted an invitation from the ministers of Charles VIII. to visit France, and place himself under the protection of that monarch. He was received by the king as the real duke of York, and the rightful heir to the English throne. Henry was perplexed and alarmed. He hastened to sign the peace with the French monarch; and Charles instantly ordered the adventurer to quit his dominions. Leaving France, he solicited the protection of Margaret, the dow-

ger duchess of Burgundy, who received him with joy, appointed him a guard of thirty halberdiers, and gave him the surname of "The white rose of England." And yet for three years after he first set forth his claim he never made any attempt to establish it by legal proof, or to enforce it by an appeal to the sword. In July, 1495, he sailed from the coast of Flanders with a few hundred adventurers attached to his fortunes; and, while Henry was on a visit to his mother at Latham, in Lancashire, made a descent in the neighborhood of Deal. But the inhabitants attacked the invaders, made many prisoners, and drove the remainder into their boats. All the captives were hanged by the order of Henry. Warbeck, despairing of success in England, sailed to Ireland, and with the aid of the earl of Desmond laid siege to Waterford; but Sir Edward Poynings soon compelled him to flee with the loss of three of his ships.

The repulse of Warbeck and the complaint of the Flemish merchants, induced the archduke of the Netherlands to solicit a reconciliation with Henry; and, after a few conferences between their respective envoys, a treaty was signed, by which every facility was afforded to the trade of the two countries; and there was appended to it a provision that each of the contracting parties should banish from his dominions the known enemies of the other. Warbeck, therefore, could no longer remain in Flanders, where he had taken refuge. He sailed to Cork; but the Irish refused to venture their lives in his service. From Cork he passed to Scotland, and exhibited, it is said, to the king recommendatory letters from Charles VIII. and his friend the duchess of Burgundy. James received the adventurer with kindness, paid to him the honors due to the prince whose character he had assumed; and to evince the sincerity of his friendship, gave to him in marriage his near relation, the lady Catherine Gordon, daughter to the earl of Huntley. Warbeck mustered under his standard 1400 men, outlaws from all nations; to these James added all the forces it was in his power to raise; and the combined army crossed the borders in the depth of winter and when no preparation had been made to oppose them.

As soon as the intelligence of this invasion reached Henry, he raised forces, summoned a parliament, and obtained a grant of supplies. In most counties the tax was levied without opposition,

but in Cornwall the people refused to pay their money for an object which, it was pretended, did not concern them, but the natives of the northern counties. They took up arms and marched to London; but Henry, who had been joined by many of the nobility, soon defeated them.

The enthusiasm which had been excited by the first appearance of Warbeck in Scotland had long been on the decline; and when he saw the current of public opinion setting against him, he departed from Scotland with four ships and a few companions. He first touched at Cork, and solicited in vain the aid of the earl of Desmond. From Cork he directed his course across the channel to Whitsand Bay; and proceeding by land to Bodmin, unfurled the standard of Richard IV. He soon, however, submitted, and threw himself on the mercy of Henry. The king refused to admit him into his presence. When he returned to London, Warbeck rode in his suite, surrounded by multitudes, who gazed with wonder at the man whose claim and adventures had so long engaged their attention. He was conducted as a spectacle through the principal streets of the city, and ordered to confine himself within the precincts of the palace. He was compelled to stand a whole day in the stocks at Westminster Hall, and the next in Cheapside; and on both occasions to read to the people a confession of his having been an impostor. After suffering this punishment he was committed to the Tower.

The real earl of Warwick and the pretended duke of York were now fellow-prisoners in the Tower. They soon contracted a mutual friendship, and adopted a plan for their escape. Their plans, which involved a new revolt, were discovered, and Warbeck was indicted in Westminster Hall, condemned and executed. The earl of Warwick was arraigned at the bar of the house of lords. Of his own accord he pleaded guilty; the earl of Oxford, as lord steward, pronounced judgment; and after a few days Henry signed the warrant for the execution of the last legitimate descendant of the Plantagenets whose pretensions could excite the jealousy of the house of Tudor.

From this period, the ambition of Henry was no more alarmed by pretenders to the crown, nor his avarice distressed by the expense of foreign expeditions. The principal events of his reign during the ten years of tranquillity which preceded his death

consisted of treaties with other powers, and expedients to amass money.

The truces between England and Scotland, though frequently renewed and enforced with menaces and punishments, were but ill observed by the fierce and turbulent inhabitants of the borders. At length, however, James of Scotland proposed to marry Margaret, the eldest daughter of Henry. By the English prince, the offer was most joyfully accepted; and when some of his council expressed a fear that then, in failure of the male line, England might hereafter become an appendage to the Scottish crown, "No," he replied, "Scotland will become an appendage to the English; for the smaller must follow the larger kingdom." The event verified the king's prediction. The parties were solemnly affianced to each other in London, in the queen's chamber, the earl of Bothwell acting as proxy for James; tournaments were performed for two days in honor of the ceremony; and to exhilarate the populace, twelve hogsheads of claret were tapped in the streets, and twelve bonfires kindled at night. At the same time was concluded, after one hundred and seventy years of war, or of truces little better than war, a treaty of perpetual peace between the two kingdoms.

Henry had always cultivated with particular solicitude the alliance of Ferdinand, king of Castile and Arragon; and the more strongly to cement their friendship, had proposed a marriage between his eldest son, Arthur, prince of Wales, and Catherine, the fourth daughter of the Castilian monarch. The marriage was postponed on account of the youth of Arthur; but when he had completed his twelfth year a dispensation was obtained to enable him to make the contract; and the marriage ceremony was performed in the chapel of his manor of Bewdley, where Catherine was represented by her proxy, the Spanish ambassador. She was nine or ten months older than Arthur; and when the latter had completed his fourteenth year, Henry demanded her of her parents; and she accordingly came to England. She renewed to Arthur the contract which had been made by her proxy, and the marriage ceremony was performed in St. Paul's. The abilities of Arthur, the sweetness of his temper, and his proficiency in learning, had gained him the affection of all who knew him; and his bride, by her beauty,

modesty, and accomplishments, became the object of general admiration. But the hopes of the nation were unexpectedly blighted by his premature death in the fourth month after his marriage. The intelligence of this event alarmed Ferdinand and Isabella, the parents of the young widow. Anxious to preserve the friendship of England as a counterpoise to the enmity of France, they hastened to propose a marriage between their daughter and her brother-in-law, Henry, now apparent heir to the throne. A year elapsed before it was finally agreed that the marriage should be contracted within two months after the arrival of a dispensation from the pope. The dispensation was obtained, and the parties were contracted to each other.

While the king sought by foreign alliances to add to the security of his family, he was equally solicitous to amass riches at the expense of his subjects. The men whom he employed as the agents of oppression were Sir Richard Empson and Edmund Dudley, both lawyers, of inventive heads and unfeeling hearts; who despoiled the subject to fill the king's coffers, and despoiled the king to enrich themselves.

The king was for many years visited with regular fits of the gout. His strength visibly wasted away, and every spring the most serious apprehensions were entertained for his Death of Henry, April 21, 1509. life. Whatever might be the hopes with which he flattered himself, his preachers did not allow him to be ignorant of his danger. From the pulpit they admonished him of the extortion of his officers, and exhorted him to prepare for death by making reparation to the innocent sufferers. Henry does not appear to have been displeased with their freedom. He forgave all offences against the crown, with the exception of felony and murder; satisfied the creditors of all persons confined for debts under the amount of forty shillings; and ordered strict justice to be done to all who had been injured by the tyranny of the ministers. The prosecutions, however, were soon revived; it was contended that no injustice could be committed where the conviction was procured by due process of law; and several of the most respectable citizens in London were heavily amerced, and in default of payment thrown into prison. Thus Empson and Dudley continued to pursue their iniquitous career till they were arrested by the death of the king, who, on the 21st April, 1509, sank



under the violence of his disease. He left three children; a son Henry, who inherited his father's crown, and two daughters, Margaret, married to James, king of Scots, and Mary, afterward the wife of Louis XII., king of France.

To Henry, by his contemporaries, was allotted the praise of political wisdom. He seems, indeed, to have been formed by nature for the circumstances in which accident had placed him. With a mind dark and mistrustful, His character. tenacious of its own secrets and adroit in divining the secrets of others; capable of employing the most unprincipled agents, and of descending to the meanest artifices, he was able to unravel the plots, to detect the impostures, and to defeat the projects of all his opponents. But there was nothing open in his friendship, nothing generous in his enmity. His suspicions kept him always on his guard; he watched with jealousy the conduct of his very ministers, and never unbosomed himself with freedom even to his consort or his mother. It was his delight to throw an air of mystery over the most ordinary transactions; nor would pride or policy allow him, even when it appeared essential to his interests, to explain away the doubts, or satisfy the curiosity of his subjects. The consequence was, that no one knew what to believe or what to expect. He appears to have been the first of our kings since the accession of Henry III. who confined his expenses within the limits of his income. But the civil wars had swept away those crowds of annuitants and creditors that formerly used to besiege the doors of the exchequer; and the revenue of the crown came to him free from incumbrances and augmented by forfeitures. Hence he was enabled to reign without the assistance of parliament; and, if he occasionally summoned the two houses, it was only when a decent pretext for demanding a supply offered to his avarice a bait which it could not refuse. He had, however, little to apprehend from the freedom or the remonstrances of these assemblies. That spirit of resistance to oppression, that ardour to claim and establish their liberties, which characterized the parliaments of former times, had been extinguished in the feuds between "the two roses." The temporal peers who had survived the storm were few in number, and without the power of their ancestors; they feared by alarming the suspicions of the monarch to re-plunge themselves into the dangers from which they had so lately

emerged; and the commons readily adopted the humble tone and submissive demeanor of the upper house. Henry, and the same may be observed of his two last predecessors, found them always the obsequious ministers of his pleasure.

But if the king was economical in his expenses, and eager in the acquisition of wealth, it should also be added, that he often rewarded with the generosity, and on occasions of ceremony displayed the magnificence of a great monarch. His charities were many and profuse. Of his buildings, his three convents of friars fell in the next reign; his chapel at Westminster still exists, a monument of his opulence and taste. He is said to have occasionally advanced loans of money to merchants engaged in profitable branches of trade; and not only gave the royal license to the attempt of the Venetian navigator Cabot, but fitted out a ship at his own expense to join in the voyage. Cabot sailed from Bristol, discovered the island of Newfoundland, crept along the coast of Florida, and returned to England. It was the first European expedition that ever reached the American continent.

## CHAPTER XXVIII.

## Henry the Eighth.

## CONTEMPORARY SOVEREIGNS.

<i>Popes.</i>	<i>Scotland.</i>	<i>France.</i>
Julius II.	James IV.	Louis XII.
Leo X.	James V.	Francis I.
Adrian VI.	Mary.	<i>Spain.</i>
Clement VII.	<i>Germany.</i>	Ferdinand. }
Paul III.	Maximilian.	Isabella. }
	Charles V.	Charles V.

The Accession and Marriage of Henry—War with France—Defeat of the Scots at Flodden—The Rise and Power of Wolsey—Execution of the Duke of Buckingham—Wolsey aspires to the Papacy—Peace with France—Origin of the Reformation—Henry writes against Luther—Is declared Defender of the Faith—Anne Boleyn—Disgrace of Wolsey—The rise of Cromwell—The King marries Anne Boleyn—Cranmer—The King assumes the title of Head of the Church—Papal Bull against Henry—Dissolution of the Monasteries—Death of Queen Catherine—Marriage with Anne of Cleves—Fall of Cromwell—Marriage with Catherine Howard—The King's last illness—His Death and Character.—A. D. 1509 to 1542.

THE late king had forfeited, long before his death, the affections of his people; and the accession of his son, of the same name, was hailed as the commencement of a new Accession of Henry VIII. era. The young Henry had almost completed his eighteenth year. He was handsome in person, apparently generous in disposition, and adroit in every martial and fashionable exercise.

With the unanimous assent of the council, he was now publicly married to the Spanish princess by the archbishop of Canterbury; their coronation followed, and these two events were celebrated with rejoicings, which occupied the court during the remaining part of the year.

The first public acts of the young monarch were calculated to win the affections of his people. Henry confirmed by proclamation the general pardon which had been granted by his father,

offered redress to all persons who had been aggrieved by the late commission of forfeitures, and ordered the arrest of Empson and Dudley, who were soon afterward tried, convicted, and put to death.

Peace abroad and tranquillity at home, allowed the young monarch to indulge his natural taste for amusements and pleasure.

Henry invades France. It was not long, however, before a quarrel between Julius, the Roman pontiff, and Louis XII., king of France, caused Henry to engage in war. Henry took part with the pope, and invaded France; in which country war raged with varying success for a considerable time.

The memorable battle of Flodden was fought at this period. James IV. of Scotland had married Margaret, the sister of Henry. This new connection did not, however, extinguish the hereditary partiality of the Scottish prince for the ancient alliance with France; and his jealousy of his English brother was repeatedly irritated by a succession of real or supposed injuries. When Henry joined in the league against Louis, the Scottish court became the scene of the most active negotiations, the French ambassadors claiming the aid of Scotland, the English insisting on its neutrality. James renewed the ancient alliance between Scotland and France, with an additional clause reciprocally binding each prince to aid his ally against all men whomsoever. Henry was already in France; and James despatched his fleet with a body of three thousand men to the assistance of Louis. At the same time a Scottish herald sailed to France, the bearer of a letter from James to Henry, requiring the retreat of the English army out of that country; to which demand Henry refused to accede. James, at the head of one of the most numerous armies that had ever been raised in Scotland, passed the Tweed, and turning to the north, took numerous strong places. The earl of Surrey challenged James to battle, and the The battle of Flodden Field, and the death of James. Scottish king, leading his army across the river, encamped on the hill of Flodden, the last of the Cheviot mountains, which border on the vale of Tweed. The memorable engagement of "Flodden Field" took place on the 9th September, 1513. James fought on foot, surrounded by some thousands of his chosen warriors, who were cased in armour, and on that account less exposed to the destructive aim of the English

archers. Animated by the presence and example of their monarch, they advanced steadily, and fought with a resolution which, if it did not win, at least deserved, the victory. Though Surrey made every effort, he could not arrest their progress; they had penetrated within a few yards of the royal standard; and James, ignorant of the result in other parts of the field, flattered himself with the prospect of victory. But in the mean while, Sir Edward Stanley, who commanded the left wing, had defeated the earls of Argyle and Lennox. The ranks of the Scots, as they descended the hill, were disordered by the murderous discharges of the archers; the moment they came into close combat, the confusion was completed by a sudden charge in flank from three companies of men-at-arms. They began to retreat; Stanley chased them over the summit of the hill; and, wheeling to the right, led his followers against the rear of the mass commanded by James in person. In a few minutes that gallant monarch was slain by an unknown hand, and fell about a spear's length from the feet of Surrey. The battle had begun between four and five in the afternoon, and was decided in something more than an hour. Six thousand horses were taken, with the park of artillery, amounting to seventeen pieces. Lord Daere recognised among the slain the body of the Scottish king, and conveyed it to Berwick, whence it was afterward carried to London, that it might be interred with suitable honours.

When the news of this important victory reached the king of England, he was besieging Tournay. This city contained a population of eighty thousand souls, and though The siege of Tournay. situate within the territory of another power, had long been distinguished by its attachment to the French crown. To the summons sent by Henry, the inhabitants returned a bold and chivalrous defiance; but their resolution evaporated amid the fatigues and dangers of a siege, and on the eighth day they submitted.

Henry soon returned to England, proud of his victory, and spent the winter in preparations for new conquests which he contemplated. But Louis, humbled by a long series of disasters, preferred negotiation to war. He appealed to the individual interests of the confederates, infused into them suspicions of each other's sincerity, and successively detached them, one by one,

from the league against him. Louis soon died, and his successor, Francis I., renewed all the engagements of his predecessor to the satisfaction of the English monarch.

Among the inferior dependants of Henry, there now appeared one whose aspiring views and superior talents rapidly enabled him to supplant every competitor. Thomas Wolsey, a native of Ipswich, and a clergyman, had been appointed in the last reign one of the royal chaplains. After the death of his patron, he attached himself to the service of the bishop of Winchester, at whose recommendation he was intrusted with a secret and delicate negotiation at the imperial court; and the expedition and address with which he executed his commission, not only justified the discernment of his friends, but also raised the agent in the estimation of his sovereign. Before the death of Henry VII., he had been collated to the deanery of Lincoln, one of the most wealthy preferments in the English church; soon after the commencement of the present reign, we find him exercising the office of almoner to the king, and thus possessing every facility of access to the presence of the young monarch. Henry was captivated with the elegance of his manners and the gayety of his disposition. It was soon discovered that the most sure and expeditious way to the royal favor was through the recommendation of the almoner; and foreigners, as well as natives, eagerly solicited, and frequently purchased his patronage. Preferments rapidly poured in upon him. He was made dean of York, then bishop of Lincoln; and, on the death of Cardinal Bambridge, succeeded that prelate in the archiepiscopal see of York. His preponderating influence in the council induced foreign princes to flatter him with compliments, and to seek his friendship with presents; and during fifteen years he governed the kingdom with more absolute sway than had fallen to the lot of any former minister.

The affairs of Scotland, after the death of its king and the destruction of its nobility in the field of Flodden, presented for some time a melancholy scene of confusion and terror. By degrees, however, the Scottish spirit recovered from its depression; the call for revenge was echoed throughout the nation; several chieftains gathered their retainers; and the devastation of one inroad was repaid by the devasta-

The affairs of  
Scotland.

tion of another. The queen had been permitted, in conformity with the will of her husband, to assume the regency as guardian to her son James V. Seven months had not elapsed from the death of her husband, when she was safely delivered of a second son, Alexander, duke of Ross; but in less than three months afterward, she displeased both the nation and her brother by marrying the young earl of Angus. A national deputation invited the duke of Albany to assume the government of the kingdom. He consented, and compelled the queen to surrender the two princes, whom he placed under the custody of three lords appointed by parliament.

The French monarch, Francis, whose youth and accomplishments made him the idol of his people, had already formed the most gigantic projects of conquest and aggrandizement. He soon put in motion the numerous army Francis, king of France. which he had collected with the avowed purpose of chastising the hostility of the Helvetic cantons; but, instead of following the direct road either into Switzerland or Italy, he passed unexpectedly between the maritime and Cottian Alps, and poured his cavalry into the extensive plains of Lombardy. His real object was now manifest. The Italian princes, whose jealousy had guarded to no purpose the accustomed roads over the Alps, were filled with consternation: in a consistory at Rome it was proposed to solicit the aid of Henry; and in a few days later, Leo, to secure the mediation of Wolsey, named that minister cardinal priest of St. Cicely beyond the Tiber.

After much deliberation in the English cabinet, it was resolved to follow a middle course between peace and war; to avoid actual hostilities with France, but to animate its enemies with hopes, and to aid them with subsidies. Henry directed his attention to a matter which more nearly concerned his own interests—the conduct of the duke of Albany in Scotland. Against the regency of that prince he had remonstrated in strong and threatening terms. The Scottish parliament returned a firm, though respectful answer; but Francis, who still dreaded the hostility of the king of England, advised the Scots to conclude a perpetual peace with Henry, and even required the regent, in quality of his subject, to return to France. Albany obeyed, but before his departure, provision was made for the return of Queen Margaret,

who had sought an asylum in England; and a temporary council was appointed, in which the numbers of the two parties were nearly balanced, and under the nominal government of which, Scotland passed four years of dissension and anarchy.

Francis, having won the duchy of Milan, determined to secure his conquest by disarming the hostility of his neighbors. He was soon at peace with all the powers of Europe, but Peace between France and England. felt alarmed at the unfriendly conduct of the king of England, who had aided his enemies. Friendship among European princes, however, arose at the suggestion of the pope; and to cement the union between England and France, the dauphin, an infant just born, was affianced to Mary, the daughter of Henry, a child not four years old. That every probable occasion of dispute might be done away, Tournay, with its dependencies, was restored to France, for the sum of six hundred thousand crowns. Thus, after ten years of war and negotiation, of bloodshed and perfidy, were all the powers of Europe re-established in the same situation in which they had previously stood, with the exception of the king of Navarre, whose territories on the south of the Pyrenees could not be recovered from the unrelenting grasp of Spain.

Wolsey still retained the first place in the royal favor, and continued to rise in power and opulence. He was made chancellor and papal legate, and having repeatedly solicited The wealth and power of Wolsey. additional powers, at length possessed and exercised within the realm almost all the prerogatives of the sovereign pontiff. Nor was his ambition yet satisfied; for at the death of each pope he labored, but in vain, to seat himself in the chair of St. Peter. His love of wealth was subordinate only to his love of power. As chancellor and legate he derived considerable emoluments from the courts in which he presided. He held other profitable appointments, and received pensions from the pope and from Francis. In justice to his memory, it should, however, be observed, that if he grasped at wealth, it was to spend, not to hoard it. His establishment was on the most princely scale, comprising eight hundred individuals. He spared no expense in his buildings; and, as soon as he had finished the palace of Hampton Court, and furnished it to his taste, he gave the whole to Henry; perhaps the most magnificent present that



a subject ever made to his sovereign. He was a minister of consummate address and commanding abilities; greedy of wealth, and power, and glory; anxious to exalt the throne on which his own greatness was built, and the church of which he was so distinguished a member; but capable, in the pursuit of these different objects, of stooping to expedients which sincerity and justice would disavow, and of adopting, through indulgence to the caprice and passions of the king, measures which often involved him in contradictions and difficulties, and ultimately occasioned his ruin. It is acknowledged, however, that he reformed many abuses in the church, and compelled the secular and regular clergy to live according to the canons. His office of chancellor afforded him the opportunity of displaying the versatility and superiority of his talents. He was not, indeed, acquainted with the subtleties and minutiae of legal proceedings, and on that account was careful to avail himself of the knowledge and experience of others; but he always decided according to the dictates of his own judgment; and the equity of his decrees was universally admitted and applauded. To appease domestic quarrels, and reconcile families at variance with each other, he was accustomed to offer himself as a friendly arbitrator between the parties; that the poor might pursue their claims with facility and without expense, he established courts of requests; in the ordinary administration of justice he introduced improvements which were received with gratitude by the country; and he made it his peculiar care to punish with severity those offenders who had defrauded the revenue, or oppressed the people. But his reputation, and the ease with which he admitted suits, crowded the chancery with petitioners; he soon found himself overwhelmed with a multiplicity of business; and the king, to relieve him, established four subordinate courts, of which that under the presidency of the Master of the Rolls is still preserved.

Literature found in the cardinal a constant and bountiful patron. He employed his influence in foreign courts to borrow valuable manuscripts for the purpose of transcription. On native scholars he heaped preferment, and the most eminent foreigners were invited by him to teach in the universities. Both of these celebrated academies were the objects of his care; but Oxford chiefly experienced his munifi-

He is the patron  
of literature.

cence in the endowment of seven lectureships, and the foundation of Christ Church, which, though he lived not to complete it, still exists, a splendid monument to his memory. As a nursery for this establishment, he erected another college at Ipswich, the place of his nativity. But these occupations at home did not divert his eyes from the shifting scenes of politics abroad. He was constantly informed of the secret history of the continental courts; and his despatches, of which many are still extant, show that he was accustomed to pursue every event through all its probable consequences; to consider each measure in its several bearings; and to furnish his agents with instructions beforehand for almost every contingency. His great object was to preserve the balance of power between the rival houses of France and Austria; and to this we should refer the mutable politics of the English cabinet, which first deserted Francis to support the cause of Charles, and when Charles had obtained the ascendancy, abandoned him to repair the broken fortunes of Francis. The consequence was, that as long as Wolsey presided in the council, the minister was feared and courted by princes and pontiffs, and the king held the distinguished station of arbiter of Europe.

When Charles V. of Spain was elected emperor of Germany, Francis and Henry (who had also been candidates for the imperial throne) became closer allies. Francis invited Henry to France; and the English monarch, with a numerous and splendid retinue, leaving Greenwich, proceeded by slow stages to Canterbury, where, to the surprise of all who had not been admitted into the secret, advice was received that Charles, with a squadron of Spanish ships, had cast anchor in the harbor of Hythe. This apparently accidental meeting was celebrated at Canterbury with feasts and rejoicings; the young emperor, by his flattery and attentions, rooted himself in the affections of Henry, and by promises and presents secured the friendship of Wolsey; and on the fourth day, when he sailed from Sandwich, the king, with his court, crossed the strait from Dover to Calais. The two kings met near the town of Ardres, in a field called "The Field of the Cloth of Gold," on account of the splendor of the preparations. As soon as the kings had reached their respective residences, the cardinal paid a visit to Francis, and remained with him two days. The result was an additional

Charles V. visits  
England.

treaty, the terms of which proved the extreme anxiety of that monarch to secure the friendship, or at least the forbearance of the English king. After these preliminaries, the monarchs rode from their several residences, alighted from their horses, embraced each other, and walked arm-in-arm into a pavilion, which had been prepared for their reception. The next fortnight was consumed in feats of arms and in banquets. The queens of England and France, with their ladies and officers, beheld the combatants from the galleries; and the heralds daily registered the names, the arms, and the feats of the knights. On every occasion the two kings appeared with equal splendor, and acquitted themselves with equal applause; their bravest antagonists deemed it no disgrace to yield to royal prowess; and Henry and Francis, though they fought five battles each day, invariably overcame every opponent. Henry, on leaving Francis, paid a visit to Charles V. in Flanders. Every artifice was employed to discover the real object of this second meeting; and the French ambassador, La Roche, having obtained an audience of the two monarchs, read in their presence the tripartite league formerly concluded between them and Francis, and required Charles to ratify it with his signature as emperor. That prince, however, eluded the demand, and appointed Henry umpire in every subsequent difference which might arise between himself and the French monarch.

In the interview at Ardres, not only the two kings, but also their attendants, had sought to surpass each other in the magnificence of their dress and the display of their riches. Of the French nobility, it was said that many carried their whole estates on their backs; among the English the duke of Buckingham ventured to express his marked disapprobation of a visit which had led to so much useless expense. The duke was descended from Edward III., and it had been foretold to him that one of his family would be king. He was accused of treason, and put to death.

Ever since Henry had failed in his attempt to procure the imperial dignity, he had turned his thoughts and ambition toward the crown of France. This subject had been secretly discussed by Henry and Charles, and had led to the proposal of a stricter union between the crowns by the marriage of the emperor with

the daughter of Henry. The flames of war were unexpectedly rekindled in 1521 between Francis and Charles, in Spain, Italy, and the Netherlands. The contending parties immediately appealed to Henry, and each claimed his aid in virtue of treaty. He exhorted each monarch to conclude a peace, and then proposed, that before he should make his election between them, they should appoint commissioners to plead before him or his deputy. Charles instantly signified his assent. Francis wavered, but, at length, condescended to accept the proffered mediation.

Henry conferred the high dignity of arbitrator on Wolsey, who proceeded to Calais in great state, as the representative of his sovereign. The mediation failed, and Wolsey declared that Francis had been the aggressor in the war, and that Henry was bound by treaty to aid his imperial ally.

The deliverance of Milan from the yoke of France, which took place about this time, diffused the most extravagant joy throughout the Italian states. The pontiff, Leo X., ordered the event to be celebrated with thanksgivings and games, hastened to Rome that he might enjoy the triumph of his policy and arms, and entered his capital in high spirits, and apparently in perfect health; yet a sudden indisposition prevented him from attending a consistory, which he had summoned; and in a few days it was known that he was dead. The news travelled with expedition to England, and Wolsey immediately extended his views to the papal throne, but without success, as Cardinal Adrian, a Belgian, was elected pope.

Francis, having fruitlessly attempted to recover the friendship of the king of England, at length laid an embargo on the English shipping in his ports, and seized all the property of the English merchants. In retaliation, Henry confined the French ambassador to his house, ordered all Frenchmen in London to be taken into custody, and at length sent a defiance to Francis. The emperor, Charles V., landed at Dover, and was accompanied by the king through Canterbury, London, and Winchester, to Southampton. It was agreed between them that each power should make war on Francis with forty thousand men. At Southampton, the emperor took leave of the king, and embarked on board his fleet. The money necessary for the support of the army destined to invade France was yet to be raised; and

Wolsey again aspires to the papal throne.

War between France and England.

to supply the deficiency, required all the art of Wolsey aided by the despotic authority of the king.

At length, the earl of Surrey, who had been named to the command, mustered his army under the walls of Calais. He marched toward Amiens, carefully avoiding the fortified towns, and devoting to the flames every house and village which fell in his way; while the French, who had been forbidden to risk an engagement, hovered in small bodies round the invaders. But the season proved the most formidable enemy. Cold and rain introduced a dysentery into the camp, and the earl led back his followers to Calais.

In the early part of the summer, Francis, that he might divert the attention of the king, sought to raise up enemies to Henry both in Ireland and Scotland. In Ireland, he addressed himself to the chief of the house of Desmond, and the earl of that name, seduced by the hopes which were held out to him, signed a treaty by which, in return for an annual pension, he engaged to join the French army as soon as it should land in Ireland. But Francis forgot his engagement to Desmond; the army was never sent, the pension never paid; and the misguided earl had full leisure to lament the imprudence with which he had listened to the suggestions and promises of his deceitful ally. In Scotland, Francis found a more able and equally willing associate in the duke of Albany, who, having received supplies and instructions from Francis, assembled the Scottish army at Annan. Thence he marched at the head, it is said, of eighty thousand men, while the English general had no force to oppose to him. But the storm was dispersed by Lord Daere, warden of the western marches, who assumed a tone of bold defiance, and pretended that a numerous army was hastening to his aid. Albany engaged to disband his army; Daere to forbid the advance of the English forces, which, instead of being on their march, were not in reality assembled.

The minister's chief embarrassment at this period arose from the exhausted state of the treasury. Henry, following the example of his father, had governed during eight years without the aid of the great council of the nation; but his necessities now compelled him to summon a parliament to meet at the Black Friars; and Sir Thomas More, a

member of the council, was, by the influence of the court, chosen speaker of the commons. After some days the cardinal carried to that house a royal message, showing from the conduct of Francis that the war was just and necessary, and proposed to raise money by a property-tax of twenty per cent. After some hesitation the commons agreed to a tax on every kind of property, of five per cent. for two years, to be continued during the third year on fees, pensions, and rents of land, and during the fourth year on movables only. The clergy were obliged to pay a higher rate of taxation.

The duke of Albany, after his inglorious negotiation with Lord Dacre, had left Scotland; but the principal lords remained constant in their attachment to France, and impatiently expected his return with supplies of men and money. Henry reconciled with his sister. Henry sought a reconciliation with his sister, Queen Margaret, that he might set her up in opposition to Albany; and gave the chief command in the north to the earl of Surrey, son to the victor of Flodden Field, with instructions to purchase the services of the Scottish lords with money, and to invade and lay waste the Scottish borders. Margaret gladly accepted the overture, and consented to conduct her son, now in his twelfth year, to Edinburgh, and to announce by proclamation that he had assumed the government, provided the English general would march a strong force to her support. Surrey repeatedly entered the marches, spread around the devastation of war, and at last reduced to ashes the large town of Jedburgh. But on that very day Albany landed at Dumbarton with two thousand soldiers, and a great quantity of stores and ammunition. The projects of Margaret were instantly crushed; at the call of the parliament the whole nation rose in arms; and Albany saw above sixty thousand men arrayed round his standard. Surrey, however, received reinforcements, and Albany, after an ineffectual attempt to retain the regency, sailed for France, never more to set foot in Scotland. His departure enabled Margaret to resume the ascendancy, and proclaim her son; but her imperious temper alienated her friends; her application to Francis and Albany was received with indifference; and her husband, the earl of Angus, under the protection of Henry, took upon himself the office of

regent. The borders of both countries enjoyed at this period a cessation from hostilities during eighteen years.\*

It is well known that the primitive church visited with peculiar severity the more flagrant violations of the divine law; and that such punishments were occasionally mitigated by the "indulgence" of the bishops, who, in favor of particular penitents, were accustomed to abridge the austerities enjoined by the canons, or to commute them for works of charity and exercises of piety. In process of time abuses grew out of the practice. The money was frequently diverted from its original destination; and as the office of collecting the contributions was committed to inferior agents called questors, who received a per-centage on the amount, they often exaggerated the advantages of the indulgence, and imposed on the people. To prevent such abuses, severe constitutions had been enacted by several popes; but these laws were either not enforced, or had fallen into disuse. Indulgences.

Among the different projects which occupied the restless mind of Julius II., was that of erecting a temple worthy of the capital of the Christian world, of enormous dimensions and unrivalled magnificence. To raise money for this purpose, he had published an indulgence in Poland and France; which his successor, Leo X., had with the same view extended to the northern provinces of Germany. The papal commission was directed to Albert, elector of Mentz, and archbishop of Magdeburg; and that prelate employed as his delegate Tetzl, a Dominican friar, whose brethren rapidly spread themselves over Saxony. The projects of Julius II.

The origin of the revolution which followed may, with probability, be attributed to the counsels of Staupitz, vicar of the friars of St. Augustine. It has been generally supposed that he was actuated by a spirit of opposition to the Dominicans. For his ostensible agent he selected a young Luther attacks the doctrine of indulgence.

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\* We pass over, for want of space, Dr. Lingard's interesting detail of the continental wars, in which Henry was for some years engaged, and proceed to examine the history of the religious revolution which subverted the established creed, and abolished the papal authority in several of the states of Europe. An account of the causes which led to its commencement and accelerated its progress will be appropriate in this place.

friar of his own order, named Martin Luther. When Frederic, elector of Saxony, founded the university of Wittemberg, Luther had obtained a professorship at the recommendation of Staupitz, and soon attracted notice by the peculiar boldness of his writings. He was now in his thirty-fifth year, vain of his talents for disputation, and fearless of opposition; and eagerly undertook the task assigned to him by the zeal or the envy of his superior. His first essay was the composition of ninety-five short theses on the nature of indulgences. He affixed his theses to the great door of the church of Wittemberg; then maintained them publicly from the pulpit, and afterward dispersed them in printed copies through the chief cities of Germany.

The Dominican friars were alarmed and exasperated at the opposition of Luther. They refuted his theses with warmth, and were answered by him with greater warmth. The controversy soon attracted public notice throughout Germany and the neighboring countries. At Heidelberg Luther maintained, both in word and writing, that by the fall of Adam man has been deprived of the use of free will; that faith alone is sufficient for salvation; and that the best of our actions are of their own nature grievous offences. The auditor of the papal court, the bishop of Ascoli, had already cited him to appear at Rome within sixty days; but when he heard of Luther's conduct at Heidelberg, he pronounced him a heretic, without waiting for the expiration of that term.

About this time Leo published a bull declaratory of the doctrine of the Roman church respecting indulgences, the original subject of the controversy. Though it does not mention Luther by name, it is evidently pointed against his assertions. It teaches that the pope, as successor of St. Peter, and the vicar of Christ upon earth, possesses the power of granting, for reasonable causes, certain indulgences in favor of such of the faithful as are in a state of grace, whether they be alive or dead, for the remission of the temporal punishment due on account of actual sin. This bull probed the sincerity of Luther to the quick. He had promised to accept the decision of the pontiff, whether it approved or condemned his doctrine. That prelate had now spoken, and the decision was unfavorable; but the professor, forgetful of his former protestations, instead of submit-



ting, appealed by a formal instrument from the pope to a general council.

There existed in Germany a very prevalent feeling of disaffection to the see of Rome. The violent contests between the popes and the emperors in former times had left a germ of discontent, which required but little aid to shoot into open hostility. The recent invention of printing, by multiplying the copies of books and the number of readers, had given a new and extraordinary impulse to the powers and passions of men, who began to conceive that their ancestors had been kept not only in intellectual but also in civil thralldom. All Germany was in a ferment; and Luther converted the general feeling to his own purpose with admirable address.

The politicians of Rome blamed the tardiness and irresolution of Leo himself, who for two years had suffered the innovator to brave the papal authority, without taking any decisive step to punish his presumption. The pope, whether he listened to the timidity of his temper, or thought that the storm might be allayed by gentleness, commissioned Miltitz, a Saxon nobleman, to bring Luther back to his duty by persuasion and promises. Miltitz exhorted and advised, but without success. Leo soon published a bull in which he stigmatized Luther's propositions as false, scandalous, and heretical; allowed him sixty days to retract his errors; and pronounced him excommunicated if he continued obstinate after the expiration of that term. But success and impunity had taught Luther to deride the authority before which he had formerly trembled. He appealed to the decision of a general council; and having called an assembly of the inhabitants of Wittemberg, led them to a funeral pile, erected without the walls, and with much solemnity cast into the flames the books of the canon law, and the bull of Pope Leo against himself.

War was now openly declared, and each party labored to secure the friendship of the new emperor. The elector Frederic, to whom that prince lay under the greatest obligations, exerted all his influence in favor of his friend; and Luther himself, to alienate the inexperienced mind of Charles from the see of Rome, addressed to him an historical treatise, in which he artfully exaggerated the many injuries

which the different pontiffs had inflicted on the empire, and exhorted him to vindicate the honor of the imperial crown. But this course availed him not, for a decree was soon published against him, ordering the seizure of his person, forbidding any prince to harbor or protect him, and prohibiting the publication of writings on doctrinal matters without the previous approbation of the ordinary. Luther, however, had already provided for his own security. He took refuge in a solitary castle situate at a distance in the mountains. The place of his concealment was kept a profound secret both from his friends and his enemies; but he continued to animate the former by his writings; while the latter found themselves repeatedly assailed by their indefatigable but invisible adversary.

Detailed accounts of all these transactions had been carefully transmitted to England by the royal agents. Wolsey, by his office of legate, was bound to oppose the new doctrines; and Henry, who had applied to the school divinity, attributed their diffusion in Germany to the supine ignorance of the native princes. By a letter to Charles V. he had already evinced his hostility to doctrinal innovation; but it was deemed prudent to abstain from any public declaration till the future decision of the diet could be conjectured with some degree of certainty. Then the legate, attended by the other prelates and the papal and imperial ambassadors, proceeded to St. Paul's; the bishop of Rochester preached from the cross; and the works of Luther, condemned by the pontiff, were burned in presence of the multitude. Henry himself was anxious to enter the lists against the German; nor did Wolsey discourage the attempt, under the idea that pride no less than conviction would afterward bind the royal polemic to the support of the ancient creed. That the treatise in defence of the seven sacraments, which the king published, was his own composition, is forcibly asserted by himself; that it was planned, revised, and improved by the superior judgment of the cardinal and the bishop of Rochester, was the opinion of the public. The dean of Windsor carried the royal production to Rome, and in a full consistory submitted it to the inspection and approbation of the pontiff. Clement accepted the present with many expressions of admiration and gratitude, and conferred on the English monarch the

title of "Defender of the Faith." Luther wrote an answer to Henry, but the intemperance of his declamation scandalized his friends, while it gave joy to his enemies. To the king, he allotted no other praise than that of writing in elegant language; in all other respects, he was "a fool and an ass, a blasphemer and a liar." Henry complained to Luther's patron, the elector; the German princes considered the work as an insult to crowned heads; and at the earnest entreaty of Christian, king of Denmark, Luther condescended to write an apology; but his "apology" was severe satire, and not likely to appease the mind of Henry, who published an answer, in which he openly avows himself to be the author of the tract printed with his name, and expresses his esteem for Wolsey, "whom he always loved, but whom he shall now love much more, since he has been honored with the abuse of one who never spared exalted worth either in the living or the dead." Luther now announced his regret that he had descended to the meanness of making an apology; and condemned his own folly in supposing that virtue could exist in a court, or that Christ might be found in a place where Satan reigned. Luther, returning to Wittenberg, published his German translation of the Scriptures. It was preposterous to imagine that, from the perusal of the sacred volume, the common people could be enabled to decide those questions which divided the most learned; but the gift flattered their pride. Several new preachers arose, who said that they had as good a claim to infallibility as Luther; they began to dispute many of his doctrines, and to reform the reformer himself. Zwinglius declared against him in Switzerland. Muncer, driven from Saxony, erected his hostile standard at Mulhausen in Thuringia. The peasants, allured by his doctrines, were soon in arms, and the princes of the empire began to tremble for their political existence. Luther was overwhelmed with reproaches; the evil, it was said, had sprung from the tendency of his doctrines; and, to justify himself, he declared that Muncer was inspired and aided by the devil, and that the only remedy was to extirpate with fire and sword both the teacher and his disciples. After many a bloody field in different parts of the empire, the Catholics and Lutherans, by their united efforts, suppressed the insurrection. But the moment the common enemy was removed,

their mutual distrust revived; the Catholic princes requested the presence of the emperor to protect them from the machinations of their enemies; and the Protestant princes concluded, at Torgau, a league for their common defence.

In 1525, Henry fell in love with Anne Boleyn, one of the queen's maids of honor, and, in order that he might marry her, Henry falls in love with Anne Boleyn. he now, to obtain a divorce, affected to fear that he was living in a state of incest with the relict of his brother. The royal wish was no sooner communicated to Wolsey, than he offered his aid, and ventured to promise complete success. *His* views, however, were very different from those of his sovereign. Unapprized of Henry's intentions in favor of Anne, he looked forward to the political consequences of the divorce; and had already selected, for the successor of Catherine, Renée, the daughter of Louis XII. of France. Henry mentioned his doubts respecting the validity of his marriage to several canonists and divines; most of whom, from a passage in Leviticus, contended that no dispensation could have authorized a marriage with the widow of a brother. Wolsey soon proceeded to the continent, that he might settle in person with Francis the promised marriage of the princess Mary. That monarch still insisted on their union; and the most that Wolsey could obtain was, that the marriage should take place either with the king or his second son, the duke of Orleans. Henry would not consent to the first part of this alternative; and therefore imposed on his minister the task of persuading Francis to be satisfied with the second, or to break off the intended marriage altogether. Wolsey, though not pleased at the commission, made up his mind to fulfil with apparent cheerfulness the pleasure of his sovereign, and proceeded to France.

Hitherto the king had concealed his thoughts respecting a divorce from the knowledge of the queen; but Catherine's eyes had witnessed his partiality for her maid, and her jealousy at last discovered the whole intrigue. In a fit of passion she reproached him to his face with the baseness of his conduct. Henry, however, appeased her by appealing to her piety, and protesting that his only object was to search out the truth, and to tranquillize his own conscience.

When the cardinal returned to England from his French mis-

sion, the king took an opportunity of communicating to him his fixed determination to marry Anne Boleyn. The minister received the intelligence with grief and dismay. On his knees he besought the king to recede from a project which would cover him with disgrace; but, aware of the royal temper, he soon desisted from his opposition, and became a convert to the measure which he could not prevent. With the nation at large the king's course was unpopular. The fate of a princess who for so many years had been acknowledged as queen, and who had displayed in that situation every virtue which could grace a throne, was calculated to awaken in her favor the feelings of the public. A commission was obtained from the pope authorizing Wolsey, with the aid of any of the other English prelates, to inquire summarily, and without judicial forms, into the validity of the dispensation which had been granted by Julius, and of the marriage between Henry and Catherine; to pronounce, in defiance of exception or appeal, the dispensation sufficient or surreptitious, the marriage valid or invalid, according to the conviction of his conscience; and to divorce the parties, if it were invalid, but at the same time to legitimate their issue, if such legitimization were desired.

Wolsey now began to hesitate; and took the opportunity of declaring to the king at one of the consultations, that though he was bound in gratitude, and was ready to spend his goods, blood, and life in his service, yet he was under greater obligations to God, at whose tribunal he would have to render an account of his actions, and therefore was determined to show the king no more favor than justice required; and if he found the dispensation sufficient in law, so to pronounce it, whatever might be the consequence. Henry at the moment suppressed his feelings; but in a short time gave way to his anger in language the most opprobrious and alarming. Wolsey saw the danger which threatened him. Anne Boleyn was not his friend. Her relatives and advisers were *his* rivals and enemies; and he knew that they only waited for the expected marriage to effect his downfall with the aid of her influence over the mind of the king.

In 1528 a plague broke out, and while it continued, the harmony in which the king lived with his wife, and the religious impression which the danger had left on his mind, excited a sus-

The progress of the divorce. picion that he would abandon his project of a divorce; but the contagion had no sooner ceased than he resumed his former course of conduct. Campeggio, the legate who came from Rome on the subject of the divorce, after he had been introduced to Henry, waited on the queen, first in private, and then in the company of Wolsey and four other prelates. He exhorted her in the name of the pontiff to enter a convent, and then explained to her the objections against the validity of her marriage. Catherine replied with modesty and firmness; that it was not for herself that she was concerned, but for her daughter, whose interests were more dear to her than her own. She therefore demanded as a right the aid of counsel of her own choice. This request was partially granted; and, in addition to certain English prelates and canonists, she was permitted to choose two foreign advocates.

The court, for the trial of the question, met after much delay in the parliament chamber at the Blackfriars, and summoned the king and queen to appear on the eighteenth of June, 1529. The latter obeyed, but protested against the judges, and appealed to the pope. At the next session Henry sat in state on the right of the cardinals, and answered in due form to his name. Catherine was on their left; and, as soon as she was called, rising from her chair, renewed her protest. On the refusal of the cardinals to admit her appeal, she rose a second time, crossed before them, and, accompanied by her maids, threw herself at the king's feet. "Sir," said she, "I beseech you to pity me, a woman and a stranger, without an assured friend, and without an indifferent counsellor. I take God to witness, that I have always been to you a true and loyal wife. If there be any offence which can be alleged against me, I consent to depart with infamy; if not, then I pray you do me justice." She immediately rose, made a low obeisance, and retired. Henry, observing the impression which her address had made on the audience, replied that she had always been a dutiful wife; that his present suit did not proceed from any dislike to her, but from the tenderness of his own conscience.

Notwithstanding the queen's appeal, the cause proceeded, and on her refusal to appear in person or by her attorney, she was pronounced contumacious. Several sittings were held, but the

evidence and the arguments were all on the same side. Wolsey urged for a speedy decision; but Campeggio, unwilling to pronounce against his conscience, and afraid to irritate the king, solicited the pope by letter, to call the cause before himself. To add to their common perplexity, despatches had arrived from the agents at Rome, stating that the queen's appeal had been received; and that Clement would in a few days revoke the commission, and reserve the cognizance of the cause to himself.

The legates had prolonged the trial by repeated adjournments. On the 23d of July, 1529, they held their last session; the king attended in a neighboring room, from which he could see and hear the proceedings; and his counsel in lofty terms called for the judgment of the court. But Campeggio replied, that judgment must be deferred till the The determination of Campeggio whole of the proceedings had been laid before the pontiff, and that no consideration should divert him from his duty. He was too old, and weak, and sickly to seek the favor, or fear the resentment of any man. The defendant had challenged him and his colleague as judges, because they were the subjects of her opponent. To avoid error, they had therefore determined to consult Rome, and for that purpose he adjourned the court to the commencement of the next term, in the beginning of October.

Henry seemed to bear the disappointment with a composure of mind which was unusual to him. But he had not been unprepared for the event. By the advice of Wolsey he resolved to conceal his real feelings, to procure the opinions of learned men in his favor, to effect the divorce by ecclesiastical authority within the realm, and then to confirm it by act of parliament.

Wolsey's good fortune now began to abandon him. At this moment, while Henry was still smarting under his recent disappointment, an instrument arrived from Rome, for- The disgrace of Wolsey. bidding him to pursue his cause before the legates, and citing him to appear by attorney in the papal court under a heavy penalty. The whole process was one of mere form; but it revived the irritation of the king; he deemed it a personal insult, and insisted that Wolsey should devise some expedient to prevent it from being served on him, and from being made known to his subjects. This, after a tedious negotiation, was effected with the consent of the queen and her counsel. But

it was in vain that the cardinal labored to recover the royal favor. The proofs of his disgrace became daily more manifest. He was not invited to court; on matters of state his opinion was seldom asked, and then only by special messengers; even letters addressed to him were intercepted, opened, and perused by Henry. Still, amid the misgivings of his own breast and the sinister predictions of his friends, he cherished the hope that some lucky chance might replace him on his former pre-eminence, and imprudently trusted to the hollow professions of men, who, though they had served him faithfully in prosperity, were ready to betray his confidence in his declining fortune. With some difficulty he obtained an interview with Henry, in company with Campeggio, when that prelate took leave of the king. The Italian was received by the officers of the court with the attention due to his rank; the fallen minister found to his surprise that, though an apartment had been ordered for his companion, none was provided for himself. He was introduced into the presence. Every tongue foretold his disgrace—every eye watched his reception. To the general surprise, when he knelt, the king graciously raised him up with both hands, led him aside in a friendly manner, and conversed with him familiarly for a considerable time. The cardinal dined with the ministers; Henry with the lady Anne in her chamber; but after dinner he sent for Wolsey again, conducted him by the hand into his closet, and kept him in private conference till it was dark. At his departure—for he slept at a gentleman's house in the neighborhood—he received a command to return on the following morning. Wolsey's enemies now trembled for their own safety; they were relieved from their apprehensions by the ascendancy of Anne Boleyn, who extorted from her lover a promise that he would never more speak to the cardinal. When Wolsey returned in the morning the king was already on horseback, and having sent a message to him to attend the council and then depart with Campeggio, rode out in the company of the lady Anne. After that day, he and Wolsey never met each other. Hales, the attorney-general, soon afterward filed two bills against him in the King's Bench, charging him with having, as legate, transgressed the statute of *Premunire*.\*

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\* An act forbidding documents against the crown being brought from Rome.



This stroke, though it was not unexpected, plunged Wolsey into despair. He knew the stern and irritable temper of his prosecutor; to have maintained his innocence would have been to exclude the hope of forgiveness. He therefore submitted without a murmur to every demand; resigned the great seal; transferred to the king the whole of his personal estate; ordered his attorney to plead guilty to the indictment, and threw himself without reserve on the royal mercy. His enemies labored doubly to keep alive the royal displeasure against him. They represented him as an ungrateful favorite, who had sought nothing but his own interest and gratification. Still the king's partiality for his former favorite seemed to be proof against all the representations of the council. He continued to send to the cardinal from time to time consoling messages and tokens of affection, though it was generally by stealth, and sometimes during the night. When the court pronounced judgment against him, he took him under the royal protection; and when articles of impeachment had been introduced into the house of lords, and passed from it to the house of commons, he procured them to be thrown out by the agency of Cromwell, who from the service of the cardinal had risen to that of the king. Wolsey however sank in health and spirits. The anguish of his mind rapidly consumed the vigor of his constitution. About Christmas, 1529, he fell into a fever, which obstinately defied the powers of medicine. When Henry heard of his danger, he exclaimed, "God forbid that he should die. I would not lose him for twenty thousand pounds." He immediately ordered three physicians to hasten to Esher, where Wolsey lived, and repeatedly assured the cardinal of his unabated attachment.

As the agitation of Wolsey's mind subsided, the health of his body was restored; but his enemies had prepared for him a new conflict, and required of him additional sacrifices. It was ultimately agreed that Wolsey should retain the administration, temporal as well as spiritual, of the archiepiscopal see of York, but, in consideration of a general pardon, make over to the crown all his other ecclesiastical revenues.

On the 4th of November, 1530, Wolsey was unexpectedly arrested on a charge of high treason. He betrayed no symptoms of guilt; the king had not, he main-

He is accused of high treason.

tained, a more loyal subject than himself; there lived not on earth the man who could look him in the face and charge him with untruth; nor did he seek any other favor than to be confronted with his accusers.

His health (he suffered much from dropsy) would not allow him to travel with expedition; and at Sheffield Park, a seat of the earl of Shrewsbury, he was seized with a dysentery which confined him a fortnight. As soon as he was able to mount his mule he resumed his journey; but feeling his strength rapidly decline, he said to the abbot of Leicester, as he entered the gate of the monastery, "Father abbot, I am come to lay my bones among you." He was immediately carried to his bed; and the second day, seeing Kyngston, the lieutenant of the Tower, in his chamber, he addressed him in these well-known words: "Master Kyngston, I pray you have me commended to his majesty; had I but served God as diligently as I have served him, he would not have given me over in my gray hairs. But this is my just reward for my pains and study, not regarding my service to God, but only my duty to my prince." Having received the last consolations of religion, he expired the next morning, in the sixtieth year of his age. The best eulogy on his character is to be found in the contrast between the conduct of Henry before and after the cardinal's fall. As long as Wolsey continued in favor, the royal passions were confined within certain bounds; the moment his influence was extinguished they burst through every restraint, and by their caprice and violence alarmed his subjects and astonished the other nations of Europe.

To appoint a successor to Wolsey, in the chancery, was an object of great importance; and the office was at length given to Sir Thomas More, the treasurer of the household, and chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster. It may justly excite surprise that More should accept this dangerous office. With a delicate conscience and a strong sense of duty, he was not a fit associate for less timorous colleagues. As a scholar, he was celebrated in every part of Europe, and as a lawyer he had long practised with applause and success. From the office of under-sheriff or common serjeant, Henry had called him to court, had employed him in different embassies, and had rewarded him with the lucrative preferments which have already been men-

tioned. The merit of More was universally acknowledged, and even Wolsey declared that he knew no one more worthy to be his successor. †

About this time Thomas Cromwell appears in history. His father was a fuller in the neighborhood of the capital. The son in his early youth served as a trooper in the wars of Italy; from the army he passed to the service of a Venetian merchant; and after some time, returning to England, exchanged the counter for the study of the law. Wolsey had employed him to dissolve the monasteries which had been granted for the establishment of his colleges, a trust which he discharged to the satisfaction of his patron, at the same time that he enriched himself. His principles, however, if we may believe his own assertions, were of the most flagitious description. When Wolsey fell he followed him for a time; but despairing of the fortune of the fallen favorite, hastened to court, purchased with presents the protection of the ministers, and was confirmed in that office under the king, which he had before held under the cardinal.

When Henry, despairing of obtaining the pope's consent to the divorce, declared that he would abandon the idea, Cromwell urged him to imitate the princes of Germany, who had thrown off the yoke of Rome; and, with the authority of parliament, to declare himself the head of the church within his own realm. Henry listened with surprise and pleasure to a discourse which flattered not only his passion for Anne Boleyn, but his thirst of wealth and greediness of power. He thanked Cromwell, and ordered him to be sworn of his privy council. Soon afterward, a deputation was sent to Catherine with an order for her to leave the palace at Windsor. "Go where I may," she answered, "I shall still be the king's lawful wife." She repaired to Amptill; where, if she was no longer treated as queen, she no longer witnessed the ascendancy of her rival.

The bishoprics of York and Winchester, two of the most wealthy preferments in the English church, had remained vacant since the death of Wolsey, through the desire of Henry to bestow one of them on his kinsman, Reginald Pole. He was told that the king had marked him out for the first dignities in the English church, but previously expected from him a faithful explanation of his

opinion concerning the divorce. Pole frankly owned that he was against it, but, by the advice of the duke, requested the respite of a month, that he might have leisure to study the question. He condemned the divorce, and the vacant sees were given to others.

Five years had now rolled away since Henry first solicited a divorce, and still he appeared to have made but little progress toward the attainment of his object. Anne Boleyn, Henry is privately married to Anne. in 1532, proved to be in a condition to promise him an heir; and the necessity of placing beyond cavil the legitimacy of the child induced him to violate a pledge which he had solemnly given to the king of France, that he would not marry Anne without the consent of the church, and he was privately married to her in January, 1533; but the marriage was not publicly avowed till the following Easter.

The next step was to obtain some ecclesiastical decision in favor of the divorce. With this view, Thomas Cranmer, who was in Henry's interest, was appointed archbishop of Cranmer made archbishop of York. York. He held a court to which Catherine was summoned, but she did not appear, and Cranmer, in May, 1533, pronounced his judgment, that the marriage between her and Henry was null and invalid, and without force from the very beginning. Cranmer held another court at Lambeth, and officially declared that Henry and Anne were and had been joined in lawful matrimony. These proceedings were preparatory to the coronation of the new queen, which was performed with unusual magnificence, attended by all the nobility of England, and celebrated with great splendor. In the eighth month after the performance of the nuptial ceremony, Anne bore the king a child; but that child, to his inexpressible disappointment, was a female, the princess Elizabeth, who afterward ascended the throne.

As soon as Cranmer had pronounced judgment, Catherine received a command from the king to be content with the style of Proceedings in favor of Catherine. dowager princess of Wales; and those among her dependants who gave her the title of queen, were ordered to be irrevocably dismissed from her service. In foreign nations her lot became the object of universal commiseration; even in England the general feeling was in her favor. At Rome, Clement was daily importuned by Charles V. and Ferdinand to do justice to their aunt, and he annulled the sentence given by Cran-

mer, as the cause was at the very time pending before himself, and excommunicated Henry and Anne, unless they should separate before the end of September, or show why they claimed to be considered as husband and wife. The college of cardinals subsequently pronounced a definitive sentence, declaring the proceedings against Catherine unjust, and ordering the king to take her back as his legitimate wife.

But, in reality, it mattered little to Henry whether Clement had pronounced for or against him. The die was already cast; violent counsels began to prevail in the English cabinet; and a resolution was taken to erect a separate and independent church within the realm. Violent proceedings in parliament. Act after act derogatory from the papal claims was debated and passed in parliament; and the kingdom was severed by legislative authority from the communion of Rome, in 1534. Appeals to Rome were prohibited in all cases whatsoever; and in lieu of the right thus abolished, suitors were allowed to appeal from the court of the archbishop to the king in chancery. It was enacted that bishops should no longer be presented to the pope for confirmation, nor sue out bulls in his court; but that, on the vacancy of any cathedral church, the king should grant to the dean and chapter, or to the prior and monks, permission to elect the person whose name was mentioned in his letters missive. It was also enacted, that since the clergy had recognised the king for the supreme head of the Church of England, every kind of payment made to Rome, and every species of license, dispensation, and grant, usually obtained from Rome, should forthwith cease; that hereafter all such graces and indulgences should be sought of the archbishop of Canterbury.

By another act, the marriage between Henry and Catherine was pronounced unlawful and null; that between him and Anne Boleyn lawful and valid; the king's issue by the first marriage was of course excluded from the succession, and by the second was declared entitled to inherit the crown.

The king had now accomplished his two great objects: he had bestowed on Anne the rights of a lawful wife, and had invested himself with the supremacy of the church. But the opposition which he had experienced strengthened his passions and steeled his heart against the common feelings of humanity; and each

Fisher, bishop of Rochester, and Sir Thomas More, oppose the king's supremacy.

succeeding year of his reign was stained with the blood of many, often of noble and innocent, victims. Fisher, bishop of Rochester, and Sir Thomas More, lately lord chancellor, were sacrificed to Henry's anger, in 1534. Fisher was far advanced in age. For many years the king had revered him as a parent, and was accustomed to boast that no prince in Europe possessed a prelate equal in virtue and learning to the bishop of Rochester. But his opposition to the divorce gradually effaced the recollection of his merit and services. He was accused of misprision of treason, because, as it was said, he had declared his belief in the prophecy of a woman named Barton, who said that Henry would not survive the divorce many months. He was attainted with others, and compounded with the crown for his freedom and personalities in the sum of three hundred pounds.

Sir Thomas More had ceased at this time to fill the office of chancellor. He opposed the divorce; and as, in the execution of his office, he had found himself unavoidably engaged in matters which he could not reconcile with his conscience, he tendered his resignation, and avoiding all interference in politics, devoted his whole time to study and prayer. He looked upon Elizabeth Barton as a pious and virtuous woman, deluded by a weak and excited imagination, and wrote to her to avoid public affairs. His letter and an interview afforded a presumption that he was a party in some conspiracy; his name was introduced into the bill of attainder, and with difficulty he caused it to be erased.

Fisher and More were summoned before the council at Lambeth, and were asked whether they would consent to take the new oath of succession. They offered to take the oath of succession if some matters were expunged which they considered wrong in theology. Both were remanded that they might have more time for consideration. The oath was tendered to them a second time; and both, on their refusal to take it, were committed to the Tower.

The form of the oath, for the refusal of which More and Fisher were committed, had not then obtained the sanction of the legislature. But the two houses made light of the objection, and passed against them a bill of attainder for misprision of treason, involving the penalty of forfeiture and perpetual imprisonment. Under this sentence, More had no other resource for the support

of life than the charity of his friends. Fisher, <sup>Fate of Fisher and More.</sup> though in his seventieth year, was reduced to a state of destitution, in which he had not even sufficient clothing. In the mean time, news arrived that the pontiff, Paul III., at a general promotion of cardinals, had appointed Fisher cardinal. Henry is reported to have on this occasion exclaimed, "Paul may send him the hat, but I will take care that he have never a head to wear it on." He was soon afterward tried for denying the king's ecclesiastical supremacy, found guilty, and beheaded.

More was soon afterward tried for the same cause of offence, and was of course convicted. He met his fate with constancy, even with cheerfulness, declaring that he died a faithful subject to the king, and a true Catholic before God. His head was fixed on London Bridge. A bull was at this time signed by the pope against Henry and his abettors, but on account of the state of Europe, it was not thought prudent to promulgate the instrument.

Although Henry had now obtained the great object of his ambition, the extent of his ecclesiastical pretensions remained subject to doubt and discussion. Henry himself did <sup>Cromwell exalted above the clergy.</sup> not clearly explain, perhaps knew not how to explain, his own sentiments. If on the one hand he was willing to push his ecclesiastical prerogative to its utmost limits, on the other he was checked by the contrary tendency of those principles which he had published and maintained in his treatise against Luther. He established an additional office for the conduct of ecclesiastical affairs. At its head was placed Cromwell, with the title of "royal vicegerent and vicar-general." It was with difficulty that the clergy suppressed their murmurs, when they saw at their head a man who had never taken orders, nor graduated in any university; but their degradation, however, was not yet consummated. It was resolved to probe the sincerity of their submission, and to extort from them a practical acknowledgment that they derived no authority from Christ, but were merely the occasional delegates of the crown. With this object all the prelates were suspended from their functions, and then, by royal letters, reappointed as ministers of the king.

Cromwell had long ago promised that the assumption of the

supremaey would place the wealth of the clerical and monastic bodies at the mercy of the crown. Hence that Dissolution of the monasteries. minister, encouraged by the success of his former counsels, ventured to propose the dissolution of the monasteries; and the motion was received with welcome by the king and by Archbishop Cranmer, whose approbation of the new doctrines taught him to seek the ruin of those establishments which proved the firmest supports of the ancient faith. A general visitation of the monasteries was therefore enjoined. The instructions which the visitors received breathed a spirit of piety and reformation, and were formed on the model of those formerly used in episcopal and legatine visitations; so that to men not intrusted with the secret, the object of Henry appeared, not the abolition but the support and improvement of the monastic institute. A statement was compiled and laid before parliament, which, while it allotted the praise of regularity to the greater monasteries, described the less opulent as abandoned to sloth and immorality. A bill was introduced and hurried, though not without opposition, through the two houses, giving to the king and his heirs all monastic establishments the clear yearly value of which did not exceed £200. By this act about three hundred and eighty communities were dissolved; and an addition of £32,000 made to the yearly revenue of the crown, besides the present receipt of £100,000 in money, plate, and jewels.

The parliament, by many successive prorogations, had continued six years; it was now dissolved, and commissioners were named to execute the last act for the suppression of the smaller monasteries. The superior of each suppressed house received a pension for life; of the monks, those who had not reached the age of twenty-four were absolved from their vows, and sent adrift in the world without any provision; the others were dispersed among the larger monasteries. The lot of the nuns was more distressing. Each received a single gown from the king, and was left to support herself by her own industry, or to seek relief from the charity and commiseration of others.

During three years, Catherine, with a small establishment, had resided on one of the royal manors. In most points she submitted without a murmur to the royal pleasure; but no promise, no intimidation could induce her to forego

The death of Queen Catherine.



the title of queen, or to acknowledge the invalidity of her marriage, or to accept the offer made to her by her nephew, of a safe and honorable asylum either in Spain or Flanders. It was not that she sought to gratify her pride, or to secure her personal interests; but she still cherished a persuasion that her daughter Mary might at some future period be called to the throne. Her bodily constitution was gradually enfeebled by mental suffering; and feeling her health decline, she repeated a request, which had often been refused, that she might see her daughter once at least before her death; for Mary, from the time of the divorce, had been separated from the company that she might not imbibe the principles of her mother. Henry had the cruelty to refuse this last consolation to the unfortunate Catherine, who, from her death-bed, dictated a short letter to him, in which she conjured him to think of his salvation; forgave him all the wrongs which he had done her; and recommended their daughter Mary to his paternal protection. As he perused the letter, the stern heart of Henry was softened; he even shed a tear, and desired the ambassador to bear to her a kind and consoling message; but she died [January 8, 1536] before his arrival; and was buried, by the king's direction, with becoming pomp, in the abbey church of Peterborough.

Four months did not elapse before Catherine was followed to the grave by Anne Boleyn. Henry's passion for her gradually subsided into coldness and neglect; and the indulgent lover became at last a suspicious and unfeeling master. At the death of Catherine she made no secret of her joy. Out of respect for the Spanish princess, the king had ordered his servants to wear mourning on the day of her burial; but Anne dressed herself in robes of yellow silk, and openly declared that she was now indeed a queen, since she had no longer a competitor. In this, however, she was fatally deceived. Among her maids was one named Jane Seymour, the daughter of a knight of Wiltshire, who, to equal or superior elegance of person, added a gentle and playful disposition. The queen discovered that an intimacy existed between Jane and Henry, and was so much affected thereby, that she prematurely gave birth to a dead male child, which was a bitter disappointment to Henry. Reports, injurious to Anne's honor had been circulated at court; they had

reached the ear of Henry, and some notice of them had been whispered to Anne herself. The king, eager to rid himself of a woman whom he no longer loved, referred these reports to the council; and a committee was appointed to inquire into the charges against the queen, who reported that sufficient proof had been discovered to convict her. On 1st May, 1536, the Lord Rochford appeared as principal challenger in a tilting match at Greenwich, and was opposed by Sir Henry Norris (one of those with whom Anne was suspected of being too familiar) as principal defendant. The king and Anne were both present; and it is said that, in one of the intervals between the courses, the queen, through accident or design, dropped her handkerchief from the balcony; that Norris, at whose feet it fell, took it up and wiped his face with it; and that Henry instantly changed color, started from his seat and retired. The next day Anne Anne arrested and sent to the Tower. was charged with infidelity to the king's bed, and was sent to the Tower. She abandoned herself to despair, and her affliction produced occasional fits of insanity. It is plain that her conduct had been imprudent; that she had descended from her high station to make companions of her men-servants; and that she had even been so weak as to listen to their declarations of love. But whether she rested here or not, is a question which probably can never be determined. Those with whom she was accused of having committed adultery, were tried, convicted, and put to death. Anne was soon tried and convicted. By the result of this trial her life was forfeited to the law; but the vengeance of Henry had prepared for her an additional punishment in the degradation of herself and her daughter Elizabeth. He ordered Cranmer to declare that the marriage with Anne had been invalid. To hesitate would have cost the archbishop his head. Never, perhaps, was there a more solemn mockery of the forms of justice than in the pretended trial of this extraordinary cause. Cranmer pronounced definitively that the marriage formerly contracted between Henry and Anne Boleyn was, and always had been, null and void. The divorce was approved and confirmed by convocation and by parliament. To Elizabeth, the infant daughter of Anne, the necessary consequence was, that she, like her sister, the daughter of Catherine, was reputed illegitimate. On the evening before her death, Anne, falling on her knees before the

wife of the Tower lieutenant, asked her for a last favor; which was, that she would in her name beseech the princess Mary to forgive the many wrongs which the pride of a thoughtless, unfortunate woman had brought upon her. About noon, She is executed, May 19, 1536. 19th May, 1536, Anne was led to the scaffold, dressed in a robe of black damask, and attended by her four maids. With the permission of the lieutenant, she addressed the spectators, but neither confessed guilt nor—as at her trial—protested innocence. She then knelt down; one of her attendants tied a bandage over her eyes, and, as she exclaimed, “O Lord God, have mercy upon my soul,” the executioner, with one blow of his sword, severed her head from the body. Her remains were immediately severward buried within the chapel of the Tower. Thus fell this unfortunate queen within four months after the death of Catherine. Henry had wept at the death of Catherine; but, as if he sought to display his contempt for the memory of Anne, he dressed himself in white on the day of Henry marries Jane Seymour. her execution, and was married to Jane Seymour the next morning.

For two years the princess Mary had lived at Hunsdon, a royal manor, in a state of absolute seclusion from society. Through Cromwell’s intercession, she was permitted to write to her father; but before he would see her, she was obliged to acknowledge that it was her duty to observe all the king’s laws; that Henry was the head of the church; and that the marriage between her father and mother had been incestuous and unlawful. But though she was received into favor, she was not restored in blood. The king had called a parliament to pass a new act of succession, entailing his crown on his issue by his queen, Jane Seymour. But he did not rest here: in violation of every constitutional principle, he obtained a power, in failure of children by his present or any future wife, to bequeath the crown to any such person or persons whom he might think proper. An insurrection Insurrection in the northern counties. took place, in the autumn of 1536, in the northern counties, where the people retained a strong attachment to the ancient doctrines; and the clergy, farther removed from the influence of the court, were less disposed to abjure their opinions at the nod of the sovereign. When they saw the ruin of the establishments which they had revered from their childhood; the

monks driven from their homes, and in many instances compelled to beg their bread; and the poor, who had formerly been fed at the doors of the convents, now abandoned without relief; they demanded the redress of their grievances. Nor was the insurrection long confined to the common people. The nobility and gentry joined the insurgents, either through compulsion, as they afterward pretended, or through inclination, as was generally believed. The enterprise was quaintly termed the "pilgrimage of grace;" on the banners were painted the image of Christ crucified, and the chalice and host, the emblems of the ancient belief; and wherever the pilgrims appeared, the ejected monks were replaced in the monasteries, and the inhabitants were compelled to take the oath, and to join the army. The insurgents appointed delegates to lay their demands before Henry. After some delays the king offered, and the insurgents accepted, an unlimited pardon, with an understanding that their grievances should be shortly and patiently discussed in a parliament to be assembled at York. But the king, freed from his apprehensions, neglected to redeem his promise; and within two months the "pilgrims" were again under arms. They failed, however, in two successive attempts to surprise Hull and Carlisle. Most of the leaders were taken and executed; and tranquillity was restored by a general pardon; but not until a large number had been put to death.

The northern insurrection, instead of securing the stability, accelerated the ruin of the remaining monasteries. They were visited under pretext of the late rebellion, and by one expedient or other were successively wrested from the possessors and transferred to the crown. Many superiors deemed it prudent to obey the royal pleasure: some resigned their situations, and were replaced by successors of more easy and accommodating loyalty; and the obstinacy of the refractory monks and abbots was punished with imprisonment during the king's pleasure. Some of them, like the Carthusians, confined in Newgate, were left to perish through hunger, disease, and neglect; others, like the abbots of Colchester, Reading, and Glastonbury, were executed as felons or traitors. A bill was next brought into parliament, vesting in the crown all the property of the monastic establishments. The suppression of the religious houses failed to produce the benefits which had been so ostentatiously foretold.

Pauperism was found to increase; the monastic property was lavishly squandered among the parasites of the court; and the king, instead of lightening the national burdens, demanded compensation for the expense which he had incurred in the reformation of religion. By the spring of the year 1540, all the monastic establishments in the kingdom had been torn from the the possession of the real owners by forced and illegal surrenders. To soften the odium of the measure, much has been said of the immorality practised, or supposed to be practised, within the monasteries. It is not in human nature that in numerous societies of men all should be equally virtuous. The monks of different descriptions amounted to many thousands; and in such a multitude there must have existed individuals whose conduct was a disgrace to their profession. But when this has been conceded on the one hand, it ought to be admitted on the other that the charges against them are entitled to very little credit. They are statements to which the accused had no opportunity of replying, and were made to silence inquiry and sanctify injustice.

To lull his own conscience, or to silence the murmurs of his subjects, Henry resolved to appropriate a portion of the spoil to the advancement of religion; and for that purpose Henry founds new bishoprics. was authorized by act of parliament to establish new bishoprics, deaneries, and colleges, and to endow them with adequate revenues out of the lands of the suppressed monasteries. But only six episcopal sees, those of Westminster, Oxford, Peterborough, Bristol, Chester, and Gloucester, were established. At the same time the king converted fourteen abbeys and priories into cathedral and collegiate churches, attaching to each a dean and a certain number of prebendaries; but was careful to retain for himself a portion of the original possessions, and to impose on the chapters the obligation of contributing annually a certain sum to the support of the resident poor, and another for the repair of the highways.

In 1535, Henry sent to the German Protestant princes an embassy to represent to them that, as both he and they had defied the authority of the pontiff, it might be for their mutual interest to join in one common confederacy. But as the Germans, assuming a lofty tone, required that he should subscribe The book of Articles. to their confession of faith, and should advance,

partly as a loan, partly as a present, a large sum of money, the negotiations were broken off. Henry, with the aid of his theologians, compiled a book of "Articles," which was presented to the convocation by Cromwell, and subscribed by him and the other members. It may be divided into three parts. The first declares that the belief of the Apostles' Creed, the Nicene Creed, and the Athanasian Creed, is necessary for salvation: the second explains the three great sacraments of baptism, penance, and the altar, and pronounces them the ordinary means of justification; the third teaches that, though the use of images, the honoring of the saints, the soliciting of their intercession, and the usual ceremonies in the service, have not in themselves the power to remit sin or to justify the soul, yet they are highly profitable, and ought to be retained. A work entitled, "The godly and pious Institution of a Christian Man," was soon afterward published, subscribed by the archbishops, bishops, archdeacons, and certain doctors of canon and civil law, and pronounced by them to accord "in all things with the very true meaning of Scripture." It explains in succession the creed, the seven sacraments, the ten commandments, the Paternoster and Ave Maria, justification, and purgatory.

In 1537, a new edition of the Bible was published in the English language, and injunctions were issued that a copy of this edition should be placed in every church, at the joint expense of the incumbent and the parishioners.

For many years persecution raged against those who differed from Henry's opinions; and the prelates of the new learning were not less eager than those of the old to light the fagot for the punishment of heresy. The first victims were John Frith, and Hewet, a tailor, who maintained that it was not necessary to believe or deny the doctrine of the real presence. When, in 1535, a colony of German Anabaptists landed in England, they were instantly apprehended; and fourteen, who refused to recant, were condemned to the flames. But of all the prosecutions for heresy, none excited greater interest than that of Lambert, a clergyman in priest's orders, and schoolmaster in London, who wrote a book in which he denied the real presence. Cranmer summoned the schoolmaster to the archiepiscopal court; but he appealed from the metropolitan to the head

of the church; and the king gladly embraced the opportunity of exercising in person the judicial functions attached to his supremacy. On the appointed day he took his seat on the throne, clothed in robes of white silk, and in a mild and conciliatory tone inquired of the accused whether he were still attached to his former opinion. Having received an answer in the affirmative, he made a long and argumentative harangue against the writings of Lambert, who was condemned and executed.

In 1538, a truce of ten years was concluded between Charles V. and Francis I., and the pontiff embraced the favorable opportunity to sound the disposition of the two monarchs relatively to the conduct of Henry. From both he received the same answer, that if *he* would publish the bull, *they* would send ambassadors to England to protest against the schism, and would strictly forbid all commercial intercourse between their subjects and the English merchants. The substance of these negotiations was soon conveyed to Henry, who ordered his navy to be equipped, the harbors to be put in a state of defence, and the whole population to be called under arms.

The pontiff, encouraged by the promises of Charles and Francis, soon ordered the publication of the bull. At the same time, Cardinal Pole, many of whose relatives in England had been put to death on account of his acts, was de- The determina-  
tion of the pontiff. spatched on a secret mission to the Spanish and French courts; but his arrival had been anticipated by the English agents: neither Charles nor Francis would incur the hostility of Henry by being the first to declare himself; and both equally prohibited the publication of the bull within their dominions. The pontiff, who saw that he was deluded by the insincerity of the two monarchs, recalled Pole to Rome; and the papal court, abandoning all hope of succeeding by intimidation, submitted to watch in silence the course of political events.

For some time, Cromwell and Cranmer had reigned without control in the council. But the general understanding between the pontiff and the Catholic sovereigns, and the mission of Pole to the emperor and the king of France, had awakened serious apprehensions and new projects in the mind of Henry. He determined to prove to the world that he was the de- The statute of  
the "Six Articles." cided advocate of the ancient doctrines, and there-

fore caused an act to be passed, declaring that in the eucharist is really present the natural body of Christ, under the forms, and without the substance, of bread and wine; that communion, under both kinds, is not necessary for salvation; that priests may not marry by the law of God; that vows of chastity are to be observed; that private masses ought to be retained, and that the use of auricular confession is expedient and necessary. This statute (known as the "Six Articles") enacted severe penalties as the consequence of opposition to these points of faith. Latimer and Shaxton, the bishops of Worcester and Salisbury resigned their respective sees. But no one had greater cause of alarm than Cranmer. Before his promotion to the archiepiscopal dignity, he had married in Germany. At a convenient time his wife followed him to England, where she bore him several children. He was too prudent to acknowledge her publicly: but the secret quickly transpired, and many priests imitated his example. When the celibacy of the priesthood was made one of the six articles, Cranmer saw with dismay that his marriage was reputed void in law, and he despatched his children with their mother to her friends in Germany.

In 1539, an act was passed which placed prostrate at the foot of the throne the liberties of the whole nation. It declared that the king for the time being should possess the right of issuing, with the advice of his council, proclamations which ought to have the effect of acts of parliament; adjudged all transgressors of such proclamations to suffer the imprisonment and pay the fines expressed in them; and made it high-treason to leave the realm in order to escape the penalty. At the same time, Henry celebrated his triumph over the court of Rome by a naval exhibition on the Thames. Two galleys, one decorated with the royal, the other with the pontifical arms, met on the river; a stubborn conflict ensued; at length the royalists boarded their antagonist; and the figures of the pope and the different cardinals were successively thrown into the water, amid the acclamations of the king, of his court, and of the citizens.

Henry had been a widower more than two years. In 1537, Jane Seymour, his third queen, had borne him a male child, afterward Edward VI., and in less than a fortnight expired. Cromwell proposed to him to marry

Henry marries  
Anne of Cleves.



Anne, sister of William, the reigning duke of Cleves, and one of the Protestant princes of Germany. The English envoys reported to the king that Anne was both tall and portly; but when she arrived Henry's disappointment was evident. She was indeed tall and large as his heart could wish; but her features, though regular, were coarse, her manners ungraceful, her figure ill-proportioned. Cromwell received orders to devise some expedient to interrupt the marriage. Two days passed in fruitless consultation; and the king at length, unprovided with any reasonable excuse, and afraid of adding the German princes to his other enemies, was persuaded by Cromwell to submit to the ceremony. Anne had none of those qualifications which might have subdued the antipathy of her husband. His aversion increased; he found fault with her person, and openly lamented his fate in being yoked for life with so disagreeable a companion.

This unfortunate marriage had already shaken the credit of Cromwell; his fall was hastened by a theological quarrel between Dr. Barnes, one of his dependants, and Gardiner, <sup>The fall of Crom-</sup> bishop of Winchester. <sup>well.</sup> The king summoned the former before himself and a commission of divines, and discussed with him several points of controverted doctrine. Barnes affected to recant, but in his next sermon maintained in still stronger terms the very doctrine which he had recanted. Irritated by this insult, the king committed him to the Tower. Henry ascertained that Barnes was the confidential agent of Cromwell; that he had been employed in secret missions to Germany; and that he had been the real negotiator of the late marriage with Anne of Cleves. Cromwell was arrested on a charge of high-treason. He was confronted, at his request, with his accusers in presence of the royal commissioners, but was refused the benefit of a public trial before his peers. The court preferred to proceed against him by bill of attainder; a most iniquitous measure, but of which he had no right to complain, as he had been the first to employ it against others.

The disgrace of Cromwell was quickly followed by the divorce of the queen—on the ground of alleged misrepresentation having been made to him as to her person, and the want of consent on his part both at the celebration, and ever since the celebration of the marriage. Henry and Anne now called each other bro-

ther and sister, and a yearly income of three thousand pounds, with the palace of Richmond for her residence, amply indemnified the degraded queen for the loss of a capricious and tyrannical husband.

From the moment of his arrest, Cromwell had labored without ceasing to save his life. Unfortunately, however, among his papers had been found a clandestine correspondence with the princes of Germany; the king would listen to no plea in favor of a man who had betrayed his confidence to strangers; and on the fourth day after the bill of attainder had received the royal assent, he was led to execution. On the scaffold he asked pardon of his sovereign, and admitted that he had been seduced by the spirit of error; but protested that he had returned to the truth, and should die in the profession of the Catholic faith.

Henry did not long remain a widower after his divorce from Anne of Cleves. Within a month, Catherine, daughter to the late lord Edmund Howard, and niece to the duke of Norfolk, appeared at court with the title of queen. She was, however, accused of adultery, and found guilty; and in six months after her marriage she was executed.

The king's attention was next directed to his duties as head of the church. He had formerly sanctioned the publication of an English version of the Bible, and granted permission to all his subjects to read it at their leisure; but it had been represented to him, that even the authorized version was disfigured by unfaithful renderings, and contaminated with notes calculated to mislead the ignorant and unwary. To remedy the evil, it was

Restrictions on reading the Bible. enacted, that the version of Tyndal should be disused altogether as "crafty, false, and untrue," and that the authorized translation should be published without note or comment. The permission of reading the Bible to others in public was revoked; that of reading it to private families was confined to persons of the rank of lords or gentlemen; and that of reading it personally and in secret was granted only to men who were householders, and to females of noble or gentle birth.

We have hitherto confined our attention to those occurrences in this reign which had an immediate tendency to quicken or restrain the spirit of religious innovation. Other matters of foreign and domestic policy now claim notice.

In 1536, it was enacted that the whole of Wales should be united with the realm of England; that all the natives should enjoy the same rights, liberties, and laws, which were enjoyed and inherited by others of the king's subjects.

When Henry ascended the throne, the exercise of the royal authority in Ireland was circumscribed within very narrow limits, comprising only the principal seaports, with one-half of the five counties of Louth, Westmeath, Ireland. Dublin, Kildare, and Wexford. Henry's innovations in religion were viewed with equal abhorrence by the native Irish and the descendants of the English colonists. The Geraldines, aware of this circumstance, had proclaimed themselves the champions of the ancient faith. On the other hand, the cause of the king was supported by a courtly prelate, Dr. Brown, who, from the office of provincial of the Augustinian friars in England, had been raised to the archiepiscopal see of Dublin, in reward of his subserviency to the politics of Cromwell. But Henry determined to enforce submission. A parliament was summoned by which statutes were passed which were copied from the proceedings in England. The papal authority was abolished; Henry was declared head of the Irish church; and the first-fruits of all ecclesiastical livings were given to the king.

Several causes contributed to produce a rupture between Henry and his nephew, the king of Scotland, but our space does not permit us to trace them. The king of Scots, satisfied with his own creed, refused to engage in theological disputes; and the pontiff, to rivet him more closely to the communion of the Apostolic See, bestowed a cardinal's cap on the most able and most favored of his counsellors, David Beaton, afterward archbishop of St. Andrew's. When Paul determined to publish the sentence of deprivation against Henry, James signified his assent, and promised to join with Charles and Francis in their endeavors to convert or punish the apostate monarch.

As, however, neither Charles nor Francis attempted to enforce the papal bull, their inactivity induced the king of Scots to preserve the relations of amity with his uncle. But Henry continued to grow more jealous both of the religious opinions of James, and of his connection with the French court. The Scot-

tish parliament, as if it meant to stigmatize the proceedings of that of England, passed several laws in support of the ancient doctrines and of the papal supremacy. In 1542, forays were reciprocally made across the borders; and each nation charged the other with the first aggression; but the Scots had the advantage, who at Haldenrig defeated three thousand cavalry, and made most of the captains prisoners. Enraged at this loss, Henry published a declaration of war, in which he claimed the superiority over the Scottish crown, and ordered the duke of Norfolk to assemble a numerous army at York. Norfolk succeeded, and James died through grief at his defeat. A week before his death, his queen was delivered of a female child, who, under the name of Mary, was proclaimed his successor on the Scottish throne. These events opened a new scene to the ambition of Henry, who determined to marry his son Edward to the infant queen of Scotland; and, in consequence of that marriage, to demand, as natural tutor of the young princess, the government of the kingdom.

In Edinburgh, soon after the death of the king, Cardinal Beaton had published a will of the deceased monarch, by which the regency was vested in himself and three other noblemen; but this instrument was disregarded by the lords assembled in the city. James's will disregarded. James Hamilton, earl of Arran, and presumptive heir to the throne, was declared governor during the minority of the queen; and the cardinal appeared to acquiesce in an arrangement which he had not power to disturb. Seeming tranquillity soon vanished, and war raged for some years. At length, the Scots were comprehended in the treaty of peace between England and France; and though the conditions of that comprehension became the subject of dispute, the latter part of Henry's reign was not disturbed by open hostilities.

Respecting France, the reader will recollect that the king of that country complained of Henry's marriage with Anne Boleyn, as of a violation of his promise. This dissension, though it might weaken, did not dissolve, the friendship which had so long subsisted between them; but fresh bickerings ensued; the tempers of the two princes became reciprocally soured; each wishing to chastise what he deemed the caprice, the ingratitude,

and the perfidy of the other. The military transactions which this hostile feeling caused belong rather to the history of France than of England. Peace was concluded in 1546.

During the latter part of Henry's reign the court was divided by the secret intrigues of the two religious parties, which continued to cherish an implacable hatred against each other. The men of the old learning naturally looked upon Cranmer as their most steady and most dangerous enemy; and, though he was careful not to commit any open transgression of the law, yet the encouragement which he gave to the new preachers, and the clandestine correspondence which he maintained with the German reformers, would have proved his ruin, had he not found a friend and advocate in his sovereign. Henry still retained a grateful recollection of his former services, and felt no apprehension of resistance or treason from a man who, on all former occasions, whatever were his real opinions or wishes, had moulded his conscience in conformity to the royal will.

Henry's sixth queen was Catherine Parr, relict of the late Lord Latimer, who, with her brother, the earl of Essex, and her uncle, created Lord Parr of Horton, zealously promoted the new doctrines. But her zeal transgressed the bounds of prudence. She not only read the prohibited works; she presumed to argue with her husband, and to dispute the decisions of the head of the church. Of all men, Henry was the least disposed to brook the lectures of a female theologian, and he gave orders to have articles prepared against Catherine; but the intelligence was immediately conveyed to the queen, who, repairing to a neighboring apartment, fell into a succession of fits, and during the intervals made the palace ring with her cries and lamentations. Henry, moved with pity, or incommoded by the noise, first sent his physician, and was afterward carried in a chair, to console her. In the evening she waited on him, in the company of her sister, and adroitly turning the conversation to the subject of religion, took occasion to express her admiration of his learning, and the implicit deference which she paid to his decisions, which conduct led to their reconciliation.

The king had long indulged without restraint in the plea-

The king's last illness. sures of the table. At last he grew so enormously corpulent, that he could not support the weight of his own body. An inveterate ulcer in the thigh, which had more than once threatened his life, and which now seemed to baffle all the skill of his surgeons, added to the irascibility of his temper.

Of the king's conduct during his sickness, we know little. It is said that at the commencement he betrayed a wish to be reconciled to the see of Rome; that the other bishops, afraid of the penalties, evaded the question; but that Gardiner advised him to consult his parliament, and to commit his ideas to writing. He was constantly attended by his confessor, the bishop of Rochester, heard mass daily in his chamber, and received the communion under one kind. About a month before his death, he endowed the magnificent establishment of Trinity College in Cambridge, for a master and sixty fellows and scholars; and afterward reopened the church of the Gray Friars, which, with St. Bartholomew's Hospital, and an ample revenue, he gave to the city of London.

Of his sentiments on his death-bed, nothing can be asserted with any degree of confidence. One account makes him die in the anguish of despair; according to another, he refused spiritual aid till he could only reply to the exhortation of the archbishop by a squeeze of the hand; while a third represents him as expiring in the edifying sentiments of devotion and repentance. He died on Friday, the 28th of January, 1547, about two in the morning.

To form a just estimate of the character of Henry, we must distinguish between the young king, guided by the counsels of Wolsey, and the monarch of more mature age, governing by his own judgment, and with the aid of ministers selected and fashioned by himself. In his youth the beauty of his person, the elegance of his manners, and his adroitness in every martial and fashionable exercise, were calculated to attract the admiration of his subjects. His court was gay and splendid; and a succession of amusements seemed to absorb his attention; yet his pleasures were not permitted to encroach on his more important duties; he assisted at the council, perused the despatches, and corresponded with his generals and

ambassadors; nor did the minister, trusted and powerful as he was, dare to act, till he had asked the opinion and taken the pleasure of his sovereign. His natural abilities had been improved by study; and his esteem for literature may be inferred from the learned education which he gave to his children, and from the number of eminent scholars to whom he granted pensions in foreign states, or on whom he bestowed preferment in his own. The immense treasure which he inherited from his father was perhaps a misfortune; because it engendered habits of expense not to be supported from the ordinary revenue of the crown; and the soundness of his politics may be doubted, which, under the pretence of supporting the balance of power, repeatedly involved the nation in continental hostilities. Yet even these errors served to throw a lustre round the English throne, and raised its possessor in the eyes of his own subjects and of the different nations of Europe. But as the king advanced in age, his vices gradually developed themselves; and after the death of Wolsey they were indulged without restraint. He became as rapacious as he was prodigal; as obstinate as he was capricious; as fickle in his friendships as he was merciless in his resentments. Though liberal of his confidence, he soon grew suspicious of those whom he had trusted; and, as if he possessed no other right to the crown than that which he derived from the very questionable claim of his father, he viewed with an evil eye every remote descendant of the Plantagenets; and eagerly embraced the slightest pretexts to remove those whom his jealousy represented as future rivals to himself or his posterity. In pride and vanity, he was perhaps without a parallel. Inflated with the praises of interested admirers, he despised the judgment of others; acted as if he deemed himself infallible in matters of policy and religion; and seemed to look upon dissent from his opinion as equivalent to a breach of allegiance. In his estimation, to submit and obey were the great, the paramount duties of subjects: and this persuasion steeled his breast against remorse for the blood which he shed, and led him to trample without scruple on the liberties of the nation. When he ascended the throne, there still existed a spirit of freedom, which on more than one occasion defeated the arbitrary measures of the court, though directed by an able minister, and supported by the au-

thority of the sovereign; but in the lapse of a few years that spirit had fled, and before the death of Henry, the king of England had grown into a despot, the people had shrunk into a nation of slaves.

By the obsequiousness of the parliament, the assumption of the ecclesiastical supremacy, and the servility of religious factions, Henry acquired and exercised the most despotic sway over the lives, the fortunes, and the liberties of his subjects. Happily, the forms of a free government were still suffered to exist; into these forms a spirit of resistance to arbitrary power gradually infused itself; the pretensions of the crown were opposed by the claims of the people; and the result of a long and arduous struggle was that constitution which for more than a century has excited the envy and admiration of Europe.

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## CHAPTER XXIX.

### Edward the Sixth.

#### CONTEMPORARY SOVEREIGNS.

<i>Popes.</i>	<i>Scotland.</i>	<i>France.</i>
Paul III.	Mary.	Francis.
Julius III.	<i>Germany.</i>	Henry II.
	Charles V.	<i>Spain.</i>
		Charles V.

Hertford made Protector—Progress of the Reformation—The Lord Admiral arrested and beheaded—Troubles with Lady Mary—Foreign Preachers—Somerset arrested and executed—Death of the King—From A. D. 1547, to 1553.

HENRY had confided the government of the king and kingdom, during the minority of his son Edward, who was only nine years old, to Cranmer and fifteen other guardians. The new king was proclaimed on Monday, January 31, 1547. The council appointed one of their number to transact

Hertford made  
protector of the  
realm.



business with the foreign envoys, and to represent on other occasions the person of the young sovereign. The earl of Hertford, the young king's uncle, was immediately elected to this position as protector of the realm and guardian of the king's person. The appointment of Hertford was announced by proclamation, and was received with transports of joy by all who were attached to the new doctrines, or who sought to improve their fortunes at the expense of the church.

Hertford was created duke of Somerset, and the other members of the council of regency also obtained promotion.

The coronation of Edward took place on the 20th February, 1547. Though the duke possessed the title of protector, he had been compelled to accept it on the condition that he should never act without the assent of the majority of the council; now he procured letters-patent under the great seal, conferring on himself alone the whole authority of the crown.

The intelligence of the death of Henry had made a deep impression on the mind of the king of France. That monarch entertained a notion that the duration of their <sup>Death of the king</sup> lives was limited to the same year; and sought in <sup>of France.</sup> vain to divert his melancholy by change of residence and the pleasures of the chase. At the same time, he appeared to feel an affection for the son of his former friend; a proposal was made and accepted to renew the alliance between the crowns; and messengers had already been appointed to receive the oaths of the two monarchs, when Francis expired at Rambouillet, about two months after the death of his English brother. His son and successor, Henry II., pursued a very different policy, and when the treaty with England was offered to him for signature, refused to shackle himself with engagements which might prevent him from espousing the cause of the infant queen of Scotland.

In 1544, Henry, foiled by Cardinal Beaton in an effort to obtain the custody of the young queen, had despatched the earl of Hertford to invade Scotland at the head of a powerful army; and in that year the cardinal was murdered by some conspirators, who sought thereby to obtain favor with the king of England. The death of Henry made no alteration in the policy of the English cabinet. The protector hastily concluded a treaty with the murderers; by which they bound themselves to procure, with

all their power, the marriage of their infant sovereign with Edward VI., and never to surrender the castle during her minority to any Scotsman without a previous license in writing from the English king and the protector. War soon broke out afresh, in which England succeeded.

Somerset and his associates now undertook to establish the new religious creed. From the young king they could experience no opposition now, and they feared no resentment hereafter, for the men to whom his education had been intrusted by Henry were zealous though secret partisans of the reformed doctrines. Still, to change the established creed during his minority appeared an undertaking of danger, and on this account they determined to proceed with cautious steps.

The kingdom was divided into six circuits, to each of which was assigned a certain number of visitors, partly clergymen and partly laymen. The moment they arrived in any diocese, the exercise of spiritual authority by every other person ceased. They summoned before them the clergy and principal householders from each parish; administered the oaths of allegiance and supremacy; required answers upon oath to every question which they thought proper to put, and exacted a promise of obedience to the royal injunctions.

Among the prelates, there was no individual whom the men of the new learning more feared, or those of the old learning more respected, for his erudition and abilities, his spirit and influence, than Gardiner, bishop of Winchester. That prelate commenced a controversy with the protector and the archbishop; the consequence of which was, that, though he could not be charged with any offence against the law, he was committed to the Fleet and detained a close prisoner till the end of the session.

But the ministers were careful to repair many of those breaches in the constitution which had been made by the despotism of the last reign. All felonies created since the first of Henry VIII., and all treasons created since the twenty-fifth of Edward III., were at once erased from the statute-book; the privilege of clergy, with the exception of a few cases, was restored; in convictions of treason, two witnesses were required; the laws against the Lollards, the prohibition of reading the Scriptures, and of printing, selling, or retaining certain

English publications; all enactments respecting doctrine and matters of religion, and the statute which gave to the royal proclamations the force of law, were repealed. It should, however, be observed, that if, by the repeal of so many statutes, every sort of religious restraints was removed from the men of the new learning, it was not intended to grant any additional liberty to those of the old. The claim of the spiritual supremacy was placed on an equal footing with the other rights of the crown; and to deny that the present or any succeeding king was head of the church was made the same kind of capital offence as to deny that he was head of the state. The election of bishops was next withdrawn from the deans and chapters, as a useless and unmeaning form, and vested immediately in the crown.

The mendicants, who had formerly obtained relief at the gates of the monasteries and convents, now wandered in crowds through the country, and by their numbers and importunities often extorted alms from the intimidated passenger. To abate this nuisance, a statute was enacted by which two justices of the peace might order the letter V to be burned on the breast of each such mendicant, and adjudge him to serve the informer two years as his slave. His master was bound to provide him with bread, water, and refuse meat; might fix an iron ring round his neck, arm, or leg, and was authorized to compel him to labor at any work, however vile it might be, by beating, chaining, or otherwise. If the slave absented himself a fortnight, the letter S was burned on his cheek or forehead, and he became a slave for life; and if he offended a second time in like manner, his flight subjected him to the penalties of felony. Two years later, this severe statute was repealed. The session of 1547 closed with a general pardon from the king, in consequence of which Gardiner obtained his liberty. The archbishop, aware that the great majority of the nation was still attached to the ancient faith, deemed it prudent to pursue his course with caution and perseverance. Latimer, who had resigned his bishopric in 1539, was called from his retirement, and appointed to preach at St. Paul's Cross. The character of the man, the boldness of his invectives, his quaint but animated eloquence, were observed to make a deep impression on the minds of his hearers; and a pulpit was erected for him in the king's private garden, where the

Statute against mendicants.

young Edward, attended by his court, listened to his sermons, and admired what he could not understand, the controversial superiority of the preacher.

The bishops received orders to abolish in their respective dioceses the custom of bearing candles on Candlemas-day, of receiving ashes on Ash Wednesday, and of carrying palms on Palm Sunday. A proclamation also appeared, which required that all images whatsoever should be destroyed. To this succeeded an order for the public administration of the sacrament under both kinds, and in the English language.

It was soon discovered that imprisonment had not broken the spirit of Gardiner. He was again summoned before the council, and the next day, in proof of his submission, was ordered to preach at St. Paul's Cross, in the presence of the king, on the feast of St. Peter. The sermon was preached, and the next day the bishop was committed to the Tower. In his discourse he had treated of the mass and the eucharist, though the protector had forbidden him, in writing, to touch on any controverted matter respecting these questions. His imprisonment was evidently illegal; but his absence from parliament was not less desirable in the present than it had been in the past year. His constancy, however, encouraged the partisans of the ancient faith; and in a short time several other prelates ventured to express their disapprobation of the conduct of Cranmer. That prelate was now employed with a committee of bishops and divines in the composition of a most important work, a liturgy in the English language, for the use of the English Church; the adoption of which by authority of parliament would, it was hoped, consummate the separation of the kingdom from the communion of Rome, by destroying the similarity which still remained in the mode of religious worship sanctioned by the two churches. They soon compiled a book of common prayer and administration of the sacraments, and other rites and ceremonies, for the use of the Church of England. A bill was introduced to abolish all other forms of worship, and establish the forms set forth in the book of common prayer in their place.

To this important innovation in the manner of public worship, succeeded another not less important in the condition of the

priesthood. A bill for the marriage of priests was introduced, and passed after a long and stormy discussion. It states that, though it were to be wished that the clergy would observe perpetual continency, as more becoming their spiritual character, rendering them better able to attend to their ministry, and freeing them from worldly cares and embarrassments, yet so many inconveniences had arisen from compulsive chastity, that it was deemed better to allow marriage.

The protector had a younger brother, Thomas, whose fate about this time excited much attention. Between them a broad distinction had been drawn by the late king, and while Edward had risen to the rank of earl, had obtained the command of armies, and been named one of the governors of his nephew, Thomas had been left without title. The first step toward the improvement of his fortune was his alliance with the queen dowager, who married him, almost before the dead body of Henry was deposited in the grave. With the person of Catherine, Thomas Seymour became master of her wealth and her dower, and his next object was to win and monopolize the affection of his nephew. With this view, he indulged the young Edward in all his wishes; secretly supplied him with large sums of money, blamed the severity with which he was used by the protector, and hinted that he was kept under undue restraint. The king readily imbibed the opinions of the man whom he loved; and a resolution was taken that he should attempt, with the aid of his partisans, to procure the guardianship for himself. The plot was betrayed to the protector. Thomas condescended to acknowledge his fault; and the two brothers mutually forgave each other. But a new prospect soon opened to his ambition, which, as it sought for power, was not to be satisfied with money. He began to aspire to the hand of the lady Elizabeth, the king's sister, and to condemn that precipitate union with Catherine which excluded him from the pursuit of so noble a prize. His attentions to the princess were remarked; and their familiarity was so undisguised that it afforded employment to the propagators of scandal, and awakened the jealousy of his wife. But the queen in a short time died in childbirth; and her death happened so opportunely for his project, that by the malice of his enemies it was attributed to poison. He now redoubled his court to the princess;

and means were devised to extort the consent of the council to the marriage.

The protector at length determined to crush so dangerous a competitor. Sherington, master of the mint at Bristol, was examined before the council, on a charge of having

He is executed.

amassed an enormous fortune by clipping the coin. To save his life, he said that he had promised to coin money for Seymour, who intended to change the present form of the government. Seymour was committed to the Tower, and in March, 1549, was executed.

We may now return to the affairs of Scotland. In an assembly of the Scottish lords at Stirling, in 1548, it was resolved to im-

The affairs of Scotland.

plure the aid of France, their most ancient and faithful ally, to offer the young queen in marriage to the dauphin, and to propose that for greater security she should be educated in the French court. In anger, the English sent the lord Gray de Wilton, who, at the head of a powerful army, spread the flames of war to the gates of the capital: Dalkeith was reduced to ashes; and Haddington was taken, fortified, and garrisoned with more than two thousand men, partly English and partly Italians. Gray had scarcely begun his retreat, when a hostile squadron anchored at Leith, having on board three thousand German, and two thousand French veterans. The young queen and her household left Scotland, and reached in safety the harbor of Brest. From Brest that princess, being in her sixth year, was conducted to St. Germain en Laye, and contracted to her destined husband, the dauphin of France.

The war continued with alternate losses and advantages to both parties; though, on the whole, the balance of success inclined in favor of Scotland. The English ascendancy gradually yielded, not so much to the power of its adversaries as to the influence of a series of untoward events in England.

The depreciation of the currency during the late reign had been followed by an advance in the price of commodities. The

The discontent of the people.

people became discontented, and as they saw that the new proprietors of the church-lands paid not the same attention as the old to the wants of the poor, they coupled their own sufferings with the innovations in religion. The day approached when the use of the old liturgy was to cease,

and that of the new to begin; instead of the high mass, its music and its ceremonies, with which they had been familiarized from their infancy, they were to hear what they deemed an inanimate service, and the common people rose, almost at the same time, in several counties. The insurrection was finally suppressed, but it was only with the aid of the bands of adventurers that had been raised in Italy, Spain, and Germany to serve in the war against Scotland.

These events shook the power of the protector, and his fall was accelerated by the hostile attitude of the king of France. The French obtained several advantages over the English in France, where war had recommenced, and <sup>The fall of the</sup> protector. these disasters were attributed to the misconduct of the protector. Somerset, on the other hand, grew every day more positive and despotic. His very friends could offer no apology for his rapacity. From a simple knight, with a slender fortune, he had become the possessor of more than two hundred manors; and that magnificent pile of building, which still retains from him the name of Somerset House, was a standing memorial of his vanity and extravagance.

In a proclamation, signed by every member of the council, the duke was charged with divers high crimes and misdemeanors. Edward was not unwilling to be emancipated from the control of his uncle; and the protector was [October 14, 1549] deprived of his office in due form by a writ under the great seal, and with the sign manual of the king. He was then committed a prisoner to the Tower; and five of his confidential advisers were incarcerated with him. An intimation was given to him, that, if he hoped for pardon, he must submit to a frank and unqualified acknowledgment of his guilt. The condition, though painful to his feelings, was gratefully accepted. On his knees he confessed his presumption, negligence, and incapacity, and earnestly implored for mercy. Life was promised; but on condition that he should forfeit all his offices, and a large portion of his property. Having given security for the payment of a heavy fine, he was discharged from the Tower, and received a pardon.

A treaty was soon concluded with France: and for a sum of money England surrendered all her remaining territory in that country. The sovereigns of England from this time contented

themselves with the sole title of kings of France, a barren but invidious distinction, which, after two centuries and a half, was wisely laid aside by George III.

The partisans of the new doctrines felt that the Reformation still rested on a very insecure foundation. Eleven-twelfths of the nation retained a strong attachment to the creed of their fathers. The council ordered Bonner to preach at Proceedings against non-conforming bishops. St. Paul's. At the appointed day, crowds assembled to hear the prelate; many from curiosity, some for the purpose of censure. In his sermon, Bonner broached views different from those held by the council; and Cranmer and Ridley were appointed to try and punish the refractory prelate. Bonner appeared before his judges, with the undaunted air of a man who feels conscious that he suffers in a just cause. The archbishop pronounced the sentence of deprivation; and Bonner was remanded to the Marshalsea, where he remained a prisoner till the king's death; and the bishopric of Westminster was dissolved by royal authority. Gardiner had now been for two years a prisoner in the Tower, without being able to obtain a trial, or even a copy of the charges against him. He was visited by a deputation from the council, and required to approve of every religious innovation which had been established by act of parliament or by order of the council. Gardiner replied, that he asked for no favour; he sought only a legal trial; he was willing to stand or fall by the law. At length a commission was issued against him for contempt; but he defended himself with ability and perseverance. Cranmer cut short the proceedings, pronouncing him contumacious, and adjudging him to be deprived of his bishopric. By order of the council, he was sent back to a meaner cell in the Tower, with instructions that no man should see him but one of the warders; that all his books and papers should be taken from him and examined; and that he should be refused the use of pen, ink, and paper.

There were two other prelates prisoners in the Tower—Heath, bishop of Worcester, and Day, bishop of Chichester—both distinguished by their learning, their moderation, and their attachment to the ancient creed. Both these bishops were kept in custody till the commencement of the next reign.

There still remained one individual whose conversion in the



estimation of the reformers would have balanced the opposition of a whole host of bishops—the Lady Mary, the sister of Edward, and the presumptive heir to the crown. She had embraced the first opportunity of expressing to the protector her dislike of further innovation. The “Statute of Uniformity” supplied him with the power of putting her constancy to the test. Its framers appear to have taken for their model the intolerance of the German reformers. Not only did they introduce the new liturgy into the national churches and chapels, but invaded the secrecy of the closet, and enacted severe penalties against every priest who should celebrate, every lay man or woman who should attend where a priest celebrated mass, even in a private house. Mary received an admonition that she must conform to the provisions of the statute. She replied that she did not consider it binding in conscience; reminded the lords that they had sworn to observe the laws respecting religion which had been established by her father; and at last appealed from their intolerance to the powerful protection of her cousin, the Emperor Charles V. It chanced to be the very time when the English cabinet solicited the aid of that prince with respect to French affairs. Policy prevailed over fanaticism; and at the imperial intercession the indulgence which Mary prayed for was reluctantly granted. Yet after the conclusion of peace she was again harassed; but she constantly asserted that her soul was God’s, and that she would neither change her faith nor dissemble her opinion. Dr. Mallet, Mary’s chaplain, was committed to close custody in the Tower. An active correspondence ensued; Mary demanding the enlargement of her chaplain, the council requiring that she should conform to the law. At length the chief officers of her household were commanded to prevent the use of the ancient service in the house. Having consulted her, they returned to the council, and offered to submit to any punishment, rather than undertake what they could not find in their hearts or consciences to perform. They were committed to the Tower for contempt; and Mary was again urged to conform to the new faith; but she replied, “Rather than use any other service than was used at the death of the late king, my father, I will lay my head on a block and suffer death. If my chaplains do say no mass, I can hear none. They may do

therein as they will; but none of your new service shall be used in my house, or I will not tarry in it."

After this bold answer we hear no more of her being persecuted. It is probable that Mary continued to have the mass celebrated, but in greater privacy; and that the council deemed it prudent to connive at that which it soon became dangerous to notice. The declining health of the king directed every eye toward her as his successor. She occasionally visited her sick brother; and the dignity which she assumed was calculated to overawe her opponents.

Though the statutes against heresy had been repealed in the first year of the king's reign, still the profession of erroneous doctrine was held to be an offence punishable by the common law of the realm. It might, indeed, have been hoped that men who had writhed under the lash of persecution would have learned to respect the rights of conscience. But, however forcibly the reformers had claimed the privilege of Persecution on account of religion. judging for themselves under the late king, they were not disposed to concede it to others when they themselves came into the exercise of power.

Several were put to death for preaching new doctrines: one of these, a woman named Bocher, would have been spared, but Cranmer urged the king to put his signature to the warrant. Another victim was Von Parris, a Dutchman, and a surgeon in London. He denied the divinity of Christ; and, having been excommunicated by his brethren of the Dutch church in that capital, was arraigned before Cranmer, Ridley, May, Coverdale, and several others. Coverdale acted as interpreter: but the prisoner refused to abjure. Cranmer pronounced judgment, and delivered him to the jailer at the Compter, and a few days later the unhappy man was committed to the flames.

The marquess of Northampton proceeded to Paris, in May, 1551, to invest the king of France with the order of the Garter, and to seek a wife for his sovereign. His first The treason and execution of Somerset. demand, of the young queen of Scotland, was instantly refused; his second, of the princess Elizabeth, was as readily granted. The negotiators agreed that as soon as Elizabeth had completed her twelfth year she should be married to Edward; but a difference about her dower suspended the con-

clusion of the treaty for eight weeks. In November, 1551, Somerset was brought to trial for violent and riotous proceedings, and for conspiring against the nobles who were hostile to his views. It was treason for any person, to the number of forty or above, to assemble in a forcible manner, to the intent to murder, kill or slay, take or imprison any of the king's privy council; and felony to stir up any persons to the committal of such offences. Somerset was arraigned before his peers, and defended himself with spirit, and was acquitted of the treason, but found guilty of the felony, and received the usual sentence of death. After his condemnation, and in the solitude of his cell, he had leisure to compare his situation with that of his brother, not three years before. Every avenue to the throne was closed; his nephew, the king, was convinced of his guilt, and of the expedience of his punishment; and he received for answer to an appeal for mercy, that he must pay the forfeit of his life, but should have a long respite to prepare himself for death. Six weeks after his trial, [January 22d, 1552,] his execution took place on Tower Hill.

Parliament soon assembled, and of the acts which at this time received the royal assent, a few deserve the reader's attention. 1. Now, for the first time, was made a legal provision for the poor. 2. It was about three years since the composition of the Book of Common Prayer had been attributed by the unanimous assent of the legislature to "the aid of the Holy Ghost." But it was now amended, and an act passed by which the bishops were ordered to coerece with spiritual censures all persons who should absent themselves from the amended form of service, and the magistrates to visit with corporeal punishment all those who should employ any other service in its place. To hear, or be present at, any manner of divine worship, or administration of the sacraments, or ordination of ministers, differing from those set forth by authority, subjected the offender on the first conviction to imprisonment during the space of six months, on the second during the space of one year, and on the third during the term of his natural life. The laws of treason were softened, and it was now enacted, that no person should be arraigned, indicted, convicted, or attainted of any manner of treason, unless on the oath of two lawful accusers,

who should be brought before him at the time of his arraignment, and there should openly avow and maintain their charges against him. Thus was laid the foundation of a most important improvement in the administration of criminal justice; and a maxim was introduced which has proved the best shield of innocence against power.

In Ireland it had long been the object of the government to suppress the native language; and to have chosen the English language for the vehicle of religious instruction and religious worship, would have been to authorize and perpetuate its use. The royal advisers submitted to entail on themselves that reproach which they had been accustomed to cast on the church of Rome, and enjoined by proclamation that the Irish should attend to the service in English, a language which few among them could understand. By Brown, the archbishop of Dublin, and four of his brethren, the order was cheerfully obeyed: Dowdal, archbishop of Armagh, and the other prelates, rejected it with scorn. The consequence was that the ancient service was generally retained: the new was adopted in those places only where an armed force compelled its introduction.

At this time, Cranmer had completed two works of the highest importance to the cause which he espoused, viz. "A Collection of the Articles of Religion," and, "A Code of Ecclesiastical Constitutions."

Edward had inherited from his mother a weak and delicate constitution. In the spring of the year 1552, he was considerably reduced by successive attacks of the measles and the small-pox: in the latter part of the summer, a troublesome cough, the effect of imprudent exposure to the cold, terminated in an inflammation on the lungs; and when the new parliament assembled, the king's weakness compelled him to meet the two houses at his residence of Whitehall. Edward, who had inherited a portion of his father's obstinacy, had paid little attention to the advice of his physicians. In the beginning of May an unexpected improvement was observed in his health; he promised to submit for the future to medical advice; and the most flattering hopes were entertained of his recovery. But, after a short and delusive interval, Edward

Ireland: an attempt to suppress the native language.

Edward's illness: excludes Mary and Elizabeth from the throne, by will.

relapsed into his former weakness. The symptoms of his disorder grew daily more alarming; and it became evident that his life could not be protracted beyond the term of a few weeks. His danger urged the duke of Northumberland to execute a project, which he had in all probability meditated for some time, of placing the crown, in the event of the king's death, on the head of his own son. By act of parliament, and the will of the last monarch, the next heirs were the ladies Mary and Elizabeth; but, as the statutes pronouncing them illegitimate had never been repealed, it was presumed that such illegitimacy might be successfully opposed in bar of their claim. After their exclusion, the crown would of right descend to one of the representatives of the two sisters of Henry VIII. : Margaret, queen of Scotland, and Mary, queen of France. Margaret was the elder, but her descendants had been overlooked in the will of the late king, and the animosity of the nation against Scotland would readily induce it to acquiesce in the exclusion of the Scottish line. There remained then the representative of Mary, the French queen, who was Frances, married to Grey, formerly marquis of Dorset, and lately created, in favour of his wife, duke of Suffolk. But Frances had no ambition to ascend a disputed throne, and easily consented to transfer her right to her eldest daughter Jane, the wife of Northumberland's fourth son, Guilford Dudley. Having arranged his plan, the duke ventured to whisper it in the ear of the sick prince; and recommended it to his approbation by a most powerful appeal to his religious prejudices. He was, he said, acquainted with the bigotry of his sister Mary, which had hitherto set at defiance both his persuasion and his authority. Were she to ascend the throne, she would seize the first opportunity to undo all that had been done. Let him therefore make a will, let him pass by the lady Mary on account of illegitimacy, and the lady Elizabeth, who labored under the same defect, and then entail the crown on the posterity of his aunt, the French queen, whose present descendants were distinguished by their piety and their attachment to the reformed worship. To these interested suggestions the sick prince listened with feelings of approbation, and wrote and executed the required will. Northumberland's next object was to secure the person of the princess Mary. To secure his prey, a letter was written by the council to Mary, requiring

her by the king's order to repair immediately to court. Had she reached London, her next removal would have been to the Tower; but she received a friendly hint of her danger on the road, and hastened back to her usual residence, Kenninghall, in the county of Norfolk.

At this period, the care of the king was intrusted to a female, whose medicines aggravated his sufferings. His physicians, when they were recalled, pronounced him to be at the point of death, and on the 6th of July, 1553, the king expired.

It would be idle to delineate the character of a prince, who lived not till his passions could develop themselves, or his faculties acquire maturity. His education, like that of his two sisters, began at a very early age. In abilities he was equal, perhaps superior, to most boys of his years; and his industry and improvement amply repaid the solicitude of his tutors. But the extravagant praise which has been lavished on him by his panegyrists and admirers, must be received with some degree of caution. In the French and Latin letters to which they appeal, it is difficult to separate the composition of the pupil from the corrections of the master; and since, to raise his reputation, deceptions are known to have been employed on some occasions, it may be justifiable to suspect that they were practised on others. The boy of twelve or fourteen years was accustomed to pronounce his opinion in the council with all the gravity of a hoary statesman. But he had been previously informed of the subjects to be discussed; his preceptors had supplied him with short notes, which he committed to memory; and, while he delivered their sentiments as his own, the lords, whether they were aware or not of the artifice, admired and applauded the precocious wisdom with which heaven had gifted their sovereign. Edward's religious belief could not have been the result of his own judgment. He was compelled to take it on trust from those about him, who moulded his infant mind to their own pleasure, and infused into it their own opinions or prejudices. From them he derived a strong sense of piety, and a habit of daily devotion, a warm attachment to the new, and a violent antipathy to the ancient doctrines.

During this reign, poverty and discontent generally prevailed.

The extension of inclosures, and the new practice of letting lands at rack rents, had driven from <sup>The condition of the people.</sup> their homes numerous families, whose fathers had occupied the same farms for several generations; and the increasing multitudes of the poor began to resort to the more populous towns in search of that relief which had been formerly contributed at the gates of the monasteries. Nor were the national morals improved, if we may judge from the portraits drawn by the most eminent of the reformed preachers. They assert that the sufferings of the indigent were viewed with indifference by the hard-heartedness of the rich; that in the pursuit of gain the most barefaced frauds were avowed and justified; that robbers and murderers escaped punishment by the partiality of juries and the corruption of judges; that church livings were given to laymen, or converted to the use of the patrons; that marriages were repeatedly dissolved by private authority; and that the haunts of sin were multiplied beyond measure. How far credit should be given to such representations, may perhaps be doubtful. Enough of proof remains to justify the conclusion that the change of religious polity, by removing many of the former restraints upon vice, and enervating the authority of the spiritual courts, gave a bolder front to licentiousness, and opened a wider scope to the indulgence of criminal passion.

## CHAPTER XXX.

## Mary.

## CONTEMPORARY SOVEREIGNS.

<i>Popes.</i>	<i>Scotland.</i>	<i>France.</i>
Julius III.	Mary.	Henry II.
Marcellus II.	<i>Germany.</i>	<i>Spain.</i>
Paul IV.	Charles V.	Charles V.
	Ferdinand.	Philip II.

Lady Jane Grey proclaimed queen—Execution of Northumberland—The Queen restores the ancient service—Elizabeth conforms—Insurrection—Elizabeth sent to the Tower—Mary's marriage with Philip—Reconciliation with Rome—Persecution of the Reformers—Departure of Philip—Death of Gardiner—War with France—Victory of St. Quintin's—Loss of Calais—Death and character of Mary—From A. D. 1553 to 1558.

THE presumptive heir to the late king was his sister Mary, a princess who, ever since the death of her father, had been guided by the advice, and under persecution had been protected by the remonstrances, of the emperor Charles V.

It was on the evening of July 6, 1553, that Edward expired at Greenwich. With the view of concealing his death for some days from the knowledge of the public, in order to gain time to strengthen opposition to Mary, the endeavors to conceal the death of Edward. guards had been previously doubled in the palace, and all communication intercepted between his chamber and the other apartments. Yet that very night, while the lords sat in deliberation, the secret was communicated to Mary, who, without losing a moment, mounted her horse and rode with the servants of her household to Kenninghall, in Norfolk.

The council broke up after midnight; and Clinton, the lord admiral, took possession of the Tower, with the royal treasures, the munitions of war, and the prisoners of state. The three next days were employed in making such previous arrangements as



were thought necessary for the success of the plans of the council. On the fourth morning, it was determined to publish the result. The lords, attended by a numerous escort, rode to Sion House to announce to the lady Jane Grey that she had been appointed to succeed her royal cousin.

Jane Grey has been described to us as a young woman of gentle manners, and superior talents, addicted to the study of the Scriptures and the classics, but fonder of dress than suited the austere notions of the reformed preachers. Of the designs of the duke of Northumberland in her favor, she knew nothing. Her love of privacy had induced her to solicit permission to leave London, and to spend a few days at Chelsea; she was indulging herself in this retirement, when she received an order from the council to return immediately to Sion House, and to await there the commands of the king. She obeyed; and the next morning was visited by the duke of Northumberland and others. She was told, that the king her cousin was dead; that before he expired he had named her as his lawful heir. She trembled, uttered a shriek, and sank to the ground. On her recovery she observed to those around her, that she seemed to herself a very unfit person to be a queen; but that, if the right were hers, she trusted God would give her strength to wield the sceptre to his honor and the benefit of the nation.

Jane was conducted to the Tower, the usual residence of our kings preparatory to their coronation. The heralds proclaimed the death of Edward and the succession of Jane; and a printed document with her signature was circulated, to acquaint the people with the grounds of her claim. To the arguments contained in this labored proclamation, the people listened in ominous silence, not a single voice being heard in approbation. The following morning arrived at the Tower a messenger from Mary, the bearer of a letter to the Lords, in which she commanded them to proclaim her accession immediately in the metropolis, and as soon as possible in all other parts of the kingdom.

This communication caused no change in their counsels, for they considered that Mary was a single and defenceless female, unprepared to vindicate her right, without money and without followers; and they returned an answer, requiring her to abandon

her false claim, and to submit as a dutiful subject to her lawful and undoubted sovereign.

In a few hours their illusion vanished. The mass of the people knew little of the Lady Jane, but all had heard of the ambition of Northumberland. They said that he had persuaded Somerset to take the life of his brother, and Edward to take that of Somerset. The royal youth was the next victim. He had been removed by poison to make room for the Lady Jane, who, in her turn, would be compelled to yield the crown to Northumberland himself. These reports were believed, and the public voice, wherever it might be expressed with impunity, was unanimous in favor of Mary. She was already joined by the earls of Bath and Sussex, and by several other nobles. Northumberland saw the necessity of despatch; but preferring not to leave the capital, he proposed to give the command of the forces to the duke of Suffolk. But he could not deceive the secret partisans of Mary, who saw his perplexity, and to liberate themselves from his control, urged him to take the command upon himself. He gave a tardy and reluctant consent, and, as he rode through the city at the head of the troops, he remarked, in a tone of despondency, "The people crowd to look upon us, but not one exclaims, God speed ye."

Mary left Kenninghall; and, riding forty miles without rest, reached, on the same evening, the castle of Framlingham. There, her hopes were hourly cheered with the most gratifying intelligence. In a few days she was surrounded by more than thirty thousand men, all volunteers in her cause, who refused to receive pay, and served through the sole motive of loyalty.

Northumberland had marched from Cambridge, in the direction of Framlingham, and saw, as he advanced, the enthusiasm of the people in Mary's cause, heard that he had been proclaimed a rebel, and that a price had been fixed on his head. At Bury his heart failed him. He ordered a retreat to Cambridge, and wrote to the council for a numerous and immediate reinforcement. The lords proposed to separate, and hasten to the army, at the head of their respective friends and dependants. But this was only a pretence in order to get away from the Tower, where Suffolk had endeavored to keep them. They assembled in the city of London. The earl of

Arundel declaimed against the ambition of Northumberland, and asserted the right of the two daughters of Henry VIII. The earl of Pembroke drew his sword, exclaiming, "This sword shall make Mary queen, or I will die in her quarrel." He was answered with shouts of approbation; and at St. Paul's Cross the earl of Pembroke proclaimed Mary queen, amid the deafening acclamations of the populace. "Te Deum" was sung in the cathedral; beer, wine, and money were distributed among the people; and the night was ushered in with bonfires, illuminations, and the accustomed demonstrations of public joy.

The next morning the lady Jane departed to Sion House. Her reign had lasted but nine days; and they had been days of anxiety and distress. The moment she was gone, the lords, without any distinction of party, united in sending an order to Northumberland to disband his forces, and to acknowledge Mary for his sovereign. But he had already proclaimed her, and threw his cap into the air in token of joy. He was arrested on a charge of high-treason by the earl of Arundel, and conducted, with several of his associates, to the Tower. It required a strong guard to protect the prisoners from the vengeance of the populace. The lady Elizabeth had taken no part in this contest. She did not join the lady Jane, and she did nothing in aid of the lady Mary. Under the excuse of a real or feigned indisposition, she confined herself to her chamber, that, whichever party proved victorious, she might claim the negative merit of non-resistance. Now, however, the contest was at an end: the new queen approached her capital; and Elizabeth deemed it prudent to court the favor of the conqueror. At the head of a hundred and fifty horse, she met her at Aldgate; and they rode together in triumphal procession through the streets. Mary ordered a dole to be distributed, of eight pence, to every poor householder in the city.

Of Mary's counsellors, the chief were the bishops Gardiner and Tunstall, who, under her father, had been employed in offices of trust, and had discharged them with fidelity and success. The acknowledged abilities of the former soon raised him to the post of prime-minister. He first received the custody of the seals, and was soon afterward appointed chancellor.

Though the queen found herself in debt from the policy of Northumberland, who had kept the public officers three years in arrear of their salaries, she issued two proclamations which drew upon her the blessings of the whole nation. By the first she restored the depreciated currency to its original value. By the other she remitted to her people, in gratitude for their attachment to her right, the subsidies on land and goods, which had been granted to the crown by the late parliament. As the time of her

The coronation of Mary. coronation approached, the queen introduced within the palace an innovation highly gratifying to the younger branches of the female nobility, though it foreboded little good to the reformed preachers. Under Edward, their fanaticism had given to the court a sombre and funereal appearance. Mary appeared publicly in jewels and colored silks; the ladies copied her example; and the courtiers dressed with a splendor that became their rank in the state. A new impulse was thus communicated to all classes of persons; and considerable sums were expended in preparations for the coronation. That ceremony was performed [30th September, 1553] after the ancient rite, by Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, and was concluded in the usual manner, with a magnificent banquet in Westminster Hall. The same day a general pardon was proclaimed,

Trial of the prisoners. with the exception, by name, of sixty individuals who were accused of treasonable or seditious offences committed since the queen's accession. Mary selected out of the list of prisoners seven only for immediate trial; the duke of Northumberland, the contriver and executor of the plot, his son the earl of Warwick, the marquess of Northampton, Sir John Gates, Sir Henry Gates, Sir Andrew Dudley, and Sir Thomas Palmer, his principal counsellors and constant associates. It was in vain that she was urged to include the Lady Jane in the number. Mary said that she could not find in her heart or in her conscience to put her unfortunate cousin to death; for that Jane was not the accomplice of Northumberland, but merely a puppet in his hands.

Northumberland, Sir John Gates, and Sir Thomas Palmer were selected for execution. Northumberland acknowledged the justice of his punishment, but denied that he was the first projector of the treason. He called on them to witness that he was in charity with all mankind, that

Execution of Northumberland and others.

he died in the faith of his fathers, though ambition had induced him to conform in practice to a worship which he condemned in his heart, and that his last prayer was for the return of his countrymen to the Catholic church; for, since their departure from it, England, like Germany, had been a prey to dissensions, tumults, and civil war.

Under the reign of Edward, Mary had spontaneously preferred a single life; but from the moment of her accession to the throne, she made no secret of her intention to marry. Mary's intention to marry. She asked the advice of the emperor Charles V., and waited with impatience for his answer. It was obviously the interest of Charles that she should prefer his son Philip. He was, however, careful not to commit himself by too hasty an answer. At length he proposed his son Philip, but told her not to be swayed by his advice; but to consult her own inclination and judgment.

It was soon discovered by the courtiers that Philip had been proposed to the queen, and had not been rejected; and the chancellor was the first to remonstrate with his sovereign. He observed to her that her people would more readily submit to the rule of a native than of a foreigner. Gardiner, who spoke the sentiments of the majority of the council, was followed by others of his colleagues; they were opposed by Norfolk, Arundel, and the lord Paget.

On Mary's accession, she acquainted both the emperor and the king of France with her determination to restore the Catholic worship. Mary's determination to restore the Catholic worship. Henry applauded her zeal, and offered aid; but Charles advised her to proceed with temper and caution, and to abstain from any public innovation till she had obtained the consent of her parliament. She issued no order for the public restoration of the ancient service; but she maintained that she had a right to worship God as she pleased within her own palace; and was highly gratified by the compliance of those who followed her example. The proceedings against the bishops deprived in the last reign were reversed; and Gardiner, Bonner, Tunstall, Heath, and Day recovered the possession of their respective sees. A riot was, however, occasioned by the public celebration of mass in a church. The council reprimanded and imprisoned the priest; and the queen, sending for

the lord mayor and aldermen, ordered them to put down all tumultuous assemblies. Mary, following the example of the last two monarchs, prohibited preaching in public without license. The queen declared that she could not conceal her religion, which God and the world knew that she had professed from her infancy; but she had no intention to compel any one to embrace it till further order were taken by common consent; and therefore she strictly forbade all persons to excite sedition among the people, or to foment dissension by using the opprobrious terms of heretic or papist.

The reformers now fixed their hopes on the constancy of the lady Elizabeth, the presumptive heir to the throne. They already considered her as the rival of the queen; and it was openly said that it would not be difficult to transfer the sceptre to her hands. On this account it had been proposed by some of the royal advisers to put Elizabeth under arrest; but Mary refused her assent, and rather sought to withdraw her from the new to the ancient worship. For some time the princess resisted every attempt; but when she learned that her repugnance was thought to arise from the persuasions of the factious, she solicited a private audience, threw herself on her knees, and excused her past obstinacy, on the ground that she had never practised any other than the reformed worship. Perhaps, she said, if she were furnished with books, and aided by the instructions of divines, she might see her errors, and embrace the religion of her fathers. After this beginning, the reader will not be surprised to learn that her conversion was effected in the short course of a week. Mary now treated her with extraordinary kindness; and Elizabeth, to prove her sincerity, not only accompanied her sister to mass, but opened a chapel in her own house, and wrote to the emperor for leave to purchase, in Flanders, a chalice, cross, and the ornaments usually employed in the celebration of the Catholic worship.

But the Protestant cause was consoled for the defection of Elizabeth by the zeal of Cranmer. Though he had been the author of her mother's divorce, and one of the last to abandon the conspiracy of Northumberland, he had not been sent to the Tower, but received an order to confine himself to his palace at Lambeth. Here intelligence was brought

Cranmer sent to the Tower.

to him that the Catholic service had been performed in his church at Canterbury, and that a report was circulated of his having offered to celebrate mass before the queen. Cranmer hastened to refute these charges by a public denial; and in a declaration, which, while its boldness does honor to his courage, betrays by its asperity the bitterness of his feelings, asserted that the mass was the device and invention of the father of lies. Of this intemperate declaration, several copies were dispersed and publicly read to the people in the streets. The council sent for the archbishop, and, after a long debate, committed him to the Tower. A few days afterward, Latimer was also sent to the same prison.

To Julius III., the Roman pontiff, the accession of Mary had been a subject of triumph. Foreseeing the result, he immediately appointed Cardinal Pole his legate to the queen, the emperor, and the king of France. He <sup>Cardinal Pole appointed legate to the queen.</sup> declined at first, and a private messenger proceeded to England, who procured more than one interview with Mary, and carried from her the message that it was her most anxious wish to see her kingdom reconciled with the Holy See; that for this purpose she meant to procure the repeal of all laws trenching on the doctrine or discipline of the Catholic church; and that for the success of the undertaking it would be necessary to act with temper and prudence; to respect the prejudices of her subjects; and most carefully to conceal the least trace of any correspondence between her and the court of Rome.

Such was the situation of affairs when Mary met her first parliament. The two objects which she had principally at heart were, to remove from herself the stain of illegitimacy, and to restore to its former ascendancy the religion of her fathers. By the council it was at first determined to attempt both objects by a bill, which should repeal at once all the acts that had been passed in the two last reigns, affecting either the marriage between the queen's father and mother or the exercise of religion as it stood in the first year of Henry VIII. By the peers no objection was made; but opposition was organized among the commons; and the queen prorogued the parliament. In the succeeding session, two new bills were introduced in the place of the former; one confirming the marriage of Henry and Catherine, the other regulating the national worship. Against

the first bill not a voice was raised in either house of parliament. The next measure was so framed as to elude the objections of those who were hostile to the pretensions of the see of Rome. It professed to have no other object than to restore religion to that state in which Edward found it on his accession. The opposition was confined to the lower house, and the bill passed. By it was at once razed to the ground that fabric which Cranmer had erected in the last reign; the new liturgy was abolished; and in lieu thereof were revived such forms of divine worship and administration of sacraments as had been most commonly used in England in the last year of Henry VIII.

That which now chiefly interested and agitated the public mind, was the project of marriage between Mary and Philip of Spain. The projected alliance was unpopular. Mary determines to marry Philip of Spain. Protestants and Catholics, postponing their religious animosities, joined in reprobating a measure which, they said, would place a foreign and despotic prince on the English throne. The commons voted an address to the queen, in which they prayed her to marry, but to select her husband not from any foreign family, but from the nobility of her own realm. But the queen had inherited the resolution or obstinacy of her father. Opposition might strengthen, it could not shake her purpose. Sending for the imperial ambassador, she bade him follow her into her private oratory, where, on her knees at the foot of the altar, she called God to witness that she had pledged her faith to Philip, prince of Spain. She next sent for the lower house: the speaker read the address; and, when it was expected that the chancellor, according to custom, would answer in her name, she herself replied: that for their expression of loyalty she sincerely thanked them; but, in as much as they pretended to limit her in the choice of a husband, she thanked them not. The marriages of her predecessors, she observed, had always been free, nor would she surrender a privilege which they had enjoyed.

Elizabeth remained at court, watched by the imperialists, and caressed by their opponents; one day terrified by the fear of a prison, and the next day flattered with the prospect of a crown. No pains were spared to create dissension between the royal sisters. But Mary treated Elizabeth with kindness and distinction; and presented her with two sets of large and valuable pearls.



The enemies of the Spanish marriage joined in a rebellion against Mary, which seemed formidable. The queen ordered her ministers to provide the means of defence, and <sup>A revolt sup-</sup> undertook to fix, by her confidence and address, <sup>pressed.</sup> the wavering loyalty of the Londoners. The lord mayor called an extraordinary meeting of the citizens; and Mary, with the sceptre in her hand, and accompanied by her ladies and officers of state, entered the Guildhall. She said that she was convinced that her people loved her too well to surrender her into the hands of rebels; and promised that, if it should not appear to the lords and commons in parliament to be for the benefit of the whole realm, she would never marry. The hall rang with acclamations; and by the next morning more than twenty thousand men had enrolled their names for the protection of the city. The insurgents were soon overcome, though not without a battle in the neighbourhood of London, in which many lives were lost. At the termination of the former conspiracy, the queen had permitted but three persons to be put to death—an instance of clemency, considering all the circumstances, not perhaps to be paralleled in the history of those ages. But the policy of her conduct had been severely arraigned; and now, while her mind was still agitated with the remembrance of her danger, she was induced to sign a warrant for the execution of Guilford Dudley and Lady Jane Grey, whose family had joined in the second rebellion. On the fatal morning, the queen sent them permission to take a last farewell of each other; but Jane refused the indulgence, saying, that in a few hours they should meet in heaven. From the window of her cell she saw her husband <sup>Execution of</sup> led to execution, and beheld his bleeding corpse <sup>Dudley and his</sup> <sup>wife.</sup> brought back to the chapel. He had been beheaded on Tower Hill, in sight of an immense multitude; she, on account of her royal descent, was spared the ignominy of a public execution. With a firm step and cheerful countenance she mounted the scaffold, which had been erected on the green within the Tower. Having laid her head upon the block, at one stroke it was severed from the body. Her life had before been spared as a pledge for the loyalty of the house of Suffolk. That pledge was indeed forfeited by the late rebellion of the duke; but it would

have been to the honor of Mary if she had overlooked the provocation, and refused to visit on the daughter the guilt of the father. Her youth ought to have pleaded most powerfully in her favor; and, if it were feared that she would again be set up by the factious as a competitor with her sovereign, the danger might certainly have been removed by some expedient less cruel than the infliction of death.

The duke of Suffolk, lady Jane's father, fell unpitied. His ingratitude to the queen, his disregard of his daughter's safety, and his meanness in seeking to purchase forgiveness by the accusation of others, had sharpened the public indignation against him.

Elizabeth was at Ashridge, laboring, or pretending to labor, under some severe indisposition. Much had come to light which Elizabeth com- tended to implicate her in the conspiracy; she re-  
mitted to the Tower. fused to join the queen in the capital, which was imputed to consciousness of guilt rather than infirmity of body. The council resolved to enforce submission; but Mary insisted that, at the same time, due consideration should be paid to her health and her rank. A very kind invitation was written to her by the queen, and three members of the council were ordered to bring her to the court. They were instructed to take with them two of the queen's physicians, to ascertain her ability to travel, and also the queen's litter for her greater convenience on the road. It was with the utmost reluctance that Elizabeth yielded. The physicians assured her that there was no danger; but a respite of another week was granted; and she at last reached London in great state. On her arrival she asked in vain for an interview with the queen, and was immediately conducted to apartments provided for her in a quarter of the palace out of which there was no egress but through a passage occupied by a guard. Mary, however, soon grew weary of being the jailer of her sister. She proposed to the council that some one of the lords should take charge of her in a private house in the country. But no man was willing to incur the responsibility; and an order was made for her committal to the Tower. She received the intelligence with dismay, and most earnestly solicited permission to speak to, or if that could not be, to write to the queen. The last was

granted; and in the letter said to have been written on that occasion, she maintained that she had never consented to any project that could endanger the life or crown of her sister.

In the Tower, Elizabeth abandoned herself to the most gloomy anticipations; she was saved from the danger by the abilities and good offices of one, whom it has been the fashion to describe as her bitterest enemy. For several weeks, Renard, the imperial ambassador, labored incessantly to extort the queen's consent that the princess should be condemned and sent to the scaffold. Gardiner however defended her with success. Mary sent an order to Elizabeth to come from the Tower by water, and join the court. A few days later the princess was sent forward to Woodstock, which had been selected for her residence, and where she remained till the beginning of the next year.

The rebellion had suspended, for a few weeks, the proceedings relative to the queen's marriage; but in the beginning of March [1554] the Spanish ambassador arrived in Lon-<sup>The marriage of</sup> don, and espoused Mary in the name of the <sup>Mary and Philip.</sup> prince of Spain. Both houses unanimously concurred in an act confirming the treaty of marriage, declaring that the queen, after its solemnization, should continue to enjoy and exercise the sovereignty as sole queen, without any right or claim to be given unto Philip. Philip soon arrived at Southampton, escorted by the combined fleets of England, the Netherlands, and Spain. The moment he set his foot on the beach, he was invested with the insignia of the Order of the Garter; and instantly a royal salute was fired by the batteries and the ships in the harbor. The queen had sent him a Spanish genet, richly caparisoned; and, as he rode first to the church, and thence to his lodging, the people crowded around him to see the husband of their sovereign. His youth, the grace of his person, the pleasure displayed in his countenance, charmed the spectators: they saluted him with cries of "God save your grace;" and he, turning on either side, expressed his thankfulness for their congratulations. On the festival of St. James, the patron saint of Spain, [July 25th,] the marriage was celebrated in the cathedral church at Winchester, before crowds of noblemen collected from every part of Christendom, and with a magnificence which has seldom been surpassed. From Winchester the royal pair proceeded, by slow

journeys, to Windsor and the metropolis. The city had been beautified at considerable expense, and the most splendid pageants were devised to welcome their arrival.

Mary now resolved to attempt that which she had long considered an indispensable duty, the restoration of the religious polity of the kingdom to that state in which it existed at the time of her birth. In her first parliament, she had prudently confined her efforts to the public re-establishment of the ancient form of worship. The statute was carried into execution on the appointed day, almost without opposition; the married clergy, according to the provisions of the canon law, were removed from their benefices; and Gardiner, with the secret approbation of the pontiff, had consecrated Catholic prelates to supersede the few Protestant bishops who remained in possession of their sees. Thus one-half of the measure had been already accomplished; the other, the recognition of the papal supremacy, a more hazardous task, still remained. Many had shared the plunder of the church; and they objected to the restoration of that jurisdiction which might call in question their right to their present possessions. It was necessary, in the first place, to free them from apprehension, and for that purpose to procure from the pontiff a bull confirming all past alienation of the property of the church. This subject had from the commencement been urged on the consideration of the court of Rome. The pope having consulted his canonists and divines, signed a bull empowering the legate to give to the present possessors, all property which had been torn from the church during the reigns of Henry VIII. and Edward VI.

The parliament was soon convoked. The procession on the first day was opened by the commoners; the peers and prelates followed; and next came Philip and Mary, in robes of purple, the king on horseback, attended by the lords of his household, the queen in a litter, followed by the ladies of her establishment. The chancellor, having taken his place in front of the throne, addressed the two houses. The queen's first parliament, he said, had re-established the ancient worship, her second had confirmed the articles of her marriage; and their majesties expected that the third, in preference to every other object, would accomplish the reunion of the realm with the universal church. An act

was passed reversing the attainder of Cardinal Pole. He immediately came to England as legate, and assured the parliament of every facility on his part to effect the reunion of the church of England with that of Rome. The motion for the reunion was carried almost by acclamation. It was determined to present a petition in the name of both houses to the king and queen, stating that they looked back with sorrow and regret on the defection of the realm from the communion of the Apostolic See. Mary and Philip spoke to the cardinal; and he absolved all those present and the whole nation from all heresy; and restored them to the communion of holy church in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. "Amen," resounded from every part of the hall; and the members, rising from their knees, followed the king and queen into the chapel, where *Te Deum* was chanted in thanksgiving for the event. The next Sunday the legate, at the invitation of the citizens, made his public entry into the metropolis; and Gardiner preached at St. Paul's Cross the celebrated sermon, in which he lamented in bitter terms his conduct under Henry VIII., and exhorted all, who had fallen through his means, or in his company, to rise with him, and seek the unity of the Catholic Church.

The decree of the legate was soon afterward published, which declared—1. That all cathedral churches, hospitals, and schools founded during the schism, should be preserved; 2. That all persons, who had contracted marriage The decrees of the legate. within the prohibited decrees without dispensation, should remain married; 3. That all judicial processes, made before the ordinaries, or in appeal before delegates, should be held valid; and 4. That the possessors of church property should not be molested, under pretence of any canons of councils, decrees of popes, or censures of the church. An act was soon passed which provided that all papal bulls, dispensations, and privileges, not containing matter prejudicial to the royal authority, or to the laws of the realm, might be used in all courts whatsoever; that the pope should have the same authority and jurisdiction which he might have lawfully exercised before the twentieth year of the reign of Henry VIII.; and that the jurisdiction of the bishops should be restored to that state in which it existed at the same period. In the lords, the bill was read thrice in two

days; in the commons, it was passed after a sharp debate on the third reading. Thus was re-established in England the whole system of religious polity which had prevailed for so many centuries before Henry VIII.

The dissolution of the parliament was followed by an unexpected act of grace. The lord chancellor, accompanied by several members of the council, proceeded to the Tower, called before him all state prisoners, and informed them that the king and queen had ordered them to be discharged. Elizabeth reappeared at court, and by the king and queen was treated with kindness and distinction. After a visit of some months, she returned to her own house in the country.

Pope Julius died in 1555. The new pontiff, who had taken the name of Marcellus II., died within one and twenty days; and the friends of Pole labored to honor him with the tiara. But as the cardinals, as well in the imperial as in the French interest, refused their voices, Caraffa was chosen, and took the name of Paul IV. On the very day of the coronation of this

The embassy to Rome. pontiff, three English ambassadors reached Rome.

Pole had foreseen that the new title of king and queen of Ireland, assumed by Philip and Mary, in imitation of Henry and Edward, might create some difficulty, and had therefore requested that Ireland might be declared a kingdom before the arrival of the ambassadors. But the death of Julius, succeeded by that of Marcellus, had prevented those pontiffs from complying with his advice; and the first act of the new pope, after his coronation, was to publish a bull, by which, at the petition of Philip and Mary, he raised the lordship of Ireland to the dignity of a kingdom. Till this had been done, the ambassadors waited without the city; three days later they were publicly introduced. They acknowledged the pontiff as head of the universal church, presented to him a copy of the act by which his authority had been re-established, and solicited him to ratify the absolution pronounced by the legate, and to confirm the bishoprics erected during the schism. Paul received them with kindness, and granted their requests.

It was the lot of Mary to live in an age of religious intolerance, when to punish the professors of erroneous doctrine was inculcated as a duty. The Protestants had no sooner obtained the ascend-

ency during the short reign of Edward, than they displayed the same persecuting spirit which they had formerly condemned—burning the Anabaptist, and preparing to burn the Catholic at the stake, for no other crime than adherence to religious opinion. By a law proposed by Cranmer, to believe in transubstantiation, to admit the papal supremacy, and to deny justification by faith only, had been severally made heresy; and it was ordained that individuals accused of holding heretical opinions should, if they continued obstinate, be delivered to the civil magistrate, to suffer the punishment provided by law. Edward died before this code had obtained the sanction of the legislature: by the accession of Mary, the power of the sword passed from the hands of one religious party to those of the other; and within a short time, Cranmer and his associates perished in the flames which they had prepared to kindle for the destruction of their opponents.

Though it had been held in the last reign that by the common law of the land heresy was a crime punishable with death, it was deemed advisable to revive the three statutes which had formerly been enacted to suppress the doctrines of the Lollards. An act for this purpose was brought into the Commons, and in the course of four days it had passed the two houses.

The new year opened to the Protestant preachers with a lowering aspect, and the storm soon burst on their heads. Gardiner presided in a court which was now opened, and was attended by thirteen other bishops, and a crowd of lords and knights. Six prisoners accused of heresy were called before them; of whom four, Hooper the deprived bishop of Gloucester, Rogers a prebendary of St. Paul's, Saunders rector of Allhallows in London, and Taylor rector of Hadley in Suffolk, were excommunicated; and their excommunication was followed by the delivery of the recusants to the civil power. Rogers was the first victim. He perished at the stake in Smithfield; Saunders underwent a similar fate at Coventry, Hooper at Gloucester, and Taylor at Hadley. An equal constancy was displayed by all: and, though pardon was offered them to the last moment, they scorned to purchase the continuance of life by feigning an assent to doctrines which they did not believe. Gardiner never afterward took his seat on the bench, but transferred the ungracious office

of conducting these prosecutions in the metropolis to Bonner, bishop of London. That prelate, accompanied by the lord mayor and sheriffs, and several members of the council, excommunicated six other prisoners, and delivered them to the civil power. But the next day, Alphonso di Castro, a Spanish friar, confessor to Philip, preached before the court, and, to the astonishment of his hearers, condemned these proceedings in the most pointed manner. He pronounced them contrary, not only to the spirit, but to the text of the gospel: it was not by severity, but by mildness, that men were to be brought into the fold of Christ; and it was the duty of the bishops, not to seek the death, but to instruct the ignorance of their misguided brethren. Men were at a loss to account for this discourse. It made, however, a deep impression; the execution of the prisoners was suspended; the question was again debated in the council, and five weeks elapsed before the advocates of severity could obtain permission to rekindle the fires of Smithfield.

The bishops, in general, declined the odious task of proceeding against persons accused of heresy. This reluctance of the prelates was remarked by the lord treasurer, the marquess of Winchester, who complained to the council, and procured a reprimand to be sent to Bonner, stating that the king and queen marvelled at his want of zeal and diligence, and requiring him to proceed according to law, for the advancement of God's glory, and the better preservation of the peace of the realm. The prelates no longer hesitated, and the persecution recommenced. To describe the sufferings of each individual would fatigue the patience and torture the feelings of the reader; the last moments of Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer, however, deserve special mention. During the preceding reign they had concurred in sending the Anabaptists to the stake; in the present, they were compelled to suffer the same punishment which they had so recently inflicted.

Cranmer was served, as a matter of form, with a citation to answer before the pontiff in the course of eighty days—a distinction which he owed to his office of archbishop; his companions, having appeared twice before the bishops of Lincoln, Gloucester, and Bristol, as commissioners of the legate, and twice refused to renounce their opinions, were degraded from the priesthood, and delivered to the secular

The sermon of  
the Spanish friar.

The execution of  
Latimer and Ridley.



power. At the stake, to shorten their sufferings, bags of gunpowder were suspended from their necks. Latimer expired almost the moment that the fire was kindled; but Ridley was doomed to endure the most excruciating torments. The constancy with which they suffered consoled the sorrow and animated the zeal of their disciples.

From the window of his cell, Cranmer had seen his two friends led to execution. At the sight, his resolution began to waver, and he let fall some hints of a willingness to relent and of a desire to confer with the legate. But in a short time he recovered the tranquillity of his mind, and addressed, in defence of his doctrine, a long letter to the queen, which at her request was answered by Cardinal Pole. At Rome, on the expiration of the eighty days, the royal proctors demanded judgment; and Paul, in a private consistory, pronounced the usual sentence. The intelligence of this proceeding awakened the terrors of the archbishop. He had not the fortitude to look death in the face. To save his life he feigned himself a convert to the Catholic creed, openly condemned his past delinquency, and, stifling the remorse of his conscience, in seven successive instruments abjured the faith which he had taught, and approved of that which he had opposed. He professed to believe on all points, and particularly respecting the sacraments, as the Catholic Church believed. To Ridley and Latimer, life had been offered on condition that they should recant; but when the question was put, whether the same favor might be granted to Cranmer, it was decided by the council in the negative. His political offences, it was said, might be overlooked; but he had been the cause of the schism in the reign of Henry, and the author of the change of religion in the reign of Edward; and such offences, it was urged, required that he should suffer. The writ was directed to the mayor of Oxford; the day of execution was fixed; still he cherished a hope of pardon; and in a fifth recantation abjured the erroneous doctrines which he had formerly maintained. In a sixth confession he acknowledged that he had been a greater persecutor of the church than Paul. He had, he said, blasphemed against the sacrament, had sinned against Heaven, and had deprived men of the benefits to be derived from the eucharist. In conclusion, he conjured the pope to forgive his offences against the Apostolic

See, and the king and queen to pardon his transgressions against them. Mary, however, persuaded herself, or had been persuaded by others, that public justice would not allow her to save him from the punishment to which he had been condemned.

At length the fatal day arrived. At the appointed hour the procession set forward, and, on account of the rain, His execution. halted at the church of St. Mary, where the sermon was preached by Dr. Cole. Cranmer stood on a platform opposite the pulpit. At the conclusion of the sermon, he began to read a paper, and was heard for a time with profound silence. But when he recalled his former recantations, rejected the papal authority, and confirmed the doctrines contained in his book, he was interrupted by the murmurs and agitation of the audience. As soon as order could be restored, he was conducted to the stake, declaring that he had never changed his belief; that his recantations had been wrung from him by the hope of life; and that, as his hand had offended by writing contrary to his heart, it should be the first to receive its punishment. When the fire was kindled, to the surprise of the spectators, he thrust his hand into the flame, exclaiming, "This hath offended." His sufferings were short; the flames rapidly ascended above his head, and he expired in a few moments.

On the deprivation of Cranmer, Pole had been appointed archbishop; and his consecration took place on the day after the The conduct of Pole. death of his predecessor. It has been said that Pole hastened the death of Cranmer, that he might get possession of the archbishopric; but the life of Cranmer, after his deprivation, could be no obstacle. The fact is, that Pole procured several respites for Cranmer, and thus prolonged his life. The persecution now ceased in the diocese of Canterbury. Pole found sufficient exercise for his zeal in reforming the clergy, repairing the churches, and re-establishing the ancient discipline. But his moderation displeased the more zealous; they called in question his orthodoxy; and, in the last year of his life, (perhaps to refute the calumny,) he issued a commission within his diocese. Five persons were condemned; four months afterward they suffered, but at a time when the cardinal lay on his death-bed, and was probably ignorant of their fate.

It had at first been hoped that a few of these barbarous ex-

hibitions would silence the voices of the preachers, and check the diffusion of their doctrines; but as they continued to promulgate their views, the persecution continued till the death of Mary. Sometimes milder counsels seemed to prevail; and on one occasion all the prisoners were discharged, on the easy condition of taking an oath to be true to God and the queen. But these intervals were short, and, after some suspense, the spirit of intolerance was sure to resume the ascendancy. Any attempt at defending such persecution can take but little from the infamy of the measure. After every allowance, it will be found that, in the space of four years, almost two hundred persons perished in the flames for religious opinion; a number, at the contemplation of which the mind is struck with horror, and learns to bless the legislation of a more tolerant age, in which dissent from established forms, though in some countries still punished with civil disabilities, is nowhere liable to the penalties of death.

If any thing could be urged in extenuation of these cruelties, it must have been the provocation given by the reformers. The succession of a Catholic sovereign had deprived them of office and power; had suppressed the English service, the idol of their affections; and had re-established the ancient worship, which they deemed antichristian and idolatrous. Disappointment imbittered their zeal; and enthusiasm sanctified their intemperance. They heaped on the queen, her bishops, and her religion, every indecent and irritating epithet which language could supply. Her clergy could not exercise their functions without danger to their lives; a dagger was thrown at one priest in the pulpit; a gun was discharged at another; and several wounds were inflicted on a third, while he administered the communion in his church; and some congregations even prayed for the death of the queen. It is not improbable that such excesses would have considerable influence with statesmen who might deem it expedient to suppress sedition by prosecution for heresy, but there is reason to believe that the queen herself was not actuated so much by motives of policy as of conscience; and that she had imbibed the same intolerant opinions which Cranmer and Ridley labored to instil into the young mind of Edward.

From the moment of his arrival in England, Philip had sought to ingratiate himself with the natives. He had con-  
 Philip's depar- formed to the national customs, and appeared to  
 ture from Eng- be delighted with the national amusements. In  
 land. the government of the realm he appeared not to take any active part; and, when favors were conferred, was careful to attribute them to the bounty of the queen, claiming for himself no other merit than that of a well-wisher and intercessor. But he labored in vain. The antipathy of the English was not to be subdued; personally, indeed, he was always treated with respect, but his attendants met with daily insults and injuries. Under these circumstances the king grew weary of his stay in England, and his secret wishes were aided by letters from his father, who, exhausted with disease and the cares of government, earnestly entreated him to return; but the queen, believing herself in a state to give him an heir to his dominions, extorted from him a promise not to leave her till after her expected delivery. She was mistaken, however, as to the fact of pregnancy, and Philip departed for Flanders. He left the queen with every demonstration of attachment, and recommended her in strong terms to the care of Cardinal Pole.

The queen, considering the impoverished state of the church, judged it her duty to restore to it such ecclesiastical property as during the late reigns had been vested in the  
 Death of Gardiner: Mary restores the church property. crown. Gardiner died at this period. His death was a subject of deep regret to Mary, who lost in him a most able, faithful, and zealous servant. During his illness, he edified all around him by his piety and resignation. His death interrupted the plans of the council. He had undertaken to procure the consent of parliament to the queen's plan of restoring the church property vested in the crown: now Mary herself assumed his office, and sending for a deputation from each house, explained her wish, and the reasons on which it was grounded. In the lords, the bill passed with only two dissentient voices; in the commons, though encountering considerable opposition, it was carried. By it a yearly revenue of about sixty thousand pounds was resigned by the queen, and placed at the disposal of the cardinal. About the same time, that the monastic bodies might not complain of neglect, Mary re-established the

Gray Friars at Greenwich, the Carthusians at Sheen, and the Brigittins at Sion. The dean and prebendaries of Westminster retired on pensions, and yielded their places to a colony of twenty-eight Benedictine monks. In addition, the house of the Knights of St. John arose from its ruins. But these renewed establishments fell again on the queen's demise; her hospital at the Savoy being alone suffered to remain. While Gardiner lived, his vigilance had checked the intrigues of the factious: his death emboldened them to renew their machinations against the government. Secret meetings were now held; defamatory libels on the king and queen, printed on the continent, were found scattered in the streets, in the palace, and in both houses of parliament; and reports were circulated that Mary, hopeless of issue to succeed her, had determined to settle the crown on her husband after her decease. A new conspiracy was formed, which had for its object to de-<sup>Cleobury's conspiracy.</sup>pose Mary, and to raise Elizabeth to the throne. The conspirators reported that Philip devoted to Spanish purposes the revenue of the English crown; though at the same time they knew that, on different occasions, he had brought an immense mass of treasure into the kingdom, of which one portion had been distributed in presents, another had served to defray the expenses of the marriage, and the remainder, amounting to fifty thousand pounds, was still lodged in the Exchequer. A plan was devised to surprise the guard, and to obtain possession of this money; but one of the conspirators proved a traitor to his fellows; of the others, several, apprehended by his means, paid the forfeit of their lives, and many sought and obtained an asylum in France. Among the prisoners apprehended in England, were two officers in the household of Elizabeth, from whose confessions much was elicited to implicate the princess herself. She was rescued from danger by the interposition of Philip, who, despairing of issue by his wife, foresaw that, if Elizabeth were removed out of the way, the English crown, at the decease of Mary, would be claimed by the young queen of Scots, the wife of the dauphin of France. By his orders the inquiry was dropped, and Mary, sending to her sister a ring in token of her affection, professed to believe that Elizabeth was innocent. The exiles in France soon made a new attempt to excite an insurrection. There was among them a

young man, of the name of Cleobury, who landed in Sussex, was taken, and suffered at Bury the penalty of his treason. Though Cleobury had employed the name of Elizabeth, we have no reason to charge her with participation in the imposture. The council pretended, at least, to believe her innocent; and she herself, in a letter to Mary, expressed her detestation of all such attempts. She resolved, however, to seek an asylum in France, but was dissuaded from this course. From that period, the princess resided, apparently at liberty, but in reality under the eyes of watchful guardians, in her house at Hatfield, and occasionally at court.

Mary finding political difficulties increasing, urged Philip to return without delay. But he, to whom his father had resigned all his dominions in Spain, Italy, and the Netherlands, was overwhelmed with business of more importance to him than the tranquillity of his wife or of her government; and, to pacify her mind, he made her frequent promises, the fulfilment of which it was Philip returns to England: War with France. always in his power to elude. In March, 1557, he revisited Mary, not so much in deference to her representations, as to draw England into a war with France. A proclamation was issued, containing charges against the French monarch, which it was not easy to refute. From the very accession of Mary he had put on the appearance of a friend, and acted as an adversary. He had approved of the rebellion of Northumberland and other English rebels. Henry of France, when he heard of the proclamation, determined to oppose to it a manifesto, in which he complained that Mary had maintained spies in his dominions, and had laid new and heavy duties on the importation of French merchandise.

Philip returned to Flanders, where mercenaries from Germany and the troops from Spain had already arrived. The earl of Pembroke followed at the head of seven thousand Englishmen; and the command of the combined army, consisting of forty thousand men, was assumed by Philibert, duke of Savoy. The English fleet rode triumphant through the summer, and kept the maritime provinces of France in a state of perpetual alarm.

When Mary determined to aid her husband against Henry, she had made up her mind to a war with Scotland. In that

kingdom the national animosity against the English, the ancient alliance with France, the marriage of the queen to the dauphin, and the authority of the queen-regent, a French princess, had given to the French interest a preponderance. The Scotch, to please France, ravaged the North of England; they soon, however, assembled in council, and reminding each other of the fatal field of Flodden, the army was disbanded

The king of France next resolved to besiege Calais. In the month of December, 1558, twenty-five thousand men, with a numerous train of battering artillery, assembled near that fortress. The governor, Lord Wentworth, had received repeated warning to provide for the defence of the place, but he persuaded himself that the object of the enemy was not conquest, but plunder. A company of Frenchmen waded across the haven, and the French standard was soon unfurled on the walls. The next morning an offer of capitulation was made; and the town, with all the ammunition and merchandise, was surrendered, on condition that the citizens and garrison should have liberty to depart, with the exception of Wentworth himself and of fifty others. Thus in the depth of winter, and within the short lapse of three weeks, was Calais, with all its dependencies, recovered by France, after it had remained in the possession of the English more than two hundred years.

The queen felt the event most poignantly; and we may form a notion of her grief from the declaration which she made on her death-bed, that if her breast were opened after death, the word "Calais" would be found engraven on her heart. The ministers prepared an armament sufficiently powerful to surprise some port on the French coast, as an equivalent for that which had been lost. During the spring, seven thousand men were levied, and trained to military evolutions; the lord admiral collected in the harbor of Portsmouth a fleet of one hundred and forty sail; and Philip willingly supplied a strong reinforcement of Flemish troops. In France the capture of Calais had excited an intoxication of joy. The event had been celebrated by the nuptials of the dauphin to the young queen of Scotland. The lord admiral, instead of proceeding immediately to his destination, amused himself with making a descent on Con-

The loss of Calais.

The grief of Mary.  
The joy in France.

quest, in Bretagne. He burnt the town, and plundered the adjacent villages; but, in the mean time, the alarm was given; troops poured from all quarters into Brest; and his fears or his prudence induced him to return to England, without having done any thing to raise the reputation of the country, or to repay the expenses of the expedition.

The reign of Mary was now hastening to its termination. Her health had always been delicate, and from the time of her first supposed pregnancy she was afflicted with frequent Mary's last sickness and death. maladies. Nor was her mind more at ease than her body. The exiles from Geneva, by the number and virulence of their libels, kept her in a constant state of fear and irritation; and to other causes of anxiety, which have been formerly mentioned, had lately been added the loss of Calais. In August she experienced a slight febrile indisposition at Hampton Court, and immediately removed to St. James's, where she languished for three months. During this long confinement, Mary edified all around her by her cheerfulness, her piety, and her resignation to the will of Providence. Her chief solicitude was for the stability of that Church which she had restored; and her suspicions of Elizabeth's insincerity prompted her to require from her sister an avowal of her real sentiments. In return, Elizabeth complained of Mary's incredulity. She said that she was a true and conscientious believer in the Catholic creed; nor could she do more now than she had repeatedly done before, which was to confirm her assertion with her oath.

On the morning of Mary's death, mass was celebrated in her chamber. She was perfectly sensible, and expired a few minutes before the conclusion. Her friend and kinsman, Cardinal Pole, who had long been confined with a fever, survived her only twenty-two hours. He had reached his fifty-ninth, she her forty-second year.

The foulest blot on the character of this queen is her long and cruel persecution of the Protestants. The sufferings of the victims naturally begat an antipathy to the woman by Her character. whose authority they were inflicted. It is, however, but fair to recollect that the extirpation of erroneous doctrine was inculcated as a duty by the leaders of *every* religious party. Mary only practised what *all* taught. It was her mis-



fortune, rather than her fault, that she was not more enlightened than the wisest of her contemporaries. With this exception, she has been ranked, by the more moderate of the Protestant writers, among the best, though not the greatest, of our sovereigns. They have borne honorable testimony to her virtues, and have allotted to her the praise of piety and clemency, of compassion for the poor, and liberality to the distressed. It is acknowledged that her moral character was beyond reproach. It extorted respect from all, even from the most virulent of her enemies. The ladies of her household copied the conduct of their mistress; and the decency of Mary's court was often mentioned with applause by those who lamented the dissoluteness which prevailed in that of her successor. The queen was thought by some to have inherited the obstinacy of her father; but there was this difference, that, before she formed her decisions, she sought for advice and information, and made it an invariable rule to prefer right to expediency. Her natural abilities had been improved by education. She understood the Italian, she spoke the French and Spanish languages; and the ease and correctness with which she replied to the foreigners who addressed her in Latin, excited their admiration. Her speeches in public, and from the throne, were delivered with grace and fluency.

Neither were the interests of trade neglected during her government. She had the honor of concluding the first commercial treaty with Russia. The Russian trade fully compensated the queen and the nation for these efforts and expenses; and the woollen cloths and coarse linens of England were exchanged at an immense profit for the valuable skins and furs of the northern regions.

Ireland, during this reign, offers but few subjects to attract the notice of the reader. The officers of government were careful to copy the proceedings in England. They first proclaimed the lady Jane, and then the lady <sup>Ireland during</sup> <sub>her reign.</sub> Mary. They suffered the new service to fall into desuetude; Dowdall resumed the archbishopric of Armagh; the married prelates and clergy lost their benefices; and Bale, the celebrated bishop of Ossory, who had often endangered his life by his violence and fanaticism, had the prudence to withdraw to the continent. When the Irish parliament met, it selected most of its

enactments from the English statute-book. The legitimacy and right of the queen were affirmed, the ancient service restored, and the papal authority acknowledged. But though the laws against heresy were revived, they were not carried into execution. The lord deputy, the earl of Sussex, distinguished himself by the vigor of his government. He recovered from the native Irish the two districts of Offally and Leix, which he moulded into counties, and named King's County and Queen's County, in honor of Philip and Mary.

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## CHAPTER XXXI.

### Elizabeth.

#### CONTEMPORARY SOVEREIGNS.

<i>Popes.</i>	<i>Scotland.</i>	<i>France.</i>
Paul IV.	Mary.	Henry II.
Pius IV.	James VI.	Francis II.
Pius V.		Charles IX.
Gregory XIII.	<i>Germany.</i>	Henry III.
Sixtus V.	Ferdinand.	Henry IV.
Urban VII.	Maximilian.	
Gregory XIV.	Rodolph.	<i>Spain.</i>
Innocent IX.		Philip II.
Clement VIII.		Philip III.

Accession of Elizabeth—Abolition of Catholic worship—War in Scotland—Return of Mary Stuart—Elizabeth's suitors—Penal statutes—Thirty-nine Articles—Queen of Scotland marries Darnley—Assassination of Rizzio: of Darnley—Mary marries Bothwell—The misfortunes of Mary—She seeks an asylum in England—Persecution of the Puritans: the Catholics—Plots for the liberation of Mary Stuart—Proceedings against Mary—Her trial and execution—Philip of Spain determines to invade England—The sailing of the Armada—Transactions in Ireland—Rebellion of Tyrone—Declining health of the Queen—Her death and character—A. D. 1558 to 1603.

ELIZABETH ascended the throne without opposition. Immediately after Mary's death a deputation of the council repaired to

her residence at Hatfield. She received them courteously, and to their congratulations replied in a formal and studied discourse. Sir William Cecil was appointed secretary; and the queen with his aid named the members of her council. Of the advisers of Mary she retained those who were distinguished for their capacity, or formidable by their influence; and to these she added eight others, who had shown attachment to her in her troubles. There was another and secret cabinet, consisting of Cecil and his particular friends, who possessed the ear of the queen, and controlled through her every department in the state.

Elizabeth ascends the throne: her council.

During the reign of her sister, Elizabeth had professed herself a convert to the ancient faith. The Catholics were willing to believe that her conformity arose from conviction; the Protestants, while they lamented her apostasy, persuaded themselves that she feigned sentiments which she did not feel. It is probable that, in her own mind, she was indifferent to either form of worship; but her ministers, whose prospects depended on the change, urged their mistress to put down a religion which proclaimed her illegitimate, and to support the reformed doctrines, which alone could give stability to her throne. After some hesitation, Elizabeth complied; but a resolution was adopted to suppress all knowledge of the intended measure, till every precaution had been taken to insure its success.

The conduct of Elizabeth in matters of religion.

Elizabeth, by the ambiguity of her conduct, contrived to balance the hopes and fears of the two parties. She continued to assist, and occasionally to communicate, at mass; she buried her sister with all the solemnities of the Catholic ritual; and she ordered a solemn dirge, and a mass of requiem, for the soul of the emperor Charles V. By degrees, however, the secret of the intended change of religion was suffered to transpire. White, bishop of Winchester, was imprisoned for his sermon at the funeral of Queen Mary, and Bonner, bishop of London, was called upon to account for the different fines which had been levied in his courts during the last reign. Archbishop Heath either received a hint, or deemed it prudent, to resign the seals, which, with the title of lord keeper, were transferred to Sir Nicholas Bacon. But that which cleared

The alarm of the bishops.

away every doubt was a proclamation, forbidding the clergy to preach, and ordering the Catholic worship to be observed "until consultation might be had in parliament by the queen and the three estates." Alarmed by this clause, the bishops assembled in London, and declared that they could not in conscience officiate at the coronation of a princess, who, it was probable, might object to some part of the service; and who, if she did not refuse to take, certainly meant to violate, that part of the oath which bound the sovereign to maintain the liberties of the church. The question was put, and was unanimously resolved in the negative.

This unexpected determination of the prelates created considerable embarrassment. Many expedients were devised to remove or surmount the difficulty; and at last the bishop of Carlisle separated himself from his colleagues. He was prevailed upon to crown the queen, and she on her part was compelled to take the accustomed oath, to receive the sacrament under one kind, and to conform to all the Catholic rites.

But Cecil soon completed his arrangements. On the 25th of January, 1559, the queen assisted in state at a solemn high mass, which was followed by a sermon from Dr. Cox, a Protestant preacher. The lord keeper then opened the parliament in her presence. He first drew a melancholy picture of the state of the realm under Queen Mary, and next exhibited the cheering prospect of the blessings which awaited it under the new sovereign.

Before the commons proceeded to any other business, they voted an address to the queen, praying that she would marry. She thanked them, but said that she preferred a single life.

An act was passed, which without reversing the attainder of Anne Boleyn, restored Elizabeth in blood, and rendered her inheritable to her mother, and to all her ancestors on the part of her said mother. But the subject which principally occupied the attention of parliament was the alteration of religion. It was enacted that the Book of Common Prayer, with certain additions and emendations, should alone be used by all ministers; and that the spiritual authority of every foreign prelate within the realm should be utterly abolished. It next devolved on the queen to provide a new hierarchy for the

Coronation of Elizabeth.

Acts of parliament relating to religion.

English Church. She first sent for the bishops then in London, and required them to conform; but they refused, and being deprived of their bishoprics, were committed to custody. After the consecration of new bishops, there was little to impede the progress of the reformed worship. The oath of supremacy was tendered by them to the clergy of their respective dioceses; but in general it was refused.

The restoration of Calais was a matter forming, at this time, a ground of negotiation. It was agreed that the French king should retain possession during the next eight years; and that at the expiration of the term he should restore the town with its dependencies to Elizabeth. It was evident, however, that at the expiration of eight years, French ingenuity would easily discover some real or pretended infraction of the treaty, on which the king might ground his refusal to restore the place. This consequence was foreseen by the public; and the terms were therefore condemned as prejudicial and disgraceful.

Mary Stuart had now completed her fifteenth year. She was married to the dauphin Francis, a prince of nearly the same age, in the cathedral of Paris; he was immediately saluted by his consort with the title of king-dauphin; and to cement the union of France and Scotland, the natives of each country were by legislative acts naturalized in the other.

Mary Stuart.

A war on the subject of religion raged for a long time in Scotland, the details of which possess little interest. John Knox led the party of the new creed, and Elizabeth, though personally disliking Knox, aided his friends. This reflected little credit on Elizabeth, and still less on the character of her advisers; for the right of intervention, even in its most liberal acceptation, can never authorize one prince to intrigue clandestinely with the subjects of another.

Francis, a weak and sickly prince, died in 1560. By this event, the near connection between France and Scotland was dissolved, and Mary persuaded herself that she might assume without molestation the government of her native kingdom. Such, however, was not the design of the English ministry. They were aware that she might marry a second time, and that with a new husband her former pretensions might re-

Death of Francis.  
Mary returns to  
Scotland.

vive, a contingency against which it was their duty to provide. With this view a resolution was taken to prevent, or at least to retard, the return of Mary Stuart to Scotland. Mary had been left a widow at the age of eighteen. She spent the winter among her maternal relatives in Lorrain, and consoled her grief by writing elegies on her departed husband. Having spent a few days with the French royal family at St. Germain en Laye, she proceeded to Calais in great state; whence she sailed in a short time, with two galleys and four transports, accompanied by three of her uncles and many French and Scottish noblemen. As long as the coast remained in view, she fixed her eyes on the land in which she had lived from her childhood and had reigned as queen; then, stretching out her arms, exclaimed, "Farewell, beloved France, farewell. Never shall I see thee more." On the fourth day, Mary approached the land of her fathers with mingled emotions of hope and apprehension. To disappoint the machinations of her enemies, she had arrived a fortnight before the appointed time. No preparations were made for her reception, but the whole population, nobles, clergy, and people, poured to Leith to testify their allegiance to their young and beautiful sovereign. Her fears were dispelled: with a glad and lightsome heart she mounted her palfrey; and entered the capital amid the shouts and congratulations of her subjects.

We may now call the attention of the reader to the private history of Elizabeth in the commencement of her reign. There

The private history of Elizabeth: her various suitors. were many, both among foreign princes and native subjects, whose vanity or ambition aspired to the honor of marrying the queen of England. Of foreign princes the first was Philip of Spain; but as he received an answer he deemed equivalent to a refusal, he turned his eyes toward Isabella of France, by whom his offer was accepted. The place of Philip was supplied by his cousin Charles of Austria, son to the emperor Ferdinand; but difficulties connected with religion interfered with this alliance: and John, duke of Finland, next solicited the hand of the queen for his brother Eric, king of Sweden. He was received with royal honors, and flattered with delusive hopes, but his suit did not succeed, and he consoled himself for his disappointment by marrying a lady who, though un-

equal in rank to Elizabeth, could boast of superior beauty and repaid his choice by the sincerity of her attachment.

The next suitor was Adolphus, duke of Holstein. The prince was young and handsome. On his arrival he was received with honor, and treated with peculiar kindness. He loved and was beloved. The queen made him knight of the Garter; she granted him a pension for life; still she could not be induced to take him for her husband. The earl of Arran next aspired to Elizabeth's hand. During the war of the Reformation he had displayed courage and constancy. To the deputies of the Scottish convention, who urged his suit, Elizabeth, with her usual affectation, replied, that she was content with her maiden state, and that God had given her no inclination for marriage. Yet the sudden departure of the ambassadors deeply offended her pride. She complained that while kings and princes persevered for months and years in their suit, the Scots did not deign to urge their requests a second time.

The man who made the deepest and most lasting impression on Elizabeth's heart, was the lord Robert Dudley, who had been attainted with his father, the duke of Northumber-  
land, for the attempt to remove Elizabeth as well Dudley and Elizabeth. as Mary from the succession. He had, however, been restored in blood, and frequently employed by the late queen; under the present he met with rapid preferment, was appointed master of the horse, and soon afterward, to the surprise of the public, installed knight of the Garter. The queen and Dudley became inseparable companions. Scandalous reports were whispered and believed at home; in foreign courts it was openly said they lived together in criminal intercourse. Dudley had married Amy, the daughter and heiress of Sir John Robesart; but that lady was not permitted to appear at court. Her sudden death provoked the injurious suspicion that his impatience of waiting had prompted him to make away with his wife. It was believed that the queen at this period solemnly pledged her word to Dudley; and even a lady of the bed-chamber was named as witness to the contract.

At this time, religious rancor had caused the flames of war to burst out in every province in France. Each party displayed a

most ferocious spirit, and the most inhuman atrocities were daily perpetrated by men who professed to serve under the banners of religion, and for the honor of the Almighty.

Religions wars. A treaty was concluded between Elizabeth (although she was the ally of Charles IX.) and the prince of Condé, a subject in arms against that sovereign, and one of the principal leaders of the Protestant party. She engaged to advance money and to land an army on the coast of Normandy, and Condé was to surrender into her hands the town of Havre de Grace, to be detained by her as a security, not only for the repayment of the money, but also for the restoration of Calais.

France invaded. The English fleet sailed to the coast of Normandy, Havre and Dieppe were delivered to the queen; and the new earl of Warwick, the brother of the lord Robert Dudley, was appointed commander-in-chief of the English army in France. Fired with resentment, the French nobility hastened to the royal army from every province; and to animate their exertions, Charles, the queen regent, and the king of Navarre repaired to the camp before Rouen. The city was taken by assault, and abandoned, during eight days, to the fury of a victorious soldiery.

Penal acts passed. Elizabeth sent reinforcements to the earl of Warwick, commissioned Count Oldenburgh to levy twelve thousand men in Germany, and ordered public prayers during three days, to implore the blessing of Heaven upon her cause, and that of the gospel. She soon afterward obtained a grant from Parliament to aid in carrying on the war in France. An act highly penal against the professors of the ancient faith was passed in this year. By the law, as it already stood, no heir holding of the crown could get legal possession of his lands, no individual could obtain preferment in the church, or accept office under the crown, or become member of either university, unless he had previously taken the oath of supremacy, which was deemed equivalent to a renunciation of the Catholic creed. The new act extended to many others the obligation of taking the oath, and made the first refusal an offence, punishable by *præmunire*, the second by death, as in case of treason. It is manifest that if this barbarous statute had been strictly carried into execution, the scaf-



folds in every part of the kingdom would have been drenched with the blood of the sufferers; but the queen was appalled at the prospect before her, and she admonished the bishops, who had been appointed to administer the oath, to proceed with lenity and caution.

When the convocation assembled, matters were submitted to its deliberation of the highest importance to the new church, viz. an adequate provision for the lower order of the clergy, a new code of ecclesiastical discipline, and The Thirty-nine Articles. the promulgation of a creed to be considered by Protestants the future standard of English orthodoxy. The Thirty-nine Articles, as they now exist, were drawn up at this period.

The hope of recovering Calais was one of the chief baits by which the queen had been drawn into the war between the French Huguenots and their sovereign. Her ministers had predicted the restoration of that important place; the prince of Condé had promised to support her demand with his whole power; and the admiral, Coligny, confirmed the engagement made by the prince. It was soon seen how little reliance could be placed Toleration of religion granted in France. upon men who fought only for their own emolument. The duke of Guise was assassinated. Condé aspired to the high station in the government to which he was entitled as first prince of the blood; and the Catholics feared that the English, with the aid of Coligny, might make important conquests in Normandy. The leaders on both sides, anxious for an accommodation, met, were reconciled, and subscribed a treaty of peace, by which the French Protestants promised their services to the king as true and loyal subjects, and obtained in return an amnesty for the past, and the public exercise of their religion for the future.

Elizabeth received the intelligence with surprise and anger. In her public declarations, she had hitherto professed to hold the town of Havre in trust for the king of France; but A conference now opened. when he required her to withdraw her forces, she replied that she would continue to hold it as a security for the restoration of Calais. She continued inexorable, till she saw that both parties, the Huguenots as well as the Catholics, had determined to unite and expel the English troops from the soil of France. Conferences were opened; but no mention was made

of the restitution of Calais to England. The one party would not suffer it; the other dared not urge it, because Elizabeth had forfeited her claim to the recovery of the place by landing a hostile army in France. But she still had in her power the French hostages, and their bonds for the sum of five hundred thousand crowns. After a long discussion it was agreed that the hostages should be released; and that the queen should be content to receive payment of one-fourth of her original demand.

Here we may return to the transactions between the English and Scottish queens. When Mary took possession of her paternal throne, she was aware that from France, distracted as it was by civil and religious dissension, she could derive no support; and therefore had determined, with the advice of her uncles, to subdue by conciliation, if it were possible, the hostility of her former opponents. The lord James, her illegitimate brother, and Maitland, the apostate secretary, both high in the confidence of the "Congregationalists," or Protestant party, and both pensioners of the English queen, were appointed her principal ministers; the friendship of Elizabeth was sought by compliments and professions of attachment; and an epistolary correspondence was established between the two queens.

In a few months, the jealousy or policy of Elizabeth was called into action by a communication from Mary, stating that she had received a proposal of marriage from the archduke Charles of Austria. The announcement put to the test all the ingenuity of Cecil. To prevent the match, he devised two plans, which were instantly carried into effect. By the first, Elizabeth was again brought forward as a rival to Mary. Cecil applied to the duke of Wirtemberg; and that prince, as if of himself, solicited the emperor to make a second offer of his son to the English queen. But Ferdinand replied, that he had once been duped by the selfish and insincere policy of Elizabeth, and that he would not expose himself to similar treatment a second time. The other plan was to induce Mary, by threats and promises, to refuse the archduke. Elizabeth proposed that Mary should marry Robert Dudley, earl of Leicester; but she refused, as Elizabeth evidently expected. In a short time the lord Darnley was set up. Darnley was the eldest son of the countess of Lennox; and it was represented to Mary that a marriage with

Proposal of marriage from Charles of Austria.

him could not be degrading, since he was sprung by his father from the kings of Scotland, by his mother from those of England. Mary appeared to listen to this proposal with a willing ear; and the intelligence was immediately conveyed to Elizabeth. The matter hung in suspense till Elizabeth, to the surprise of most men, though she had at first refused, allowed Darnley to proceed to the Scottish court with letters of recommendation. Mary accepted Darnley, but strange to say, this announcement irritated the English queen; and a letter was forwarded to Mary, describing the inconveniences and impolicy of the marriage. Mary said that she had pledged her word, but would defer the ceremony for three months.

Elizabeth then sent agents to excite a rebellion in Scotland. Mary summoned the Scottish nobles to meet her at Perth: Murray and his friends refused to obey. She received Mary marries Darnley, July 9, 1565. secret advice that it was the intention of the discontented lords to make her their prisoner, with Lennox and Darnley; but she defeated their object. Mary now, to free herself from the state of uncertainty in which she had so long lived, privately married Darnley.

Both parties soon began to prepare for the approaching struggle. The lords met at Stirling, and subscribed a bond to stand by each other: a messenger was despatched the next day to Elizabeth, to solicit speedy and effectual aid. Mary immediately acknowledged her choice of Darnley. She ordered the banns to be published, created him duke of Albany, and was married openly to him in the chapel of Holyrood House, by the bishop of Brechin. Proclamation was made that he should be styled king during the time of their marriage, and that all writs should run in the joint names of Henry and Mary, king and queen of Scotland. He was in his twentieth, she had reached her twenty-third year.

The associated lords receiving no aid from England, were unable to withstand the superior force of the royalists, and they retired, some toward Ayr, some toward Argyleshire. The rebel force soon disbanded, and Murray was allowed to proceed to London. At first Elizabeth refused to see him; afterward he was admitted in presence of the French and Spanish ambassadors, when, falling on his knees, he acknowledged that the queen was

innocent of the conspiracy, and had never advised them to disobey their sovereign lady.

Elizabeth was now actively employed in seeking a husband for herself. From whatever cause her former repugnance had sprung, Elizabeth desires to marry. it was at length subdued by the danger from the claim of the Scottish queen, if that princess should have issue while she herself remained childless. But she found it more easy to determine to marry, than to fix on the choice of a husband, and so she still remained single.

Mary, in the ardor of her affection, had overlooked the defects in the character of Darnley. Experience convinced her that he The ambition of Darnley. was capricious in his temper, violent in his passions, and implacable in his resentments. He had already contracted habits of inebriety, which led him occasionally into the most scandalous excesses, and made him forget, even in public, the respect due to his consort. But his ambition proved to her a source of more bitter disquietude. She had summoned a parliament for the twofold purpose of attainting the most guilty of the fugitive rebels, and of granting liberty of conscience for those among her subjects who, like herself, professed the ancient faith. Darnley insisted that a matrimonial crown should be granted to himself, but Mary refused; and the discontented prince directed his resentment against those whom he supposed to be her advisers, and particularly against David Riccio, one of her secretaries, a native of Piedmont, who had come to Scotland in the suite of the ambassador of Savoy.

Many of the Scotch viewed Riccio with hostility. He was a stranger and a Catholic; two qualities calculated to excite the The assassination of Riccio. jealousy both of the courtiers and of the preachers. Maitland, observing the discontent of the king, suggested to him that Mary had transferred her affections to Riccio; and that the refusal of the matrimonial crown had proceeded from the advice of that minion. On Saturday, March 9, 1566, between seven and eight in the evening, eighty armed men took possession of the gates of Holyrood palace. Mary, who was indisposed and in the seventh month of her pregnancy, was at the time seated at supper in the closet of her bed-chamber with her illegitimate brother and sister. Riccio, Erskine, captain of the guard, and Beaton, master of the household, were in attendance.

Suddenly the king entered by a private staircase, and placing himself next the queen, put his arm round her waist. He was followed by Ruthven and others armed. Mary, alarmed at the sight of Ruthven, commanded him to quit the room, under the penalty of treason; but he replied, that his errand was with David; and the unfortunate secretary, exclaiming "Justitia, justitia!" sprang for protection behind his sovereign. Her prayers and gestures were despised. The table was thrown over in the struggle; and the assassins, dragging their victim through the bed-chamber, despatched him in the adjoining room with no fewer than fifty-six wounds. The following morning, the chiefs of the conspirators sat in secret consultation; and it was resolved to confine the queen in the castle of Stirling till she should consent to approve in parliament of the late proceedings, and to give to her husband the crown matrimonial. After dinner, relying on the assurances of Darnley, they separated, and repaired to their respective dwellings in the city.

Mary had passed the first night and day in fits and lamentations. She felt some relief from the kind expressions of her brother, the earl of Murray; and was no sooner left alone with her husband than she resumed her former ascendancy, and convinced him of the impropriety of his conduct. They both secretly left the palace, and reached in safety the castle of Dunbar. The royal standard was immediately unfurled; before the end of the week eight thousand faithful subjects had hastened to the aid of Mary; and as she approached Edinburgh, the murderers fled to Berwick. The English queen had been informed of the object of the conspiracy; but when she heard of the result she sent her congratulations to Mary, and at her request commanded the assassins to leave the kingdom. But the messenger was instructed to remark that they had nothing to fear if they did not provoke inquiry.

Mary took up her residence in the castle of Edinburgh, and soon was delivered of a son. This child lived to ascend the thrones of both kingdoms. Elizabeth was dancing at Greenwich when Cecil whispered the intelligence in her ear. She instantly retired to her chair, reclined her head on her hand, and appeared for some time absorbed in profound

The conspiracy suppressed.

Mary delivered of a son, June 9, 1566.

thought. By the next morning her feelings were subdued, and she expressed her satisfaction at the happy event.

Elizabeth soon summoned a parliament. The lords of the council requested to be informed of her sentiments respecting marriage and the succession. She heard them with impatience, and told them to go and perform their duties, and that she would perform hers.

As soon, however, as the motion for a supply was made in the lower house, it was opposed on the ground that the queen had not redeemed the pledge on the faith of which the last <sup>Elizabeth and</sup> grant had been voted; she had neither married nor <sup>her parliament.</sup> declared her successor. Elizabeth sent them an order to proceed to other matters. They maintained that the royal message was an infringement of their liberties; she repeated the command. They obeyed with reluctance; but still allowed the bill for the subsidy, which had been read only once, to lie unnoticed on the table. The queen, after the pause of a fortnight, promised to consider the subject. The public business proceeded; and the supply was granted.

In Scotland, the murder of Riccio disappointed the hopes of Darnley. Instead of obtaining the matrimonial crown, and with it the sovereign authority, he found himself an object of scorn and aversion. He therefore formed the design of leaving the kingdom. Mary led him before the council, and, holding him by the hand, conjured him to detail his complaints, and not to spare her if she were the cause of offence. In his answer, he exonerated her from all blame; but on every other point was sullen and reserved.

Mary about this time got a serious attack of illness, and thinking herself dying, recommended, by letter, her son to the protection of the king of France and of the queen of <sup>Mary's illness.</sup> England. Sending for the principal lords, she exhorted them to live in harmony with each other, required them to watch with care over the education of the young prince, and solicited, as a last favor, liberty of conscience for their countrymen who professed the Catholic faith, the faith in which she had been bred, and in which it was her determination to die. Her symptoms were soon however more favorable; she began to recover slowly; and the king, who had been sent for at the begin-

ning of her illness, at length paid her a visit; but no advance was made toward a reconciliation. Mary was advised by some of the nobles to seek for a divorce, but she did not consent, and the lords formed a scheme of assassination. The earl Bothwell took upon himself to perpetrate the crime, and the others to save him from the consequences.

It chanced that at this time the small-pox was prevalent in Glasgow, and that Darnley took the infection. When the news reached Edinburgh, Mary sent her own physician to her husband, with a message that she would shortly visit him herself. This promise she fulfilled; their affection seemed to revive; and they mutually promised to forget all former causes of offence. From Glasgow, as soon as he was able to remove, she returned with him to Edinburgh, and, probably, to preserve the young prince from infection, lodged him not in Holyrood House, but in a house without the walls, belonging to the provost of St. Mary's, generally called "the Kirk of Field." Here it was that the conspirators prepared to execute their plan. By a door Darnley is blown up in the Kirk of Field. in the city wall their agents obtained access to the cellar of the house, undermined the foundations in several parts, and placed a sufficient quantity of gunpowder under the angles of the building. The queen visited her husband daily, gave him repeated testimonies of her affection, and frequently slept in the room under his bed-chamber. She had promised to be present at a ball to be given on the 9th of February [1567] in honor of the marriage of two of her servants; and the certainty of her absence on that night induced the conspirators to select it for the execution of the plot. On that day, Mary went as usual to the Kirk of Field, with a numerous retinue, remained in Darnley's company from six till almost eleven o'clock, and at her departure kissed him, and taking a ring from her finger, placed it on his. She then returned by the light of torches to Holyrood House; on the termination of the ball, a little after twelve, she retired to her chamber; and about two the palace and city were shaken by a tremendous explosion. It was soon ascertained that the house of Kirk of Field had been blown up with gunpowder; that the dead bodies of the king and his page were lying uninjured in the garden; that two men had perished among the ruins; and that three others had escaped with very little hurt.

Mary's chamber, according to custom on the death of a king, was hung with black; the light of the day was excluded; and in darkness and solitude she received the few who were admitted to offer their respects or condolence. Judicial inquiries were instituted, and a proclamation was issued, offering Bothwell accused of the murder of Darnley. rewards in money and land, for the discovery and apprehension of the murderers, with a full pardon to any one of the party who would accuse his accomplices. The same noblemen, however, continued to attend the royal person. Darnley's father, Lennox, expressed his suspicion of Bothwell's guilt, and that noblemen demanded a trial. His request being granted, he proceeded to the Tolbooth, surrounded by two hundred soldiers and four thousand gentlemen. As no prosecutor appeared, the jury having heard the indictment, and evidence to show that Bothwell could not have been at the Kirk of Field at the time of the explosion, returned a verdict of acquittal.

On the 24th of April, Mary rode to Stirling, to visit her infant son, whom, for greater security, she had lately intrusted to the custody of the earl of Marr. On her return, she Mary taken prisoner by Bothwell: she marries him. had reached the Foulbrigge, half a mile from the castle of Edinburgh, when she was met by Bothwell at the head of one thousand horse. To resist would have been fruitless; and the queen with her attendants, the earl of Huntley, Maitland, and Melville, were conducted to the castle of Dunbar. There she remained a captive for the space of ten days: nor was she suffered to depart till she had consented to become the wife of Bothwell. He then left the fortress; but it was to conduct the captive queen from one prison to another, from the castle of Dunbar to that of Edinburgh. Here she pleaded for time, that she might obtain the consent of the king of France, and of her relations of the house of Guise. But his ambition was too impatient to run the hazard of delay. The only remaining obstacle, his existing marriage with Janet Gordon, sister to the earl of Huntley, was in a few days removed by a divorce. Exactly one month after his trial, Bothwell led the queen to the court of session, where, in the presence of the judges, she forgave the forcible abduction of her person, and declared that he had restored her to the full enjoyment of liberty; the next day she created him duke of Orkney, and was married to him.



Several noblemen entered into a confederacy against Bothwell, and openly charged him with the murder of Darnley, the treasonable seizure and marriage of the queen, and an intention of gaining possession of the young prince <sup>Mary imprisoned in the castle of Lochlevin.</sup> that he might murder him. In four days, Bothwell ventured, with his friends, to meet the more numerous and well-appointed force of his enemies on Carberry Hill, at no great distance from Edinburgh. From an early hour in the morning till nine at night, the two armies faced each other. The queen offered a full pardon to the confederates, on condition that they should disband their forces; they required of her to come over to the nobility, and leave Bothwell to suffer the punishment of his crime. At length it was agreed that he should retire without molestation; that the queen should return to her capital, and that the associated lords should pay to her that honor and obedience which was due to the sovereign. The agreement was mutually ratified, and the army returned toward Edinburgh. An hour did not elapse before Mary learned that she was a captive in the hands of unfeeling adversaries. At her entrance into the city, she was met by a mob in the highest state of excitement, and her ears were assailed with reproaches and imprecations. The next day she was conveyed by a body of four hundred armed men out of the capital to the castle of Lochlevin, the residence of William Douglas, half brother of Murray.

Elizabeth had been informed of this extraordinary revolution by an envoy from the insurgents, whom she received with the strongest expressions of displeasure. The insult offered to the Scottish queen was, she contended (and on this occasion she spoke her real sentiments) common to <sup>The displeasure of Elizabeth.</sup> every crowned head; it resulted from the doctrines of Knox, which she had so often condemned; it required severe and immediate punishment, that subjects might learn to restrain their unhallowed hands from the anointed persons of their sovereigns. Soon afterward she sent an ambassador to Scotland to negotiate in Mary's favor.

The Queen of Scots was called upon to resign <sup>Mary forced to resign her crown.</sup> the crown in favor of her son; and, when she had yielded to the threat of force, the royal infant was crowned in the High Church in Stirling, and Murray was appointed regent.

Bothwell had been suffered to retire without molestation from Carberry Hill to his castle of Dunbar. Some days later, leaving the castle to the care of a trusty partisan, he traversed the west and north of Scotland to consult with the friends of Mary, by whom it was resolved that Bothwell should proceed through Denmark to France, and solicit the advice and aid of the French monarch. The earl was preparing for his voyage in one of the Shetland isles, when a hostile squadron appeared. He put to sea; his pursuers overtook him; but the engagement was interrupted by a sudden storm, which cast him on the coast of Norway, where he was detained a prisoner.

In June, a silver casket, which Mary had inherited from her first husband Francis, and which she is said to have given to Bothwell, came into the possession of the earl Morton. In it, if we may believe him, were found several papers in the handwriting of the queen, which proved her to have been an accomplice in Bothwell's crime. A resolution was taken in the following winter to accuse Mary of adultery and murder; and an act was passed declaring these charges true.

The Scottish queen was still confined in the towers of Lochleven, under the jealous eye of the lady Douglas, mother to the regent. It was in vain that, to recover her liberty, she made repeated offers to her brother and the council. They had resolved that she should never leave her prison alive. But she possessed resources beyond the control of her enemies; and her beauty, her manner, and her misfortunes won for her an invaluable partisan in George Douglas, the brother of the regent. He introduced a laundress at an early hour into the bed-chamber of Mary, who exchanged clothes with the woman, and, carrying out a basket of linen, took her seat in the boat. She had almost reached the opposite bank, when, to secure her muffler from the rudeness of one of the rowers, she raised her arm to her face, and a voice immediately exclaimed, "That is not the hand of a washerwoman." She was recognised, and conveyed back to Lochleven. In five weeks afterward she succeeded in escaping, and rode in safety to the castle of Hamilton, where she revoked the resignation of the crown she made in her prison at Lochleven. At this intelligence, the royalists crowded round their sovereign. To her brother the regent, she made repeated offers

of settling every cause of dissension in a free parliament; but without success. On May 13th, 1568, Mary was on her road to the castle of Dumbarton, when Murray, with a small but disciplined force, appeared on an eminence called <sup>Battle of Lang-</sup>Langside. At the sight, her followers rode in con-<sup>side.</sup>fusion to charge the rebels; but were repulsed. From the field of battle, the disconsolate queen rode to the abbey of Dundrennan, in Galloway, a distance of sixty Scottish miles, in the course of the same day. Her adversaries followed in every direction; but she eluded their pursuit, resumed her flight the next evening, and on the following morning, after a hasty repast, expressed her determination to seek an asylum in the court of "her good sister," the queen of England. Her best friends remonstrated; and the archbishop of St. Andrew's conjured her on his knees to change her resolution; but Mary, crossing the Solway Frith in a fishing-boat, landed with twelve attendants in the harbor of Workington, and proceeded to Carlisle.

Elizabeth had publicly professed herself the friend of the Scottish queen; but, on the other hand, her ministers were intimately leagued with the enemies of that princess, <sup>The conduct of</sup> and Mary's unexpected arrival in England opened <sup>Elizabeth toward</sup> <sup>Mary.</sup> new prospects to Cecil and his confidential friends in the council. They rejoiced that the prey, which they had hunted for years, had at last voluntarily thrown herself into the toils; but they were perplexed to reconcile their designs against the royal fugitive with the appearance of decency and justice. After repeated meetings, it was concluded that to detain her in captivity for life would be the most conducive both to the security of their sovereign and to the interests of their religion. The accomplishment of this object was intrusted to the dark and intriguing mind of Cecil. Mary was at first assured that Elizabeth would vindicate the common cause of sovereigns, and reinstate her in her former authority. Next it was intimated to her that the English queen has determined to essay the influence of advice, before she would have recourse to arms; lastly, a hint was given that it was desirable that the Scottish queen should clear herself from the crimes with which she had been charged. Mary, immediately after her arrival, had demanded permission to visit Elizabeth, that she might lay before her the wrongs which she had suffered, and explain to

her the deceit of her adversaries. But a personal interview might have proved dangerous, not only to Murray and his party, but to their friends in the English cabinet. Cecil suggested to his mistress, that, as a maiden queen, she could not in decency admit into her presence a woman charged with adultery and murder. Mary, however, refused to submit to a trial, as she knew the court would be hostile, and requested permission to return again into Scotland, or to pass through England to France. The demand was reasonable—but it was refused. Mary then demanded to be allowed permission to prove her innocence in the presence of “her good sister,” as her friend, but not as her judge. After long consultation, it was resolved that Mary should not be received at court till her innocence had been fully established; that her request to leave the kingdom should not be granted; and that she should be transferred from Carlisle to Bolton Castle. Cecil suggested an expedient which served his purpose as well as a trial of Mary—an investigation, not into her conduct, but that of her enemies. Mary assented to this expedient. Murray dared not refuse; and the place of conference was fixed in York, which city became the scene of active and intricate negotiation. The proceedings were afterward transferred to London. After much intrigue on the part of Elizabeth and Cecil, it was resolved to put an end to the conferences. Murray and his associates were first licensed to depart, with a declaration that, as nothing had been proved against them to impair their honor, so *they* had shown no sufficient cause why Elizabeth should conceive or take any evil opinion against the queen “her good sister.” The victory in argument was undoubtedly Mary’s. It was claimed by her friends; and it appears to have been acknowledged by the chief of the English nobility, who had witnessed the whole of the proceedings.

The Scottish queen was removed to Wynfield. The foreign powers complained of the confinement of a crowned head; but, in answer to their remonstrances, Elizabeth boasted of her indulgence to Mary, in suppressing documents which would otherwise render her the execration of her contemporaries, and immortalize her infamy with posterity.

In November, 1569, an insurrection took place in the northern counties. The object of the insurgents was to march to Tutbury,

to liberate the queen of Scots, and to extort from Elizabeth a declaration that Mary was next heir Insurrection in favor of Mary. to the throne. The first act of hostility was the occupation of the city of Durham. Thence the insurgents marched forward, issuing proclamations, calling on the people for aid, and restoring the ancient service in several places. Their standard, representing the Saviour, was borne by Richard Norton, an aged gentleman, whose gray locks and enthusiastic air aroused the feelings and commanded the respect of the beholders. They proceeded as far as Branham Moor without opposition. But here dissension insinuated itself into their counsels. Their money was already expended, and all their expectations had been disappointed. Under these circumstances they resolved to despatch messengers into different counties, to solicit aid from the noblemen and gentlemen distinguished by their attachment to the ancient faith, or known to abet the cause of the queen of Scots. Elizabeth had recourse to the most energetic measures; and having succeeded in quelling the insurrection, she caused a large number of the insurgents to be executed.

In Scotland, at this time, the regent Murray was assassinated; and Lennox, the grandfather of the young king, was, at Elizabeth's recommendation, raised to the regency.

In 1570, a bull was prepared, in which the pope pronounced Elizabeth guilty of heresy, deprived her of her "pretended" right to the crown of England, and absolved her English subjects from their allegiance. Several Publication of the papal bull. copies were sent to the Spanish ambassador in England. Early one morning a copy was seen affixed to the gates of the bishop of London's residence in the capital. The council was surprised and irritated; a rigorous search was made through the inns of law; and another copy of the bull was found in the chamber of a student of Lincoln's Inn, who acknowledged, on the rack, that he had received it from a person of the name of Felton. Felton confessed that he had set up the bull, and was executed.

France having again become the scene of war, Elizabeth's ministers practised their usual policy. In secret they aided the Protestant party; publicly they maintained the relations of amity with the Catholics. After some years the war in France

ceased, but Elizabeth's interference in French affairs was not forgotten.

More than two years had arrived since the arrival of Mary in England, and she was still a captive. Her death was strongly

The death of Mary suggested. and repeatedly suggested by some of the council. If it was rejected by Elizabeth, her repugnance arose less from motives of humanity than of decency. She was willing that Mary should perish, but was ashamed to imbrue her own hands in the blood of a sister queen. Hence she offered to transfer the royal captive to the hands of the Scottish regent, provided he would give security that she should be removed out of the way; and hence the earl of Shrewsbury, who had the custody of Mary, was made to engage that she should be put to death on the very first attempt to rescue her.

In the autumn of 1570, the solicitations of Mary, the attempts of her friends in England, and the remonstrances of the French and Spanish monarchs, extorted from Elizabeth a promise to fix the conditions on which her captive might at last be restored to liberty. For this purpose, Cecil repaired to Chatsworth, where the Scottish queen was then confined. The negotiations, however, were soon broken off.

It had for some time been a favorite object with the leaders of the Huguenots to bring about a marriage between the English queen and the duke of Anjou, the eldest of the two brothers of Charles IX. Elizabeth gave permission to those who wished to

Project of a marriage between Elizabeth and the duke of Anjou. proceed with this plan. But on the part of the royal family in France, Catherine de Medicis, the queen-mother, received the proposal very coldly.

Repeated messages induced her at last to view the matter in a more favorable light; but Anjou sent her word by the king, his brother, that he could not think of disgracing himself by taking for his wife a woman who had no regard for her own honor. More than a fortnight passed before she could extort from her son his assent. Elizabeth sent her portrait as a present to the French prince, and received at last a proposal of marriage in due form from Anjou himself.

Several new enactments were at this time proposed, having for their chief object to check the boldness of the partisans of Mary, and to cut off the communication between the English Ca-

tholics and the court of Rome. The Catholic lords, a large portion of the house, assembled; they Penal acts passed. complained that if the bills passed, they could neither remain within the kingdom without offence to their consciences, nor leave it without the sacrifice of their fortunes; and they determined to wait in a body on the queen, and present to her a strong but respectful remonstrance. This project was, however, abandoned; but, at the same time, one of the bills respecting the frequentation of communion under the new form, the most harassing in its probable consequences, was dropped. The others, which were principally aimed against the intercourse with Rome, passed the two houses and received the royal assent.

The Puritans now began to object to the ceremonies which had been retained; and the queen resolved to repress the zeal of these ultra-reformers. By the assumption of the supremacy, it had become the duty of Elizabeth to watch over doctrine, discipline, and public worship; and she therefore appointed The High Commission Court. delegates, whom she armed with most formidable and inquisitorial powers. They were authorized to inquire, on the oath of the person accused, and on the oaths of witnesses, of all heretical, erroneous, and dangerous opinions; of absence from the established service, and the frequentation of private conventicles; and to punish the offenders by spiritual censures, by fine, imprisonment, and deprivation. The first victims who felt the vengeance of this tribunal, called the High Commission Court, were the Catholics; from the Catholics its attention was soon directed to the Puritans. More than one hundred persons were brought before the high commission court; those who refused to acknowledge their offence were committed; and of the prisoners, twenty-four men and seven women did not recover their liberty till the expiration of twelve months.

The proposal of marriage between Elizabeth and the duke of Anjou, though entertained on each side, made but little progress. When almost every other article had been settled, the duke required the insertion of a clause securing to him the free exercise of his religion. This the queen was advised to refuse as contrary to law. He then required a promise to the same effect in her handwriting. The marriage was therefore broken

off; but an international treaty was concluded to the satisfaction of the English cabinet.

In August, 1571, a conspiracy was discovered, in which the duke of Norfolk was implicated. He was conveyed to the Tower

The duke of Norfolk accused of conspiracy, and beheaded. by water. The depositions of his servants, and papers which had been discovered, were laid before him. He confessed that he had been made

acquainted with several projects of discontented men for the surprisal of the queen, or the deliverance of Mary Stuart; protesting, however, that the idea of injuring the person of the sovereign, or of subjugating the kingdom to a foreign prince, had never entered his mind. Norfolk was charged with the crime of imagining and compassing the death of his own sovereign—1. By seeking to marry the queen of Scots, who claimed the English crown to the exclusion of Elizabeth. 2. By soliciting foreign powers to invade the realm. 3. By sending money to the English rebels and the Scottish enemies of the queen. The duke maintained his innocence, but was found guilty. Five months after his condemnation, the duke was led to the scaffold; and in his speech to the spectators, in which he was repeatedly interrupted by the officers, asserted his innocence of treason, and his profession of the Protestant faith.

The death of the queen of Scots was next sought with equal obstinacy. Both houses resolved to proceed against her by bill

Designs against the life of Mary. of attainder; the queen forbade it; they disobeyed; and she repeated the prohibition. Foiled

in this attempt, the ministers adopted another course; they introduced a bill, which, by rendering Mary incapable of the succession, secured them from the danger of her resentment if she should survive the present sovereign. They were, however, opposed by a powerful but invisible counsellor, suspected, though not known, to be the earl of Leicester. The queen interdicted all reference to the inheritance of the crown, and seeing that, in defiance of the message, the bill had passed both houses, she prorogued the parliament.

The execution of the duke, and the proceedings in parliament, disheartened the friends of Mary in England, while, at the same time, her interest was rapidly declining in her native country,



where Lennox, the regent, had exercised his authority with rigor. He was killed in 1572, and the earl of Marr was invested with the regency. His prudence and vigor rendered him formidable; Elizabeth declared openly her intention to support him with the whole power of her crown; and the avowed adherents of Mary dwindled away to a handful of brave and resolute men, who still kept for her the castle of Edinburgh, and a band of Highlanders, who maintained her cause in the mountains. The duke of Northumberland, one of her firmest friends, was executed without trial at this period.

Elizabeth was next advised to listen to a new proposal of marriage, not with her first suitor, the duke of Anjou, but with his younger brother, the duke of Alençon. The former was the leader of the Catholic party; the latter was thought to incline to the tenets of Protestantism. This arrangement was unexpectedly checked by an event which struck with astonishment all the nations of Europe, and which cannot be contemplated without horror at the present day. The young king of Navarre was at this time the nominal, the admiral Coligny the real leader of the Huguenots. He ruled among them as an independent sovereign; and, what chiefly alarmed his opponents, seemed to obtain gradually the ascendancy over the mind of Charles. He had come to Paris to assist at the marriage of the king of Navarre, and was wounded in two places by an assassin as he passed through the streets. The public voice attributed the attempt to the duke of Guise, in revenge of the murder of his father at the siege of Orleans; it had proceeded, in reality—and was so suspected by Coligny himself—from Catherine, the queen mother. The wounds were not dangerous; but the Huguenot chieftains crowded to his hotel; their threats of vengeance terrified the queen; and in a secret council the king was persuaded to anticipate the designs attributed to the friends of the admiral. The next morning (St. Bartholomew's day, 1572,) by the royal order, the hotel was forced; Coligny and his principal counsellors perished; the populace joined in the work of blood; and every Huguenot, or suspected Huguenot, who fell in their way was murdered.

The news of this sanguinary transaction excited throughout England one general feeling of horror. Burghley again advised

Elizabeth again urged to put Mary to death. Elizabeth to put to death her rival, Mary. The queen did not reject the advice; but, that she might escape the infamy of dipping her hands in the blood of her nearest relative and presumptive heir, a messenger was despatched to Edinburgh, ostensibly to compose some differences among the nobles; but, in reality, to bring about the death of the queen of Scots, from the hands of her own subjects. He was, however, warned not to commit his sovereign as if the proposal came from her. Marr, the regent, at first, affected to look upon the project as attended with difficulty and peril; but afterward entered into it most cordially, and sought to drive a profitable bargain with Elizabeth. He died soon, after a short illness at Stirling, (as his friends gave out, of poison,) and was succeeded by Morton, a most determined enemy of Mary, and the tried friend of the English ministers. He obtained troops from Elizabeth, and took the castle of Edinburgh.

The late massacre in France had caused many of the Protestants to cross the eastern frontier into Germany and Switzerland; others, from the western coast, had sought an asylum in England; while the inhabitants of Poitou and the neighboring provinces poured with their ministers into La Rochelle. The place, strong by nature, was still more strengthened by art. The enthusiasm of the townsmen taught them to despise the efforts of the besiegers under the duke of Anjou. La Rochelle was saved by the heroism of its inhabitants, and the impatience of Anjou to take possession of the throne of Poland, to which he had been elected by the national diet.

Charles IX. soon died of a pulmonary complaint. Catherine, whom he had appointed regent, preserved the crown for her second son, the king of Poland, (afterward Henry III.,) but she was unable to prevent the factious proceedings of the malecontents in the provinces. Elizabeth offered herself as mediatrix between the king of France and his revolted subjects; and a treaty was concluded, by which the public exercise of the Protestant worship was permitted with a few restrictions.

But it is now time that the reader should cast his eyes across the northern frontier of France, and survey the convulsed state of the Netherlands. Elizabeth had some years before seized a

few ships on their voyage from Spain to the Netherlands, with money destined for the pay of the army under the duke of Alva. The Spanish soldiers, thus left without pay, lived at free quarters on the inhabitants. The duke, to raise money, required the imposition of new taxes; and, on the refusal of the states, he published an edict, imposing them by his own authority as representative of the king. This arbitrary act, subversive of the most valuable rights of the nation, filled up, in the estimation of the Flemish people, the measure of their grievances. They rose, and many of the towns in Holland and Zeeland threw off the Spanish yoke. The prince of Orange assumed the government of Holland and Zeeland, and Elizabeth began to view his designs with jealousy and distrust.

In 1579, the young duke of Anjou proposed for Elizabeth, and came over to England. Elizabeth was surprised and gratified; his youth, gayety, and attention atoned for the scars with which the small-pox had furrowed his countenance; and, after a private courtship of a few days, he departed with the most flattering expectations of success. A preliminary treaty was concluded; but the marriage was broken off.

We should now call the attention of the reader to the state of Ireland. It was enacted, by various statutes, that the Irish should be "reformed" after the model of the English Church; but both the nobility and the The state of Ireland at this period. people abhorred the change; and the new statutes were carried into execution in those places only where they could be enforced at the point of the bayonet. Among the aboriginal Irish, the man who chiefly excited the jealousy of the government was Shane O'Neil, the eldest among the legitimate children of the earl of Tyrone. Shane claimed the chieftainry of Ulster as his right, and the natives honored and obeyed him as the O'Neil. Through the suggestion of the deputy Sussex, he consented to visit Elizabeth, and to lay his pretensions before her. At the English court he appeared in the dress of his country, attended by his guard, who were armed with their battleaxes, and arrayed in linen vests dyed with saffron. The queen was pleased, and, though she did not confirm his claim, dismissed him with promises of favor. He was of a turbulent but generous disposition, proud of his name and importance, and most feelingly alive to

every species of insult. At last he broke—perhaps was driven—into acts of open rebellion; repeated losses compelled him to seek refuge among the Scots of Ulster; and the Irish chieftain was basely assassinated by his new friends, at the instigation of Piers, an English officer. By act of parliament the name, with the dignity of O'Neil, was extinguished for ever, and to assume it was made high-treason.

But the reduction of Ulster did not secure peace in Ireland, which was harassed continually with local wars. A new plan was tried in 1572, viz. to colonize the forfeited districts with English settlers, who, having an interest in the soil, would be willing to oppose the natives without expense to the crown. Walter Devereux, earl of Essex, offered to subdue and colonize the district of Clanhuboy, in the province of Ulster. The enterprise was soon abandoned; and the earl consented to aid the deputy in suppressing the insurgents in different parts of the island. He died, however, at Dublin, in 1576.

In 1580, San Giuseppe, an Italian officer in the pay of the pontiff, arrived at Smerwick, in Kerry, from Portugal, with several hundred men. But the newcomers had Death of the earl of Desmond. scarcely erected a fort, when they were besieged by the lord deputy on land, and blockaded on the seaside by Admiral Winter. San Giuseppe, in opposition to the advice of the officers, proposed to surrender. Sir Walter Raleigh entered the fort, received their arms, and then ordered or permitted them to be massacred in cold blood. This disastrous event extinguished the last hope of Desmond, then the principal Irish chieftain; yet he contrived to elude the vigilance of his pursuers, and for three years dragged on a miserable existence among the glens and forests. At last a small party of his enemies, attracted by a glimmering light, entered a hut, in which they found a venerable old man without attendants, lying on the hearth before the fire. He had only time to exclaim, "I am the earl of Desmond," when one of the men struck off his head, which was conveyed, a grateful present, to Elizabeth, and by her order fixed on London bridge.

Elizabeth continued to persecute all her subjects, who did not practise that religious worship which *she* practised. Every other form of service, whether it were that of Geneva or the mass, was

strictly forbidden; and both the Catholic and the Puritan were made liable to the severest penalties if they presumed to worship God according to the dictates of their consciences. Some Puritans died martyrs to their religious principles; but their sufferings bore no comparison with those of the Catholics, of whom many sought with their families an asylum beyond the sea. Their lands and property were immediately seized by the crown, and given, or sold at low prices, to the followers of the court. Those who remained might be divided into two classes. Some, to escape the penalties, attended occasionally at the established service; but the greater number abstained from a worship which they disapproved, and were, in consequence, liable at any hour to be hurried before the court of high commission, to be interrogated upon oath how often they had been at church, and when or where they had received the sacrament; and to be condemned, as recusants, to fines and imprisonment. Private houses were sometimes searched to discover priests or persons assisting at mass. It was expected that, in the course of a short time, the Catholic priesthood, and with it the exercise of the Catholic worship, would become extinct in the kingdom. But the foresight of William Allen, a clergyman of an ancient family in Lancashire, and formerly principal of St. Mary's Hall in Oxford, prevented this. To him it occurred that colleges might be opened abroad, in lieu of those which had been closed to the Catholics at home. His plan was approved by his friends; several foreign noblemen and ecclesiastical bodies offered their contributions; and Allen established himself in the university of Douay, whither English Catholics proceeded to study theology, to receive orders, and then to return to England. Thus a constant succession was maintained; and in the course of the first five years, Dr. Allen sent almost one hundred missionaries into the kingdom. But they were subjected to the utmost severity of the law. A priest named Mayne was charged with having obtained a bull from Rome, that he denied the queen's supremacy, and said mass. Of these charges no satisfactory evidence was offered; but the court informed the jury that, where proof could not be procured, strong presumption might supply its place; and a verdict of guilty having been returned, Mayne suffered with constancy the

Severe penalties  
against those who  
differed from the  
established reli-  
gion.

cruel death of a traitor. With him were condemned fifteen persons, partly neighbors and partly servants, as aiders and abettors of his treason.

A more active search was now made after recusants; every jail in the kingdom numbered among its inmates prisoners for religion; and on one occasion not fewer than twenty Catholics of family and fortune perished of an infectious disease in the castle of York. Nelson, a priest, and Sherwood, a layman, were drawn, hanged, and quartered.

But the experience of ages has proved that such severities cannot damp the ardor of religious zeal. Missionaries poured into the kingdom. Gregory XIII. established an additional seminary in Rome. Robert Persons and Edward Campian, two Englishmen of distinguished merit and ability, were sent by the Jesuits to England. When the parliament assembled, the Laws against the Catholics. ministers called on the two houses for laws of still greater severity; and every measure which they proposed was readily adopted. No Catholic could enjoy security even in the privacy of his own house, where he was liable at all hours, but generally in the night, to be visited by a magistrate at the head of an armed mob. At a signal given, the doors were burst open; and the pursuivants, in separate divisions, hastened to the different apartments, examined the beds, tore the tapestry and wainscotting from the walls, forced open the closets, drawers, and coffers, and made every search which their ingenuity could suggest, to discover either a priest, or books, chalices, and vestments appropriated to the Catholic worship. Campian was taken in Berkshire, in July, 1581, and conveyed in procession to the Tower; Persons continued for some months to brave the danger which menaced him; but at length, at the urgent request of his friends, both for their security and his own, he retired beyond the sea.

The use of the torture was common to most of the European nations; in England, during the reign of Elizabeth, it was employed with the most wanton barbarity. The Catholic prisoner was hardly lodged in the Tower before he was placed on the rack. Campian, (who had been often put to the torture,) twelve other priests, and one layman, collected from different prisons, were arraigned for a conspiracy to murder the queen, to over-

throw the church and state, and to withdraw the subjects from the allegiance due to the sovereign. They declared that, whatever might be pretended, their religion was their only offence; but the jury, after an hour's deliberation, returned a verdict of guilty against all the prisoners. Campian and eight others were executed.\*

The Anabaptists also were doomed to suffer at the stake under Elizabeth, as their predecessors had suffered under her father and brother. They rejected the baptism of infants, denied that Christ assumed flesh of the Virgin, and taught that no Christian ought to take an oath, or to accept the office of magistrate. Some were dismissed with a reprimand; but two perished in the flames of Smithfield, amid the applause of an immense concourse of spectators. Four years afterward, for the profession of similar opinions, Matthew Hammond, a ploughwright, who had been pronounced an obstinate heretic by the bishop of Norwich, was burnt in the ditch of that city; and in the same place, but after an interval of ten years, was also consumed Francis Kett, a member of one of the universities.

The unfortunate Mary had now for several years suffered all the horrors of a rigorous and protracted imprisonment in the castle at Sheffield. Elizabeth, though she graciously accepted from her captive presents of needlework and of Parisian dresses, invariably eluded or rejected every petition for a mitigation of the severity of her confinement.

As far as regarded the Scottish adherents of the captive, the English queen was free from alarm, so long as Morton retained the regency. But his rapacity had excited the murmurs, and his submission to Elizabeth had wounded the pride of the nation. At length, the earls of Argyle and Athol obtained access to the young king; and James, by their persuasion, though he was but twelve years

\* Hallam remarks, as an extenuating circumstance distinguishing this persecution from that of Mary, that no woman was put to death under the penal code, so far as he remembers.—Const. Hist. i. 197, note. The fact, however, is, that Margaret Clitheroe was executed in 1586, Margaret Ward in 1588, and Anne Line in 1601. Mrs. Wells received sentence of death in 1591, and died in prison.

old, assumed the government, summoned the noblemen of their party to meet him in Stirling, and sent to Morton an order to resign his authority. He obeyed with apparent cheerfulness; but in two months his intrigues gave him possession of the royal person, and enabled him, as head of the council, to resume the power which he had lost. One day, however, when the young king was seated at the board with his council, James Stuart, captain of the guard, and son to Lord Ochiltree, requested permission to speak to his sovereign. Being admitted, he fell on his knees, and accused James, earl of Morton, of having been guilty act and part of the murder of the king's father, Darnley. Morton treated the charge and its author with sovereign contempt. But Stuart replied in language equally bold; and the justice-clerk having delivered his opinion, that an individual accused of treason must be committed till legal inquiry had been made, Morton was confined in Dumbarton Castle. He was tried, and found guilty by the unanimous verdict of his peers, and soon afterward beheaded. He admitted that he knew of the intention to murder Darnley, but declared that he took no part in the act.

The English Catholics sent deputies to James of Scotland, to whom he talked of the affection which he felt toward his mother, of his sense of the many wrongs which she had suffered, and of his readiness to co-operate in any plan for her deliverance from captivity; but lamented that his enemies had deprived him of the means, as he was a king without a revenue.

In France, the general opinion was that Mary and James ought to be associated on the Scottish throne; and that the pope and the king of Spain should be solicited to relieve the present pecuniary wants of the young king. When this plan was communicated to Mary, she not only gave her own consent, but earnestly solicited that of her son. At the first proposal James was alarmed; but when he was assured that Mary would leave to him the sole exercise of the sovereign authority within the realm, he signified his assent. But this project was extinguished in its very birth by the promptitude and policy of Elizabeth's cabinet. Under its auspices a new revolution was organized in Scotland. The earl of Gowrie invited James to his castle of Ruthven, secured the person of the unsuspecting prince, and assumed with his associates the exercise of the royal authority.

Project in favor  
of Mary: it fails.



The Scottish lords of the English faction ruled again without control.

For several weeks, the Scottish queen was kept in close confinement, that this unexpected event, so fatal to her hopes, might be concealed from her knowledge. When the communication was at last made, it alarmed her maternal tenderness; she read in her own history the fate which awaited her son; and from her bed-chamber, to which she was confined by sickness, wrote to Elizabeth a long and most eloquent remonstrance. Having requested the queen to accompany her in imagination to the throne of the Almighty, their common judge, she enumerated the wrongs which she had suffered from her English sister while she reigned in Scotland, on her flight into England, after her innocence had been proved in the conferences at York and Westminster, and now, last of all, in the captivity of her son. In this letter Mary states, that during her imprisonment at Lochleven, she received more than one letter from the English queen, inviting her to flee to England for protection, and promising to meet her with an English army at the borders. One of these letters was accompanied with a diamond ring, to be kept by her as a token or pledge of Elizabeth's sincerity. Mary contrived to escape, and from the field of Langside, aware of the uncertainty of an appeal to arms, she sent back to the queen by a special messenger this very ring to remind her of her promise. These facts fully explain why she afterward, in opposition to the advice of her best friends, determined to pass the Solway Frith and land in England. Mary begged that if she must remain a captive, the queen would grant her a Catholic clergyman to prepare her soul for death, and two additional female servants to attend on her during her sickness. Whether this energetic appeal made any impression on the heart of Elizabeth we know not; it procured no additional indulgence to the royal captive.

A new plan for the liberation of Mary was soon devised. It was proposed that the duke of Guise should land with an army in the south of England; that James with a Scottish force should enter the northern counties; and that the English friends of the house of Stuart should be summoned to the aid of the injured queen. The king immediately expressed his assent; but Mary, aware that her keepers had

Mary's letter to Elizabeth.

A new plan for the liberation of Mary.

orders to deprive her of life if any attempt were made to carry her away by force, sought rather to obtain her liberty by concession and negotiation. She acquainted Elizabeth with her design of transferring all her rights to her son; and proposed a league of perpetual amity between the two crowns. Elizabeth appeared to relent, but soon changed her mind, and the cup of promise was again, for the twentieth time, dashed from the lips of Mary Stuart.

At this time, the laws against Catholics were enforced with un-  
Severity against the Catholics. exemplated severity. The scaffolds were repeatedly drenched with the blood of priests executed as traitors; and in several counties the prisons were crowded with recusants of ancient and noble families.

Elizabeth also sought to restore and to recruit the English faction in Scotland. The intrigues of her minister, Walsingham, were supported by the gold of the queen. The king, who felt his throne tremble under him, commanded, by proclamation, all disaffected persons to quit the realm. Elizabeth had resolved to aid her friends with an English force; but its advance was retarded by a strong remonstrance from the French ambassador; and the design was laid aside.

The cause of Mary had never worn so favorable an appearance as it did at the present moment. The English faction in Scotland was extinct; her son was believed to be at her devotion; Elizabeth, anxious to be freed from apprehension, earnestly sought an agreement. Little doubt was entertained that a treaty would be concluded. But there always happened something to disappoint the expectations of Mary. Creighton, a Scottish Jesuit, and Abdy, a Scottish priest, both on their way to their native country, had been captured by a Dutch cruiser; and, though Scotland was not at war with any other power, were conducted as prisoners to England. In the Tower, and in the presence of the rack, Creighton disclosed all the particulars of a projected invasion of England; and the treaty was broken off.

It was owing, perhaps, to the peculiar circumstances in which the king of Scotland had been placed from his infancy, or to the  
Mary treated with neglect and disrespect by her son. education which he had received from his tutors, that he felt none of those generous sentiments which usually glow with so much ardor in the bosom of youth.

In 1585, Mary appealed to him. James returned a cold and disrespectful answer, which opened the eyes of the captive to the hopelessness of her situation. Even the son, on whose affection she rested her fondest hopes, had deceived—had abandoned her. In the anguish of her mind she again wrote to Elizabeth, begging, as a last favor, her liberty and life. She demanded nothing more; as to the conditions, her “good sister” might name, and she would subscribe them. She had now nothing to preserve for a son who had abandoned her; and was therefore ready to make every sacrifice, except that of her religion. But the English queen, no longer afraid of the interposition of James, neglected the offers and prayers of her captive, and committed the custody of her person to Sir Amyas Paulet, from whose austerity and fanaticism Mary anticipated nothing but severity, perhaps assassination.

By the death of the duke of Anjou, the right of succession to the crown of France had devolved on Henry de Bourbon, king of Navarre, afterward Henry IV. Opposition to the right of Henry was organized by the young duke of Guise, a prince who had inherited the talents with the ambition of his family. Elizabeth kept her eyes fixed on the struggle between the two parties; for she believed her own interests to be intimately connected with those of the king of Navarre. She therefore sent him large sums of money, and repeatedly made the offer of an asylum in England, whenever he might find himself an unequal match for his enemies.

A negotiation was opened at this time between Elizabeth and James, and a treaty was concluded, by which the queen of England and the king of Scotland bound themselves Treaty between James and Elizabeth. to support the Protestant faith against the efforts of the Catholic powers, and to furnish to each other a competent aid in case of invasion by any foreign prince.

The misfortunes of Mary, queen of Scots, were, at length, drawing to a close; her friends had blindly adopted a course which conducted her to the scaffold. In 1586, a Babington's attempt to liberate Mary. plan for her liberation was arranged. One of the most active in the plot was named Babington, a young man of ancient family and ample fortune. Some years previously he had been page to the earl of Shrewsbury, a situation in which he had

learned to admire and to pity his lord's captive, the queen of Scots. These feelings, as he advanced in years, ripened into the most enthusiastic attachment to her interests; and he had frequently rendered her very important services. He at first objected to any forcible attempt in her favor. It would be to do the work of her enemies—to provoke her immediate death at the hands of her warder. But he learned from a priest named Ballard a plan devised in Paris; he entered into it with the most sanguine expectations of success; this plan embraced the assassination of Elizabeth, and the carrying off of the Scottish queen. It then occurred, perhaps was treacherously suggested to him, to consult Mary, and a letter to her was prepared, stating that, upon the representation received from Ballard, it was the resolution of himself and friends, at the risk of their lives and fortunes, to procure a sufficient force to “warrant the landing of foreign aid, her deliverance from prison, and the despatch of the usurping competitor;” assuring her, that on the receipt of her approbation they were ready to bind themselves on the sacrament to succeed or forfeit their lives. The letter came into the hands of Walsingham, one of the ministers of Elizabeth, who deemed it requisite for his own safety to communicate it to the queen.

Mary accepted the offer of *liberation* made to her by Babington, and composed instructions for his guidance on that point; but he and several others were soon arrested, tried, and executed for high-treason. Two successive days were allotted for their execution. The queen wished that they might suffer some kind of death more barbarous and exerceiating than the usual punishment of treason; but when it was represented to her that such an alteration would be illegal, she consented that the law should have its course, on condition that the executions were protracted to the extremity of pain.

To return to the history of the Scottish queen. The great question was, how was the life of the captive to be taken? Leicester recommended the sure but silent operation

Mary arraigned  
for trial.

of poison; Walsingham, on the contrary, advised, as more honorable to the sovereign, the form and solemnity of a public trial. Mary was removed to the castle of Fotheringhay, in Northamptonshire, the place selected for her trial and death; and a commission was issued to forty-six individuals, peers, privy

counsellors, and judges, constituting them a court to inquire into the case. On the 11th of October [1586] the commissioners arrived at the castle. Mary, on learning their business, said, "I am sorry to be charged by my sister the queen with that of which I am innocent; but let it be remembered that I am also a queen, and not amenable to any foreign jurisdiction. I will not degrade the Scottish crown, nor stand as a criminal at the bar of an English court of justice."

An expression, however, had fallen from one of the commissioners, which exceedingly distressed the unfortunate captive; that, if she refused to plead, the world would attribute her obstinacy to consciousness of guilt. The high tone of her mind insensibly relaxed; and Mary informed the commissioners that she was content to waive her objection, and therefore she consented to be tried, though she refused the aid of counsel.

The charge against the Scottish queen, like that against Babington, had been divided into two parts: that she had conspired with foreigners and traitors to procure the invasion of the realm, and the death of the queen. The papers exhibited to the court as Mary's were only copies. No attempt was made to show what had become of the originals, or when, where, or by whom the copies had been taken. The commissioners adjourned the court, to meet again in the star-chamber at Westminster on an early day. The court was opened at Westminster in the presence of a numerous assemblage of members belonging to both houses of parliament; but Mary was absent, immured in the castle of Fotheringhay. With one exception, the commissioners unanimously gave judgment, that "Mary, daughter of James V., commonly called queen of Scotland, had compassed and imagined divers matters tending to the hurt, death, and destruction of the queen."

On hearing the result, Mary denied solemnly that she had been privy to a conspiracy against the life of their queen. She had, she said, accepted an offer made to rescue her from prison; and where was the person in her situation who would not, after an unjust captivity of twenty years, have done the same? Her real crime was her adhesion to the religion of her fathers, a crime of which she was proud, and for which she would be happy to lay down her life. She wrote to Eliza-

beth, praying that her dead body might be conveyed to France, and deposited near that of her mother; that she might send a jewel, her farewell, and her blessing to her son; that her servants might be allowed to retain the small bequests which it was her intention to make them; and that she might not be put to death in private, otherwise her enemies would say of her, as they had said of others, that despair had induced her to shorten her days. Throughout the whole letter she carefully avoided every expression which might be interpreted as a petition for mercy. This noble letter, worthy of a queen and a martyr, was the last which Mary wrote to her English cousin. It drew tears from Elizabeth, but nothing more.

James of Scotland felt little for a mother whom he had never known, and whom he had been taught to look upon as an enemy, seeking to deprive him of his authority. He would probably have abandoned her but for an admonition of the French court, that her execution would exclude him from the succession to the English throne; and the remonstrances of the Scottish nobles, who could not brook the notion that a Scottish queen should perish on a scaffold. James therefore wrote to Elizabeth a letter of expostulation, but it had no effect.

After the sentence, Elizabeth spent two months in a state of apparent irresolution. She was often heard to lament, that among the thousands who professed to be attached to her as their sovereign, not one would spare her the necessity of dipping her hands in the blood of a sister queen. Elizabeth signs the warrant for Mary's execution. After the departure of the French and Scottish ambassadors, who had fruitlessly appealed to Elizabeth for mercy, she signed the warrant, telling her secretary Davison to take it to the great seal, and to trouble her no more about it; adding, with a smile of irony, that on his way he might call on Walsingham, who was sick, and who, she feared, "at the sight of it would die outright." Then suddenly recollecting herself, she said, "Surely Paulet and Drury, Mary's jailers, might ease me of this burden. Do you and Walsingham sound their dispositions." A letter was accordingly forwarded to Fotheringhay on the same day, in the name of both secretaries. It informed the two keepers, that the queen charged them with lack of care for her service, otherwise they would long ago have shortened the life of their captive. Paulet

replied immediately, that his goods, living, and life were at the queen's service; but he would never shed blood without law or warrant. Drury subscribed to Paulet's opinion. Elizabeth told Davison to proceed no further without her orders; but the council resolved unanimously that the queen had done all that the law required on her part; and that it was now their duty to proceed, and take the rest of the burden on themselves. Davison, however, put the question to Elizabeth, whether she intended to proceed to the execution of the commission or not. "Yea," with the addition of an oath, was her reply, with more than usual vehemence; but she did not like the form, for it threw all the responsibility on herself.

On the 7th of February, 1587, the earl of Shrewsbury arrived at Fotheringhay; and his office of earl marshal instantly disclosed the fatal object of his visit. The queen rose from her bed, dressed, and seated herself by a small table, having previously arranged her servants, male and female, on each side. The earl entered uncovered; he was followed by the earl of Kent, the sheriff, and several gentlemen of the county; and Beale, after a short preface, read aloud the commission for the execution. Mary listened, without any change of countenance; then, crossing herself, she bade them welcome; the day, she said, which she had long desired, had at last arrived; she had languished in prison near twenty years, useless to others, and a burden to herself; nor could she conceive a termination to such a life more happy or more honorable, than to shed her blood for her religion. She next enumerated the wrongs which she had suffered, the offers which she had made, and the artifices and frauds employed by her enemies; and, in conclusion, placing her hand on a Testament which lay on the table, "As for the death of the queen your sovereign," said she, "I call God to witness, that I never imagined it, never sought it, nor ever consented to it." "That book," exclaimed the earl of Kent, "is a popish Testament, and of course the oath is of no value." "It is a Catholic Testament," rejoined the queen; "on that account I prize it the more." The earl exhorted her to accept the spiritual services of the dean of Peterborough, a learned divine appointed by the queen. But Mary replied, that she was, perhaps, better versed in controversy than he thought; she had

Mary receives the commissioners who announce the order for her death.

read much, and had attended to the most learned of the Protestant preachers; but had never met with any argument which should induce her to leave the faith of her fathers. She requested that she might have the aid of Le Préau, her almoner, who was still in the house; but this, which was the last and only indulgence that she had to demand, was cruelly refused. Mary asked when she was to suffer. The earl of Shrewsbury answered, but with considerable agitation, "To-morrow morning, at eight o'clock."

Mary heard the announcement of her death with a serenity of countenance, and dignity of manner, which awed and affected the beholders; but her attendants burst into tears and lamentations.

After long and fervent prayer, the queen was called to supper. She ate sparingly; and before she rose from table, drank to all

The night previous to her execution. her servants; asking at the same time forgiveness of them, if she had ever spoken or acted toward them unkindly. The last night of Mary's life was spent in the arrangement of her domestic affairs, the writing of her will and of three letters, and in exercises of devotion. In the retirement of her closet, with her two maids, she prayed and read alternately; and sought for support and comfort in reading the passion of Christ. About four she retired to rest; but it was observed that she did not sleep. Her lips were in constant motion, and her mind seemed absorbed in prayer. At the first break of day her household assembled around her. She read to them her will, distributed among them her clothes and money, and bade them adieu, kissing the women, and giving her hand to kiss to the men. Weeping, they followed her into her oratory, where she took her place in front of the altar; they knelt down and prayed behind her.

In the midst of the great hall of the castle had been raised a scaffold covered with black serge, and surrounded with a low railing. Before eight a message was sent to the

She takes leave of her servants. queen, who replied that she would be ready in half an hour. At that time the sheriff entered the oratory, and Mary arose, taking the crucifix from the altar in her right, and carrying her prayer-book in her left hand. Her servants were forbidden to follow; they insisted; but the queen bade them to



be content, and turning, gave them her blessing. They received it on their knees, some kissing her hands, others her mantle. The door closed; and the burst of lamentation from those within resounded through the hall.

Mary was now joined by the earls and her keepers, and descending the staircase, found at the foot Melville, the steward of her household, who for several weeks had been excluded from her presence. Mary's progress to the scaffold. "Good Melville," said Mary, "I pray thee report that I die a true woman to my religion, to Scotland, and to France. May God forgive them that have long thirsted for my blood as the hart doth for the brooks of water. Commend me to my son; and tell him that I have done nothing prejudicial to the dignity or independence of his crown." She made a last request, that her servants might be present at her death. But the earl of Kent objected. When she asked with vehemence, "Am I not the cousin to your queen, a descendant of the blood royal of Henry VII., a married queen of France, and the anointed queen of Scotland?" It was then resolved to admit four of her men and two of her women servants. She selected her steward, physician, apothecary, and surgeon, with her two maids. Mary wore the richest of her dresses, that which was appropriate to the rank of a queen-dowager. Her step was firm, and her countenance cheerful. She bore without shrinking the gaze of the spectators and the sight of the scaffold, the block, and the executioner; and advanced into the hall with that grace and majesty which she had so often displayed in her happier days, and in the palace of her fathers. To aid her, as she mounted the scaffold, Paulet offered his arm. "I thank you, sir," said Mary; "it is the last trouble I shall give you, and the most acceptable service you have ever rendered me."

The queen seated herself on a stool which was prepared for her; and in an audible voice addressed the assembly. She said that she pardoned from her heart all her enemies. She prays for her son, Elizabeth, and the church. She then repeated with a loud voice, and in the Latin language, passages from the book of Psalms; and a prayer in French, in which she begged of God to pardon her sins, declared that she forgave her enemies, and protested that she was innocent of ever consenting in wish or deed to the death of her English sister. She then prayed in English for Christ's afflicted

church, for her son James, and for Queen Elizabeth, and in conclusion, holding up the crucifix, exclaimed, "As thy arms, O God, were stretched out upon the cross, so receive me into the arms of thy mercy, and forgive me my sins." "Madam," said the earl of Kent, "you had better leave such popish trumperies, and bear him in your heart." She replied, "I cannot hold in my hand the representation of his sufferings, but I must at the same time bear him in my heart." When her maids, bathed in tears, began to disrobe their mistress, the executioners, fearing the loss of their usual perquisites, hastily interfered. The queen remonstrated; but instantly submitted to their rudeness, observing to the earls with a smile, that she was not accustomed to employ such grooms, or to undress in the presence of so numerous a company. Her servants, at the sight of their sovereign in this lamentable state, could not suppress their feelings; but Mary, putting her finger to her lips, commanded silence, gave them her blessing, and solicited their prayers. One of her

Her execution, February 8, 1587. maids, taking from her a handkerchief edged with gold, pinned it over her eyes; the executioners, holding her by the arms, led her to the block; and the queen kneeling down, said repeatedly, with a firm voice, "Into thy hands, O Lord, I commend my spirit." But the sobs and groans of the spectators disconcerted the headsman. He trembled, missed his aim, and inflicted a deep wound in the lower part of the skull. The queen remained motionless; and at the third stroke her head was severed from her body. The executioner held it up, and cried as usual, "God save Queen Elizabeth." "So perish all her enemies!" subjoined the dean of Peterborough. "So perish all the enemies of the gospel!" exclaimed, in a still louder tone, the fanatical earl of Kent. Not a voice was heard to cry Amen. Party feeling was absorbed in pity.

The body was embalmed the same day. It was afterward enclosed in lead, and kept in the same room for six months, till August, when Elizabeth ordered it to be interred with royal pomp in the abbey church of Peterborough, opposite to the tomb of Catherine, queen of Henry VIII. It was transferred to Westminster by order of James I. in 1612.

When one of Elizabeth's ladies mentioned before her, as it

were casually, the death of Mary Stuart, she maintained an air of perfect indifference; but soon, sending for Hatton, expressed the most violent indignation, and indulged in threats of the most fearful vengeance against the men who had abused her confidence and usurped her authority, by putting the queen of Scots to death without her knowledge or consent; she attempted to prove the sincerity of her regret by the execution of her threats; she suspended the obnoxious ministers; but one after another all, with the exception of Davison, were restored to office and favor. He had earned this distinction; for, in defending himself, he charged the queen indirectly with falsehood, and alluded in obscure terms to her message to Paulet. He was condemned in a fine of ten thousand marks, and to be imprisoned during the royal pleasure. The treasury seized all his property; so that at his release from confinement in 1589, he found himself reduced to a state of extreme indigence. The queen, though she lived seventeen years longer, would never restore him to favor.

It may appear surprising, but a full month elapsed before the king of Scotland received any certain intelligence of the execution of his mother. At the news he burst into tears, and talked of nothing but vengeance; but Elizabeth's partisans in the Scottish court supported her cause. They admonished James to recollect that he was now the next heir to the English crown, and advised him not to forfeit that splendid inheritance by offending a princess who alone could remove him from it. His indignation gradually evaporated; and his mouth was sealed with a present of £4000.

The revenge of Henry III. of France was equally harmless. A sense of honor had compelled him to forewarn Elizabeth that he should consider the execution of a queen-dowager of France as an insult offered to the French crown; but the death of Mary was left unrevenged by those on whom that duty chiefly devolved—her son the king of Scotland, and her brother-in-law the king of France.

That spirit of commercial enterprise which had been awakened under Mary, seemed to pervade and animate every description of men during the reign of Elizabeth. For the extension of trade,

Commercial enterprises. and the discovery of unknown lands, associations were formed, companies were incorporated, expeditions were planned; and the prospect of immense profit, which, though always anticipated, was seldom realized, seduced many to sacrifice their whole fortunes, and prevailed even on the ministers, the nobility, and the queen herself, to risk considerable sums in these hazardous undertakings.

In 1562, Sir John Hawkins commenced the trade in slaves. He made three voyages to the coast of Africa; bartered articles of trifling value for negroes; crossed the Atlantic to Hispaniola and the Spanish settlements in America; and in exchange for his captives returned with large quantities of hides, sugar, ginger, and pearls. This trade was, however, illicit; and during his third voyage, he was surprised by the Spanish fleet. Hawkins lost his fleet, his treasure, and the majority of his followers. Out of six ships under his command, two only escaped; and of these, one foundered at sea; the other, commanded by Francis Drake, brought back the remnant of the adventurers to Europe. Some years afterward, Drake circumnavigated the globe.

We now arrive at a memorable epoch in the reign of Elizabeth. The queen had almost annually offered injuries to the king of Spain. She had intercepted his treasure, had given aid to his rebels, had hired foreign mercenaries to fight against his armies, and had suffered her mariners to plunder and massacre his defenceless subjects on the high seas and in his American dominions. Policy taught him to dissemble for a long time; but the constant repetition of insult sharpened the edge of his resentment. At length he resolved to invade England with one hundred and thirty-five sail of men-of-war, carrying eight thousand seamen and nineteen thousand soldiers, who obeyed the command of the marquis of Santa Cruz, an officer who had grown gray in the naval service, and whose brow was shaded with the laurels of numerous victories.

Elizabeth ordered that a military council for the defence of the kingdom should be established; and that all the male population from the age of eighteen to that of sixty should be enrolled. England, however, was destined to be saved by the skill and intrepidity of her navy, which at this time

consisted of thirty-four men-of-war. The city of London added thirty-three, and private individuals eighteen sail; and to these, in such an emergency, were added forty-three hired ships and fifty-three coasters. The chief command was assumed, in virtue of his office, by Lord Howard of Effingham, admiral of England. Drake was appointed lieutenant of the fleet; and the best ships were given to Hawkins, Forbisher, and other mariners, who had acquired experience and displayed that contempt of danger and that spirit of enterprise which had long been characteristic of the British sailor. There was within the realm a class of men whose doubtful loyalty created alarm in the cabinet. The real number of the English Catholics was unknown, for the severity of the penal laws had taught many to conceal their religion; but it was loosely conjectured that they amounted to at least one-half of the population of the kingdom. But, though persecuted, no provocation could urge them to any act of imprudence. They displayed no less patriotism than their more favored countrymen. The peers armed their tenants and dependants in the service of the queen; some of the gentlemen equipped vessels, and gave the command to Protestants; and many solicited permission to fight in the ranks as privates against the common enemy.

Under the duke of Medina Sidonia the Armada sailed from the Tagus. The grandeur of the spectacle excited the most flattering anticipations; and every breast beat high with the hope of conquest and glory. In a few The sailing of the Armada. days the delusion was dispelled. Off Cape Finisterre, the southerly breeze was exchanged for a storm from the west; the Armada was dispersed along the shores of Galicia; three galleys ran aground on the coast of France, eight were dismasted, and no ship escaped without considerable damage. To collect and repair his shattered fleet, detained the duke three weeks in the harbor of Corunna.

This disaster had been announced to Elizabeth as the destruction of the Armada—the end of the expedition. If she received the intelligence with joy, she did not forget her usual economy; and the lord admiral received an order to dismantle immediately the four largest ships in the royal navy. Fortunately he ventured to disobey, offering to bear the expense out of his private fortune; and directed his course across the Bay of Biscay, to

ascertain the real state of the Spanish fleet. But a brisk gale from the south-west compelled him to return; the enemy took advantage of the same wind to leave Corunna; and the English had scarcely moored their ships in the harbor of Plymouth, when the duke of Medina was discovered off the Lizard Point. The Armada formed in the shape of a crescent, the horns of which lay some miles asunder, and with a gentle breeze from the south-west, proudly advanced up the Channel. The lord admiral had already formed his plan. To oppose might be dangerous; but he followed and annoyed the Spaniards from a distance. The Spanish admiral found his progress slow and laborious; the enemy was daring, and the weather capricious; some of the ships were disabled by successive engagements; others were occasionally entangled among the shoals of an unknown coast; and the necessity of protecting both from the incessant pursuit of the English, so retarded his course, that six days elapsed before he could reach his destination and cast anchor in the vicinity of Calais. Several of the Spanish ships were destroyed by fire on the coast of France; and the Spanish admiral resolved to return to Spain. He sailed round Scotland and Ireland, and in his voyage lost many of his largest vessels by storm.

In order to see her troops, Elizabeth proceeded to Tilbury Fort. It was a proud moment for the English queen. The danger was now over; the Armada which had threatened to overturn her throne was struggling with adverse winds on its way to Spain; and the people, intoxicated with joy, expressed the most ardent attachment to her person. Mounted on a white palfrey, and bearing a marshal's truncheon in her hand, she rode along the ranks; the soldiers rent the air with acclamations of triumph; and the raw recruits expressed their regret that they had not been permitted to measure arms with the veteran forces of Spain.

In 1588, the earl of Leicester died. He was one who as a statesman or a commander displayed little ability; but his rapacity and ambition knew no bounds. Were we to judge of his moral character from the language of his writings, we should allot to him the praise of distinguished piety; but if we listen to the report of his contemporaries, the

Death of Leicester: his character.

delusion vanishes, and he stands before us as the most dissolute and unprincipled of men. The reader will pause before he gives his unqualified assent to all the statements which have been made against Leicester; yet, when he has made every allowance for the envy and malice of political enemies—when he has rejected every charge which is not supported by probable evidence—there will still remain much to stamp infamy on the character of the earl.

The defeat of the Armada had thrown the nation into a frenzy of joy. The people expressed their feelings by bonfires, entertainments, and public thanksgivings; the queen, Penalties against the Catholics: numerous executions. whether she sought to satisfy the religious animosities of her subjects, or to display her gratitude to the Almighty, by punishing the supposed enemies of his worship, celebrated her triumph with the immolation of human victims. A commission was issued; a selection was made from the Catholics in prison on account of religion; and six clergymen were indicted for their priestly character; four laymen for having been reconciled to the Catholic church; and four others, among whom was a gentlewoman of the name of Ward, for having aided or harbored priests. All these immediately, and fifteen of their companions, within the three next months, suffered the cruel and infamous punishment of traitors. It was not so much as whispered that they had been guilty of any act of disloyalty. On their trials, nothing was objected to them but the practice of their religion. The earl of Arundel was tried at this time on an accusation of having caused mass to be said for the success of the Armada, and upon very insufficient evidence was found guilty. He was not executed, however, but died after eleven years of imprisonment.

From the defeat of the Armada till the death of the queen, during the lapse of fourteen years, the Catholics groaned under the pressure of incessant persecution. Sixty-one clergymen, forty-seven laymen, and two gentlewomen suffered capital punishment for some or other of the spiritual felonies and treasons which had been lately created. Generally the court dispensed with the examination of witnesses: by artful and ensnaring questions, an avowal was drawn from the prisoner that he had been reconciled, or had harbored a priest, or had been ordained

beyond the sea, or that he admitted the ecclesiastical supremacy of the pope, or rejected that of the queen. Any one of these crimes was sufficient to consign him to the scaffold. Life, indeed, was always offered, on the condition of conformity to the established worship; but the offer was generally refused; the refusal was followed by death; and the butchery, with very few exceptions, was performed on the victim while he was yet in perfect possession of his senses. For professing Catholicity, heavy fines were imposed on men of property. Recusants in meaner circumstances were at first thrown into prison. But the jails were soon crowded; the counties complained of the expense of their maintenance; and the queen ordered them to be discharged at the discretion of the magistrates. From some, nothing more was required than a promise of good behaviour; some had their ears bored with a hot iron; others were publicly whipped. The visitation of private houses in search of priests is described as the most intolerable of grievances. It was in vain that the Catholic gentleman withdrew himself from the eyes of the public, and sought an asylum in solitude. His house afforded him no security; even in the bosom of his family he passed his time in alarm and solicitude; and was exposed at every moment to the capricious visits of men whose pride was flattered by the wanton exercise of authority over their betters, or whose fanaticism taught them to believe that they rendered a service to God by insulting and oppressing the idolatrous papist.

The Puritans were also persecuted at this period. Many were imprisoned; some were convicted of recusancy; a few were banished. But the queen had now grown old; the king of Scots, her presumptive heir, professed Puritanical principles; and the leaders of the orthodox party saw the danger of persisting in a course which might draw upon themselves the vengeance of the next sovereign. The persecution subsided by degrees; and the Separatists enjoyed a state of comparative tranquillity, long before the death of Elizabeth.

Henry III., of France, died in 1589, by the hand of an assassin; and the king of Navarre, the descendant of St. Louis, by his youngest son, Robert, count of Clermont, took the title of Henry IV., king of France and Navarre.

Death of Henry  
of France.



He became the close ally of Elizabeth, from whom he received much aid in his contest with the French nobles and the Spanish king; though she was much chagrined when he embraced the Catholic faith.

Hostile preparations in the Spanish harbors, in 1596, excited considerable alarm in England; and for several weeks the defence of the realm had been the subject of daily deliberation in the council. Howard of Effingham, the lord-admiral, urged the sending out of an expedition to destroy the Spanish ports, shipping, and magazines. He was powerfully seconded by Essex, who despised the cautious policy of Burghley, and by <sup>Expedition to de-</sup> his influence, after a long struggle, obtained the <sup>stroy the ports of</sup> Spain. consent of the queen. She gave him the command of the land, while the lord-admiral held that of the naval force; but, to restrain his impetuosity, he was ordered to ask the advice of a council of war, and to be guided by the opinion of the majority. After much irresolution, and considerable delay, occasioned partly by the disguised opposition of the Cecils, and partly by the inconstant humor of the queen, the expedition left the harbor of Plymouth. By the junction of twenty-two ships from Holland, it amounted to one hundred and fifty sail, and carried fourteen thousand men, of whom one thousand or fifteen hundred were gentlemen volunteers. At the end of three weeks the fleet cast anchor at the mouth of the haven of Cadiz, in which were discovered fifteen men of war, and about forty merchantmen. The English arms succeeded in Spain. Foreigners applauded the conquerors, their countrymen hailed their return with shouts of triumph; but they experienced from their sovereign a cool and ungracious reception, for she had begun to evince a marked difference in her treatment of Essex.

Philip of Spain having resolved on taking steps to place his daughter on the throne of England, Elizabeth consented that a powerful armament should be fitted out for the de- <sup>Expedition of</sup> struction of the Spanish fleet, and gave the com- <sup>Essex.</sup> mand to Essex, toward whom she had relented. On his arrival at Plymouth, he found a fleet of one hundred and forty sail, and an army of eight thousand soldiers, waiting his command. But he was destined to experience nothing except misfortune in this expedition. The fleet had not proceeded more than forty leagues,

when it was driven back to port by a storm. Essex sailed again, but with a smaller force, and on a different destination. He reached the Azores; Fayal, Graciosa, and Flores submitted; but the Spanish fleet from the Indies, the real object of the expedition, had already escaped into the harbor of Tercera; and the English, with four inconsiderable prizes, and some plunder, directed their course to England.

In Ireland, the lord Grey had at this time, by his cruelty and rapacity, earned the hatred of all descriptions of people. He

Ireland at this period. was replaced by Sir John Perrot, who made no

distinction between the English or the Irishman, but inflicted punishment on all offenders, according to their demerits. It had long been the wish of the queen to colonize Ireland from England. Hitherto she had been deterred by consideration of the expense; now, however, Earl Desmond's lands were granted to English settlers; and most of the royal favorites obtained ample districts, on the condition that one family should be settled on every two hundred and forty acres; and that no native of Irish origin should be admitted among the new colonists.

Perrot reduced Ireland to a state of tranquillity hitherto unknown in its annals. The indigenous Irish observing the severity

The fate of Perrot. with which he punished the injuries inflicted on them by the English adventurers, looked up to him

as their friend; but those who suffered from his justice sought to ruin him in the estimation of his sovereign. His hasty temper occasionally betrayed him into unseemly expressions; his words, his actions, and his friendships were misinterpreted and misrepresented; and Elizabeth began to doubt his loyalty, and to think him capable of seeking a kingdom for himself. Perrot was arraigned in Westminster Hall on a charge of high-treason. That he was innocent of treason, there cannot be a doubt; yet he was found guilty, and two months later received judgment of death. For six months his fate was kept in suspense; but a broken heart or a poisonous potion deprived him of life after that interval.

Among the native Irish who had distinguished themselves in the war against the earl of Desmond was Hugh, the son of the late baron of Dungannon. His services had merited the approbation of the lord Grey, and he had been rewarded by the queen,

first with the earldom of Tyrone, and afterward with all the rights and lands which his grandfather Conn had formerly possessed. To this title of English origin he soon added, without her consent, another which rendered him far more respectable in the eyes of the natives. On the death of Tirlough Lynnogh, he proclaimed himself the O'Neil, and was considered by his countrymen as the Irish sovereign of Ulster. After many alternations of peace and war, of victory and defeat, a decisive battle was fought near the fort of Blackwater in Tyrone. Bagnal, the English commander-in-chief, with fifteen hundred of his followers, was slain; the artillery, the ammunition, and the fortress itself fell into the hands of the Irish. The O'Neil was celebrated in every district as the savior of his country; and the whole of the indigenous population, with many of the chieftains of English origin, rose in arms to assert the national independence of Ireland.

In 1600, Essex was tried on account of some matters connected with his administration in Ireland. He was found guilty; but his punishment only consisted of some forfeitures. Enraged at having lost the royal favor, he attempted an insurrection in the streets of London in company with Lord Southampton and some others. They were found guilty. Essex was executed on the 25th February, 1601, in the Tower. Thus, at the premature age of thirty-three, perished the gallant and aspiring Essex. At his first introduction to Elizabeth he had to contend against the dislike with which she viewed the son of a woman who had been her rival, and a successful rival, in the affections of Leicester. If he overcame this prejudice, it was not owing to personal beauty or exterior accomplishments. In these respects, if we except the exquisite symmetry of his hands, he was inferior to many gentlemen at court. But there was in him a frankness of disposition, a contempt of all disguise, an impetuosity of feeling, which prompted him to pour out his whole soul in conversation; qualities which captivated the old queen, fatigued as she was with the cautious and measured language of the politicians around her. Contrary to the lot of most favorites, he had enjoyed at the same time the affection of the sovereign and of the people. To the latter he was known only by the more dazzling traits in his character—his affability and profusion, his

spirit of adventure and thirst of glory, and his constant opposition to the dark and insidious policy of the Cecils. The popularity of the queen, which had long been on the wane, seemed to be buried in the same grave with her favorite. On her appearance in public, she was no longer greeted with the wonted acclamations; and her councillors were received with loud expressions of insult and abhorrence.

In September, 1601, four thousand men, under the command of Don Juan D'Aguilar, arrived in Ireland from Spain. They landed at Kinsale, fortified the town, and called on the natives to join them against a princess who had been excommunicated and deposed by several succeeding pontiffs. While the deputy Mountjoy assembled an army to oppose the invaders, Elizabeth summoned a parliament to meet at Westminster. Unwilling that men should notice her increasing infirmities, she opened the session with more than usual parade; but her enfeebled frame was unable to support the weight of the royal robes; and she was actually sinking to the ground, when the nearest nobleman caught and supported her in his arms. The only object of the minister was to obtain a supply of money for the Irish war; and his wish was gratified by a liberal vote. But if the members were liberal in their grant to the crown, they were obstinate

in demanding the redress of their grievances. The great subject of complaint, both within and without the walls of parliament, was the multitude of monopolies bestowed by the queen on her favorites. By a monopoly was understood a patent signed by her, and vesting in an individual, as a reward for his real or pretended services, the exclusive right of vending some particular commodity. The commons shook the resolution of the minister, who was terrified by the execrations of the people as he hastened in his carriage through the streets; and subdued the obstinacy of the queen, who, though she annually became more attached to what she deemed the rights of the crown, yielded at length to his suggestions and entreaties. Sending for the speaker, she assured him, in the presence of the council, that she would, by proclamation, revoke every patent prejudicial to the liberties of the subject. The commons, happy to obtain redress without engaging in a contest with their sovereign, returned their thanks in language little short of blasphemy; and Cecil prided himself on the dexterity

with which he had satisfied the people, without surrendering the prerogative of the crown.

In the meanwhile, the lord deputy in Ireland had united his forces with those of the president of Munster, and besieged D'Aguilar with his Spaniards within their lines at Kinsale. Tyrone watched the operations of the besiegers. With six thousand natives, and about two hundred Spaniards, who had landed at Castlehaven, under the command of Ocampo, he hastened early in the morning to surprise the English camp, ordering another party at the same time to convey a supply of provisions to the besieged. But his project had been already betrayed to Lord Mountjoy, and his advance was retarded by the anxiety of Ocampo to introduce something like regularity into the ranks of the natives. As the latter were crossing a brook, they were charged by a body of four hundred horse, and immediately fled. The Spaniards, abandoned by their allies, threw down their arms, crying *Misericordia*; five hundred Irish were slain in the pursuit; and the O'Neil, collecting about two thousand of his best men, retired into the north. D'Aguilar, convinced of the hopelessness of resistance, surrendered Kinsale and the forts in his possession, and obtained permission to return to Corunna with his men, their arms, and ammunition. O'Neil offered to submit on honorable terms; but the pride of Elizabeth demanded an unconditional surrender. The lords of the council labored to mollify the obstinacy of the queen. After a long contest she began to relent; but it was still impossible to fix the indecision of her mind; and each succeeding week new and contradictory instructions were forwarded to the deputy. Mountjoy was perplexed; he knew not what answer to give to Tyrone; and the time was consumed in useless messages from one to the other. But the moment he heard that the life of the queen was in danger, he sent for the Irish chieftain, who made his submission on his knees, renounced the title of O'Neil, and all dependence on foreign authority, and solicited the restoration of his rights and honors from the mercy of his sovereign. Mountjoy, in return, subscribed a full pardon for him and his followers, and promised that his lands, with one or two exceptions, and his former title, should again be vested in him by a patent from the crown.

Elizabeth had surprised the nations of Europe by the splendor

of her course; she was destined to close the evening of her life in gloom and sorrow. The bodily infirmities which Elizabeth overwhelmed in gloom. she suffered may have been the consequences of age; her mental afflictions are usually traced by historians to regret for the execution of Essex. That she occasionally bewailed his fate, that she accused herself of precipitation and cruelty, is not improbable; but there were disclosures in his confession, to which her subsequent melancholy may with greater probability be ascribed. From that document she learned the unwelcome and distressing truth, that she had lived too long; that her favorites looked with impatience to the moment which would free them from her control; and that the very men on whose loyalty she had hitherto reposed with confidence, had already proved unfaithful to her. She became pensive and taciturn; she sat whole days by herself, indulging in the most gloomy reflections; every rumor agitated her with new and imaginary terrors; and the solitude of her court, the opposition of the commons to her prerogative, and the silence of the citizens when she appeared in public, were taken by her for proofs that she had survived her popularity, and was become an object of aversion to her subjects. Under these impressions, she assured the French ambassador that she had grown weary of her very existence.

In January of this year she was troubled with a cold, and about the end of the month removed, on a wet and stormy day, from Westminster to Richmond. Her indisposition increased; but, with her characteristic obstinacy, she refused the advice of her physicians. Loss of appetite was accompanied with lowness of spirits, and to add to her distress, it chanced that her intimate friend, the countess of Nottingham, died.\* In the first week of March all the symptoms of her disorder were considerably aggravated; she lay during some hours in a state of stupor, rallied for a day or two, and then relapsed. The council, having learned from the physicians that her recovery was hopeless, prepared to fulfil their engagements with the king

\* Dr. Lingard has the following note on the subject of the ring said to have been sent by Essex to Elizabeth, through the countess of Nottingham:—I do not notice the story of the ring, said to have been sent by Essex to Elizabeth, but not delivered by the countess, who revealed her treachery on her death-bed. Had it been true, it would have been mentioned by some of those who have related the occurrences of the queen's malady.

of Scots, by providing for his peaceable succession to the throne. The lord-admiral, the lord keeper, and the secretary, remained with the queen at Richmond; the others repaired to Whitehall.

For some days the queen sat on a chair supported by cushions. She seldom spoke, and refused all nourishment. At the commencement of her illness she had said that she would leave the crown to "the right heir." This statement not being deemed sufficiently certain, she was questioned on the subject on the last night of her life. Some say that she declared her wish to be that James of Scotland should succeed to the throne; there is, however, considerable doubt on this point. Queen Elizabeth, the last of the Tudor line of English sovereigns, died on the 24th of March, 1603.

Elizabeth has been numbered among the greatest and the most fortunate of our sovereigns. The tranquillity which, during a reign of nearly half a century, she maintained within her dominions, while the neighboring nations were convulsed with intestine dissensions, was taken as a proof of the wisdom or the vigor of her government; and her successful resistance against the Spanish monarch, the severe injuries which she inflicted on that lord of so many kingdoms, and the spirit displayed by her fleets and armies in expeditions to France and the Netherlands, to Spain, to the West, and even the East Indies, served to give to the world an exalted notion of her military and naval power. When she came to the throne, England ranked only among the secondary kingdoms; before her death it had risen to a level with the first nations in Europe.

In what exact proportion the merit of this result should be shared between Elizabeth and her councillors, it is impossible to determine. On many subjects she could see only with their eyes, and hear with their ears; yet it is evident that her judgment or her conscience frequently disapproved of their advice. Sometimes, after a long struggle, they submitted to her wisdom or obstinacy; sometimes she was terrified or seduced into the surrender of her own opinion; generally a compromise was effected by mutual concessions. This appears to have happened on most debates of importance, and particularly with respect to the treatment of the unfortunate queen of Scots. Irresolution seems to have been a weakness inherent in the coun-

stitution of her mind. To deliberate appears to have been her delight; to resolve, her torment. She would receive advice from any, from foreigners as well as natives, from the ladies of her bed-chamber no less than the lords of her council; but her distrust begot hesitation; and she always suspected that some interested motive lurked under the pretence of zeal for her service. Hence she often suffered months, sometimes years, to roll away before she came to a conclusion; and then it required the same industry and address to keep her steady to her purpose as it had already cost to bring her to it.

Besides irresolution, there was in Elizabeth another quality equally, perhaps more, mortifying to her councillors and favorites—her care to improve her revenue, her reluctance to part with money. That frugality in a sovereign is a virtue deserving the highest praise could not be denied; but they contended that, in their mistress, it had degenerated into parsimony, if not into avarice. The truth, however, was, that the foreign policy of the cabinet had plunged the queen into a gulf of unfathomable expense. Her connection with the insurgents in so many different countries, the support of a standing army in Holland, her long war with Spain, and the repeated attempts to suppress the rebellion of Tyrone, were continual drains upon the treasury. Her poverty increased as her wants multiplied.

Elizabeth, while she was yet a subject, was haughty and overbearing; on the throne she was careful to display that notion of her own importance, that contempt of all beneath her, and that courage in the time of danger, which were characteristic of the Tudors. She seemed to have forgotten that she ever had a mother, but was proud to remind both herself and others that she was the daughter of a powerful monarch, Henry VIII. On occasions of ceremony, she appeared in all her splendor, accompanied by the great officers of state, and with a numerous retinue of lords and ladies, dressed in their most gorgeous apparel. In reading descriptions of her court, we may sometimes fancy ourselves transported into the palace of an Eastern princess. Yet while she maintained this state in public and in the palace, while she taught the proudest of the nobility to feel the distance between themselves and their sovereign, she condescended to court the good-will of the common people. In the country they had ac-



cess to her at all times; neither their rudeness nor impertunity appeared to offend her; she received their petitions with an air of pleasure, thanked them for their expressions of attachment, and sought the opportunity of entering into private conversation with individuals. Her natural abilities were very great; she had studied under experienced masters, and her stock of literature was much more ample than that of most females of the age. Like her sister Mary, she possessed a knowledge of five languages; but Mary did not venture to converse in Italian, neither could she construe the Greek Testament, like Elizabeth. The queen is said to have understood the most difficult music. But dancing was her principal delight; and in that exercise she displayed a grace and spirit which was universally admired. She retained her partiality for it to the last; and condescended to perform her part in a dance with the duke of Nevers at the age of sixty-nine.

It is seldom that females have the boldness to become the herald of their own charms; but Elizabeth by proclamation announced to her people, that none of the portraits which had hitherto been taken of her person did justice to the original; that at the request of her council she had resolved to procure an exact likeness from the pencil of some able artist; that it should soon be published for the gratification of her loving subjects; and that on this account she strictly forbade all persons whomsoever, to paint or engrave any new portraits of her features without license, or to show or publish any of the old portraits till they had been reformed according to the copy to be set forth by authority. The courtiers soon discovered how greedy their sovereign was of flattery. If they sought to please, they were careful to admire; and adulation the most fulsome and extravagant was accepted by the queen with gratitude, and rewarded with bounty. At her death, 3000 dresses were found in her wardrobe, with a numerous collection of jewelry, for the most part presents which she had received from petitioners. To the austere notions of the bishop of London, this love of finery appeared unbecoming her age, and in his sermon he endeavoured to raise her thoughts from the ornaments of dress to the riches of heaven; but she told her ladies that if he touched upon that subject again, she would fit *him* for heaven.

In her temper, Elizabeth seemed to have inherited the irritability of her father. The least inattention, the slightest provocation, would throw her into a passion. At all times her discourse was sprinkled with oaths; in the sallies of her anger it abounded with imprecations and abuse.

She is profane in conversation.

Her familiarity with Dudley provoked dishonorable reports respecting her chastity. At first they gave her pain; but her feelings were soon blunted, and she proved that she was become regardless of her character, and callous to every sense of shame. The court imitated the manners of the sovereign. It was a place in which, according to a contemporary writer, "all enormities reigned in the highest degree."

Elizabeth firmly believed, and zealously upheld the principles of government established by her father—the exercise of absolute authority by the sovereign, and the duty of passive obedience in the subject. In her opinion, the chief use of parliaments was to vote money, to regulate the minutiae of trade, and to legislate for individual and local interests. To the lower house she granted, indeed, freedom of debate; but it was to be a decent freedom, the liberty of "saying ay or no;" and those that transgressed that decency were liable to feel the weight of the royal displeasure.

Besides the judicial tribunals which remain to the present day, there were, in the age of Elizabeth, several other courts, the arbitrary institution of which was incompatible with the liberties of the subject: the court of high commission, for the cognizance of religious offences; the court of star-chamber, which inflicted the severest punishments for that comprehensive and undefinable transgression, contempt of the royal authority; courts of commissioners appointed occasionally for the public or private trial of offences; and the courts martial, for which the queen, from her hasty and imperious temper, manifested a strong predilection. Another and an intolerable grievance was the discretionary power assumed by the queen, of gratifying her caprice or resentment by the restraint or imprisonment of those who had given her offence.

The queen was not sparing of the blood of her subjects. The statutes inflicting death for religious opinion have been already

noticed. In addition, many new felonies and new treasons were created during her reign; and the ingenuity of the judges gave to these enactments the most extensive application.

The historians who celebrate the golden days of Elizabeth have described with a glowing pencil the happiness of the people under her sway. To them might be opposed the dismal picture of national misery, drawn by the Catholic writers of the same period. But both have taken too contracted a view of the subject. Religious dissension had divided the nation into opposite parties, of almost equal numbers, the oppressors and the oppressed. Under the operation of the penal statutes, many ancient and opulent families had been ground to the dust; new families had sprung up in their place; and these, as they shared the plunder, naturally eulogized the system to which they owed their wealth and their ascendancy. But their prosperity was not the prosperity of the nation; it was that of one-half obtained at the expense of the other.

It is evident that neither Elizabeth nor her ministers understood the benefits of civil and religious liberty. The prerogatives which she so highly prized have long since withered away; the blood-stained code which she enacted against the rights of conscience has ceased to stain the pages of the statute-book; and the result has proved that the abolition of despotism and intolerance adds no less to the stability of the throne than to the happiness of the people.

## CHAPTER XXXII.

## James the First.

## CONTEMPORARY SOVEREIGNS.

*Popes.*  
Clement VIII.  
Leo XI.  
Paul V.  
Gregory XV  
Urban VIII.

*Emperors.*  
Rodolph.  
Matthias.  
Ferdinand II.

*France.*  
Henry IV.  
Louis XIII.  
*Spain.*  
Philip III.  
Philip IV.

Accession of James—His Coronation—Severity against the Catholics—The Gunpowder Plot—Arabella Stuart—The King's Favorites—Disgrace of Coke—The affairs of Ireland—Persecution of the Catholics—The Puritans—Bacon—Buckingham—Sir Walter Raleigh—Marriage treaty with France—Death of the King—From A. D. 1603 to 1625.

By means of Cecil the accession of the Scottish king was proclaimed before the death of the late queen had become publicly known. The officers of state assembled in front of the palace, and proceeded thence to the cross in Cheapside: at both places the king of Scots was proclaimed by the voice of Cecil himself; and the citizens, by their acclamations, bonfires, and the ringing of bells, testified their satisfaction at the accession of the new monarch.

James, who was in his thirty-seventh year, lost not a moment to take possession of his new inheritance, and soon arrived in London. All hastened to meet the new monarch, that they might remind him of their past, and tender to him their future services. But James had already made his election, and confirmed Cecil in office. A new council was formed, into which, by his advice, or at least with his approbation, six Scotsmen were admitted; but, at the same time, to balance the account between the nations, six English noblemen received the same honor.

As the king entered London, proclamation was made to sus-

pend all grants of monopolies till they had been examined by the council. Honors were afterward bestowed with a most lavish hand; nine new barons were created, among whom was Cecil, the secretary: and in the course of three months the honor of knighthood was conferred on seven hundred individuals.

The States of Holland, then at war with Spain, sent to James a splendid and honorable embassy, at the head of which was Frederic, prince of Nassau; but James stood on his guard against their entreaties and flattery, and over his cups he hesitated not to brand the deputies and their masters with the ignominious designation of traitors. He afterward, however, entered into a treaty in favor of the States, but no important results followed.

A conspiracy to seize the person of James was formed at this time in England, but the conspirators quarrelled, and the design was at last abandoned as impracticable. A proclamation was issued, describing the names and persons of several of the conspirators. In a few days these were in the hands of the officers of government, and then subjected to the most searching examinations before certain commissioners.

The apprehension of the conspirators was followed by the king's coronation. He had long ago appointed for his purpose his saint's day, the festival of St. James; and though a dangerous mortality raged in the city, he would not allow of any postponement. The ceremony was hastily performed by the archbishop of Canterbury, without the usual parade. From Westminster the king fled into the country; but the infection pursued him wherever he went. In November the conspirators, among whom were Raleigh and Lord Cobham, were tried. Aware of the weakness of his case, the attorney-general, Sir Edward Coke, had recourse to invective and abuse; but Raleigh controlled his feelings, and replied with a moderation which placed in a stronger light the indecorous and violent conduct of his adversary. The jury returned, with visible reluctance, a verdict of guilty. By the great mass of the spectators it was received with disapprobation. Many pronounced him innocent; most acknowledged that he had been condemned without legal or sufficient proof.

Cobham and Grey were arraigned before their peers. The

shuffling and meanness of the one opposed a striking contrast to the spirit and eloquence of the other. Cobham appeared unworthy of the pardon which he claimed as the reward of his confession; Grey won the esteem of the very judges by whom he was condemned.

Two priests were the first who suffered. Of the lay conspirators, Brooke alone was executed. With respect to the others, James resolved to surprise his subjects with a specimen of that kingcraft in which he deemed himself so complete a master. Confining his secret within his own breast, he signed the warrants for the execution of Markham, Grey, and Cobham, but gave private instructions to the sheriff, who, in a loud voice, declared that the king of his own gracious disposition had granted life to each of the convicts. They were conducted to different prisons, and Raleigh, whose execution had been fixed for the Monday, shared the royal mercy in common with his fellows. James reaped the full fruit of this device. The existence of the plot was proved by confessions made on the scaffold; and the royal ingenuity as well as clemency was universally applauded.

To the Catholics, James felt inclined to grant some partial indulgence. He owed it to their sufferings in the cause of his unfortunate mother; he had bound himself to it by promises to their envoys, and to the princes of their communion. But his secret wishes were opposed by his advisers; and, if he was ashamed to violate his word, he was taught also to dread the offence of his Protestant subjects. At last he compromised the matter in his own mind, by drawing a distinction between the worship and the persons of the petitioners. To every prayer for the exercise of that worship he returned a prompt and indignant refusal. But he invited the Catholics to frequent his court, he conferred on several the honor of knighthood; and he promised to shield them from the penalties of recusancy, as long as by their loyal and peaceable demeanor they should deserve the royal favor.

The Puritans relied with equal confidence on the good-will of the new monarch. He had been educated from his infancy in the Genevan theology; but in proportion as the declining age of Elizabeth brought the English sceptre nearer to his grasp, he

learned to prefer the submissive discipline of a church which owned the sovereign for its head, to the independent forms of a republican kirk; and, as soon as he saw himself possessed of the English crown, he openly avowed his belief that the hierarchy was the firmest support of the throne, and that where there was no bishop there would shortly be no king.

The Puritan ministers were admitted to a conference. They reduced their demands to four heads—purity of doctrine, a learned ministry, the reformation of the ecclesiastical courts, and the correction of the Book of Common Prayer. After the bishops of London and Winchester, and some of the deans had spoken, James himself took up the argument, and displayed, even in the opinion of his adversaries, considerable ability. In conclusion, all that the ministers could obtain was, that a national catechism should be framed, and a new translation of the Scriptures be published.

James soon met his first parliament with the most flattering anticipations; and opened the session with a gracious and eloquent speech from the throne. But, instead of the return which he expected, he found himself entangled in James meets his first parliament. disputes, from which he could not extricate himself with satisfaction or credit. In the lower house a formidable party was marshalled against him, composed of the men who, about the close of the last reign, had dared to advocate the rights of the subject against the abuse of the prerogative. Bickerings continued during a long and stormy session; and though the king, by his interest in the upper house, succeeded in averting every blow aimed by the Puritans at the discipline of the church, he was yet unable to carry in the lower any of the measures which he had contemplated, or to obtain a supply of money in addition to the accustomed vote of tonnage and poundage. On one question only were all parties agreed. Fanaticism urged the Puritans to persecute the Catholics, and the hope of conciliation induced the friends of the crown to add their support. The oppressive and sanguinary code, framed in the reign of Elizabeth, was re-enacted to its full extent; it was even improved with additional severities.

The Puritans accused the king of a leaning to popery. He persecuted, they said, the disciples, while he favored the enemies of

Banishment of  
Catholic missiona-  
ries.

the gospel. James hastened to rescue himself from the charge. Another proclamation was published, enjoining the banishment of all Catholic missionaries; regulations were adopted for the discovery and presentment of recusants; and orders were sent to the magistrates to put the penal laws into immediate execution. He even deemed it expedient to deliver his sentiments in the star-chamber, to declare his detestation of popery, and to repeat his wish that none of his children might succeed him, if they were ever to depart from the established church.

Fines were at this time levied upon Catholics to a considerable amount, and their payment enforced with peculiar severity.

The origin of the  
gunpowder plot.

Among the sufferers was one Robert Catesby, descended from an ancient and opulent family in Northamptonshire. In revenge he conceived a plan so atrocious in principle, and so sanguinary in execution, that it is difficult to conceive how it could be harbored in the mind of any human being—the plan of blowing up the parliament-house with gunpowder, and involving in one common destruction the king, the lords, and the commons. Catesby communicated his plan to a friend named Winter, who hastened to Ostend, where he met with Guy Faukes, a native of Yorkshire, and a soldier of fortune. Faukes had long served in the Netherlands, and had visited Madrid in the company of Winter, as agent for the exiles of the Spanish party. His courage, fidelity, and military experience pointed him out as a valuable auxiliary. He consented to return with Winter to England, but was kept for some time in ignorance of the part which he was designed to act.

Before their arrival, Catesby had communicated the plan to two others, Percy and Wright, the former being a distant relation and steward to the earl of Northumberland. The

Progress of the  
plans.

Catholics again at this time petitioned for some concessions; but the king, under the advice of his ministers, was inexorable, stating that even if he were willing, he dared not make a concession so offensive to the religious feelings of his Protestant subjects. These proceedings following in rapid succession, extinguished the last ray of hope in the breasts of the conspirators, who then hastened to execute that plan which appeared to be their only resource. On inquiry, they found contiguous to



the old palace of Westminster an empty house, with a garden attached to it, exactly adapted to their purpose. It was hired by Percy, under pretence of convenience, because his office of gentleman pensioner occasionally compelled him to reside in the vicinity of the court. On one side of the garden stood an old building raised against the wall of the parliament-house. Within this they began to open a mine, allotting two-thirds of the twenty-four hours to labor, and the remaining third to repose; and dividing the task among themselves in such manner, that while one enjoyed his portion of rest, the other three were occupied in the work, which, during the day, consisted in excavating the mine—during the night in concealing the rubbish under the soil of the garden. The parliament was prorogued from the 7th of February to the 3d of October, and they immediately separated to spend the Christmas holidays at their respective homes. The mine was soon abandoned, for Faukes hired a cellar under the house of lords, and into it were conveyed, under the cover of night, several barrels of gunpowder, which had been collected in a house at Lambeth. To elude suspicion, these were concealed under stones, billets of wood, and different articles of household furniture; and the conspirators having completed their preparations, separated to meet again in September, a few days before the opening of parliament.

In the mean time the persecution, which had commenced in the preceding year, daily increased in severity. Nocturnal searches for the discovery of priests were resumed with all that train of injuries, insults, and vexations which characterized them in the reign of Elizabeth.

Catesby was indefatigable in the prosecution of his design. But, though he might rely with confidence on the fidelity of his accomplices, he knew not how to elude the scrutinizing eyes of his more intimate friends. Suspicion was awakened, and Garnet, the provincial or superior of the Jesuits, having received some general hint of a conspiracy, seized an opportunity to inculcate, at the table of Catesby, the obligation of submitting to the pressure of persecution, and of leaving the redress of wrongs to the justice of heaven. Faukes, having completed his arrangements in Flanders, returned to England in September; but

the parliament was again prorogued from October to the fifth of November.

It is to these successive postponements that the failure of the plot must be attributed. None of the conspirators, if we except Catesby, were rich; and his resources being now exhausted, the necessity of having a large sum of money at his disposal against the day of the explosion, compelled him to trust his secret to two Catholic gentlemen of considerable opulence. The first was a young man of five and twenty, Sir Everard Digby, of Buckinghamshire. The second was Francis Tresham, of Northamptonshire.

The plan of operations was next finally arranged. A list was made of all the peers and commoners whom it was thought desirable to save on account of their religion, or of their previous Plan of operations arranged. opposition to the penal enactments, or for the favor which they had hitherto shown to the Catholics.

It was resolved that each of these, if he were in London, should receive on the very morning a most urgent message, which might withdraw him to a distance from Westminster, and at so late an hour that the artifice should not be discovered till the blow had been struck.

To Guy Faukes was allotted the desperate office of firing the mine. A ship in the river had been provided at the expense of Tresham to convey him immediately to Flanders, where he was instructed to publish a manifesto in defence of the act, and to despatch letters invoking the aid of all the Catholic powers. Percy was to obtain possession of the young prince Charles, to take him, under pretext of greater security, to a carriage in waiting, and thence to conduct him to the general rendezvous of the conspirators. Catesby undertook to proclaim the heir apparent, and to issue a declaration abolishing several national grievances. It was agreed that a protector (his name was never suffered to transpire) should be appointed to exercise the royal authority during the nonage of the new sovereign.

Tresham pleaded most earnestly that warning of the danger should be given to Lord Mounteagle, who had married his sister.

Notice of the plot given to Lord Mounteagle. The proposal confirmed suspicions which Catesby had for some time cherished; but he deemed it prudent to dissemble, and, after some objections, pre-

tended to acquiesce. In the course of a few days, Lord Mounteagle ordered a supper to be prepared, not at his residence in town, but at a house belonging to him at Hoxton—a circumstance so unusual that it excited much surprise in his family. While he sat at table, a letter was delivered to him by one of his pages, containing advice not to go to the opening of parliament. The king returned to London on the 31st of October. The next day the letter was laid before him; for Mounteagle had sent it to the secretary of state. He perused it repeatedly, and spent two hours in consultation with his ministers. This intelligence was communicated to the conspirators, and a change was made in their former arrangements. Faukes undertook to keep guard within the cellar; Percy and Winter to superintend the operations in London; Catesby and one John Wright departed the next day for the general rendezvous, which was in Warwickshire.

Toward the evening [4th November, 1605] the lord chamberlain, whose duty it was to ascertain that the necessary preparations had been made for opening the session, visited the parliament-house, and in company with Lord Mounteagle entered the cellar. Casting around an apparently careless glance, he inquired by whom it was occupied; and then fixing his eye upon Faukes, who was present under the designation of Percy's servant, observed that his master had laid in an abundant provision of fuel. This warning was lost on the determined mind of the conspirator. Though he saw and heard all that passed, he was so fixed on his ruthless purpose, that he resolved to remain to the last moment; and having acquainted Percy with the circumstance, returned to his post, with a determination on the first appearance of danger to fire the mine, and perish in the company of his enemies.

A little after midnight (the reader will observe that it was now the fifth of November, the day appointed for the commencement of the session) Faukes had occasion to open the door of the vault; and that very moment was <sup>The plot disco-</sup> <sup>vered.</sup> seized by Sir Thomas Knevett and a party of soldiers. He was dressed and booted for a journey—three matches were found in his pockets—and in a corner behind the door was concealed a dark lantern containing a light. The search immediately began; and, on the removal of the fuel, were discovered two hogsheads and above thirty barrels of gunpowder.

By four o' clock the king and council had assembled to interrogate the prisoner. Faukes stood before them collected and undaunted: his replies, though delivered in respectful language, gave no clue to the discovery of his associates. His name, he said, was Johnson—his master, Percy; whether he had or had not accomplices, should never be known from him; his object was to destroy the parliament, as the sole means of putting an end to religious persecution. More than this he refused to disclose, though he was repeatedly examined in the presence of the king. During the intervals, he bore without shrinking the inquisitive gaze of the courtiers; and answered all their questions in a tone of sarcasm and defiance. A Scottish nobleman asked him for what end he had collected so many barrels of gunpowder?

“To blow the Scottish beggars back to their native mountains,” was the reply. James pronounced him the English Scævola. In the Tower, though orders were given that he should be racked to extremity, his resolution was not to be subdued; nor did he make any disclosure till his associates had announced themselves by appearing in arms. They, the moment they heard of his apprehension, had mounted their horses, and on the same evening reached their friends in Warwickshire. There was something mysterious in their sudden arrival, in their dejected appearance, and in their long and serious consultation with Sir Everard Digby.

The apprehension and trial of the conspirators. They soon fled over the country. Some were shot in an encounter with the authorities, and some were taken prisoners. More than two months intervened between the apprehension and trial of the conspirators. At length, eight prisoners were arraigned. They pleaded not guilty; not, they wished it to be observed, because they denied their participation in the conspiracy, but because the indictment contained much to which till that day they had been strangers. It was false that the Jesuits had been the authors of the conspiracy, or had ever held consultations with them on the subject. With respect to themselves, they had certainly entertained the design laid to their charge; but whatever men might think of the fact, they would maintain that their intention was innocent before God. The prisoners received judgment and suffered the punishment of traitors, having on the scaffold repeated the same sentiments which they had before uttered at their

trials. Garnet, the Jesuit, having previously sent to the council a protestation of his innocence, secreted himself at Hendlip, near Worcester, in the house of Thomas Abingdon, who had married the sister of Lord Mounteagle. The place of his concealment was known to Humphrey Littleton, who had not yet been brought to trial; and the hope of saving his own life induced him to communicate the intelligence to the council. Sir Henry Bromley, a neighboring magistrate, received a commission to proceed to Hendlip with an armed force, and succeeded in arresting Garnet. After an interval of two months, his trial took place. The interest which it excited appeared from the crowd of spectators assembled in the court: among them were the king himself, all the foreign ambassadors, and most of the members of parliament. Sir Edward Coke, the attorney-general, spoke for some hours. Garnet replied with temper and firmness; but was often interrupted. Though a verdict of guilty was returned, his friends professed themselves satisfied with the proceedings, for all that had been proved against him was that he had not betrayed the secret confided to him in confession.

More than two months were permitted to elapse between his condemnation and execution: a long and anxious interval, which, however, he was not suffered to spend in peaceful preparation for the fate which awaited him. He had been examined three and twenty times before his trial: after trial the examinations were resumed. On the scaffold, according to the ambiguous language of the official account, he confessed his guilt; but if we may credit the letters of spectators, he denied all knowledge of the plot, except by confession. His pious and constant demeanour excited the sympathy of the crowd; their vociferations checked the impatience of the executioner, and the cruel operation of quartering was deferred till he was fully dead.

After a long adjournment, occasioned by the discovery of the gunpowder plot, the parliament assembled. The lords appeared as usual to have no other wish than to gratify the sovereign; but the commons resumed that bold tone of expostulation and resistance which had given so much offence in the last session. Partly, however, by promises, and partly by management, ministers contrived to elude every motion for reform, and to obtain a liberal vote.

To a thinking mind, the late conspiracy must have proved the

danger and impolicy of driving men to desperation by the punishment of religious opinion. But the warning was lost; the New penal laws against the Catholics. existing enactments against the Catholics, oppressive and sanguinary as they were, appeared too indulgent; and though justice had been satisfied by the death and execution of the guilty, revenge and fanaticism sought out additional victims among the innocent. Every member was ordered to stand up in his place and to propound those measures which in his judgment he thought most expedient. These in successive conferences, were communicated by one house to the other; and in each, motions were made and entertained, abhorrent from the common feelings of humanity.

After a long succession of debates, conferences, and amendments, the new code received the royal assent. It repealed none of the laws then in force, but added to their severity by two new bills, containing more than seventy articles, inflicting penalties on the Catholics in all the several departments of life. But that which effectually broke the power of the Catholic body in England, by dividing them into two parties marshalled against each other, was the enactment of a new oath of allegiance, for the avowed purpose of drawing a distinction between those Catholics who denied, and those who admitted the temporal pretensions of the pontiffs. That James, in the proposal of the last measure, had the intention of gradually relieving one portion of his Catholic subjects from the burden of the penal laws, is highly probable; but whether those to whom he committed the task of framing the oath were animated with similar sentiments, has been frequently disputed. They were not content with the disclaimer of the deposing power; they added a declaration that to maintain it was impious, heretical, and damnable. The oath, however, as it was framed, received the approbation of the legislature, and the question as to the propriety of taking it divided the English Catholics for a long time.

When James prorogued the parliament in 1606, he had been more than three years on the throne, and yet had made no progress in the esteem, had acquired no place in the affections, of his English subjects. His consort, Anne of Denmark, had brought with her as her dower the Shetlands and the Orkneys, which for the last century had been pawned to the crown of Scot-

land. This princess could boast of some pretensions to beauty, to which she added considerable abilities and spirit. She hesitated not to avow her contempt for the weakness of the king; frequently assumed a superiority, which made him feel under constraint in her presence; and, on some occasions, presumed even to dispute the royal authority.

James had scarcely recovered from the panic excited by the gunpowder treason, when he was alarmed by an insurrection in the very heart of the kingdom. It was provoked by the rapacity of the lords of manors, who had enclosed for their own use large parcels of lands which had hitherto been common, and had thus diminished the usual means of subsistence to their poorer tenants. At the first report of this commotion, James knew not whether to suspect the Catholics or the Puritans: the guards in the palace were doubled; and the lord mayor was instructed to watch the motions of the apprentices within the city. More accurate information relieved his terrors. The insurgents were commanded by proclamation to disperse: but they maintained that their occupation was lawful; they were employed in executing the statute against new enclosures. This insurrection was suppressed, but proved the weakness of the government.

Among the projects which James had formed, there was one upon which he had set his heart, but in which he was strongly opposed by the prejudices of his subjects of both nations. His accession had given to England and Scotland the same head; he wished to unite them in one body. The king's project of uniting the two kingdoms. By the English parliament the king's proposal was received with coldness, by the Scottish with aversion; nor could the prayer of James obtain from the former, nor his threats extort from the latter, any thing more than the appointment of commissioners to meet and deliberate on the question. These, after several conferences, agreed that all hostile laws between the two kingdoms ought to be repealed; that the border courts and customs should be abolished; that there should be free intercourse of trade throughout the king's dominions, and that the subjects of each should be naturalized in the other. Though these propositions did not equal the expectations of James, he was content to accept them as a foundation for the superstructure which he meditated,

and, therefore, assumed by proclamation the new style of King of Great Britain. When, however, they were laid before the parliament, the two first only were adopted. The king addressed the commons, but his eloquence was poured in vain; it only provoked angry discussions, and the king withdrew his favorite question from the consideration of parliament; but he had, however, the means of establishing the naturalization of all his subjects in both kingdoms by decisions in the courts of law.

For more than two years the parliament had been successively prorogued, through the unwillingness of James to meet the men who had presumed to question his prudence, and to speak irreverently of his pleasures. In 1610, his obstinacy was compelled to yield to necessity; and he convened the houses. The commons appointed a committee to search for precedents, on the subject of taxation by the king alone, and the discussion occupied the house during the remainder of the session. The opposition members had the better of the argument, though they had to contend against the eloquence and ingenuity of Sir Francis Bacon, the solicitor-general. The threat of a dissolution prevailed on the commons to grant a supply.

Besides these great objects of contention, the commons presented several petitions for the redress of particular grievances, to which the king replied principally at the end of the session. Some he granted; to others he promised to give the most serious attention; a few he unequivocally refused.

During the protracted disputes there was one subject on which all parties were, as usual, unanimous—the persecution of the Catholics. At the petition of the two houses, James issued a proclamation against priests and Jesuits; an act was passed ordering, under the penalty of prebend, that all persons under the age of eighteen should take the oath of allegiance framed by his majesty, and, “for the reformation of married women, who were popish recusants,” it was provided that they should be committed to prison, and remain there till they would receive the sacrament in the church, unless they should be redeemed by their husbands, with the payment of ten pounds per month. In May, 1612, Cecil died. His constitution sank under the depression of spirits which resulted from the failure

Additional laws  
against the Catho-  
lics.



of part of his policy; the waters of Bath produced no alleviation, and he expired at Marlborough on a journey to London.

While Cecil had labored in vain to supply the wants of the treasury, the king's attention had been occupied by occurrences within the circle of his own family, respecting his cousin-german, Arabella Stuart. Her descent, like his own, from Margaret, the eldest daughter of Henry VII., had formerly taught him to look upon her as a rival; and a Arabella Stuart: her imprisonment. suspicion haunted his mind that her pretensions, if they were suffered to survive her, might prove dangerous to his own posterity. He treated her indeed as his kinswoman, granting her a pension for her support, and allotting her apartments in the palace; but at the same time he secretly condemned her in his own breast to a state of perpetual celibacy. She, however, formed an attachment for William Seymour, son to Lord Beauchamp: the king heard this intelligence with anger. The lovers were twice summoned before the council, reprimanded for their presumption, and forbidden on their allegiance to marry without the royal permission. They submitted till the next interview: a furtive marriage took place. Seymour was committed to the Tower—Arabella to the custody of Sir Thomas Parry, at Lambeth. Seymour escaped, but Arabella, who got away from custody for a day, was retaken and again consigned to the Tower. The rigor of her confinement was increased; and her mind, yielding to despair, betrayed symptoms of derangement. In the fourth year of her imprisonment she expired.

While the king thus severely punished the marriage of his cousin Arabella, he had been busily engaged in negotiating marriages for his son Henry and his daughter Elizabeth. The marriage of Elizabeth, the king's daughter. Henry, the heir apparent, had reached his eighteenth year when he died. The princess Elizabeth was the only survivor of four daughters, and, after two brothers, the next heir to the throne. She had many suitors, among whom the most distinguished were the young king of Spain, the prince of Piedmont, and Frederic, count palatine of the Rhine. The profession of the reformed faith by Frederic gave him the preponderance, and as soon as the articles of the marriage had been signed, he came to England to receive his young and beautiful bride. The

marriage was solemnized with great splendor, immediately after the mourning for Prince Henry had ceased.

From the king's children we may pass to his favorites. From the commencement of his reign, he had surrounded himself with several of his countrymen, but as long as Salisbury lived, he possessed exclusively his affection. The death of that powerful minister allowed James to follow his own inclinations, and he first selected Robert Carr, and afterward George Villiers, as objects of peculiar attachment; and these, the creatures of the royal caprice and bounty, soon acquired the government of the king himself, and, through him, of his three kingdoms.

Carr, when a boy, had been James's page in Scotland, and was of the family of Fernyherst, the son of one who had suffered much in the cause of the unfortunate Mary Stuart. He was distinguished with many marks of the royal favor; riches and honors poured upon him; the lands which escheated to the crown, and the presents offered by those who solicited his mediation with the sovereign, gave him a princely fortune; and he was successively raised to the honors of Baron Branspeth, Viscount Rochester, and knight of the Garter. Unequal to the task of managing court intrigues, he employed the aid of Sir Thomas Overbury, who from Carr's first introduction to the king, had been his guide and assistant. Overbury was committed a close prisoner to the Tower in 1611. The occasion of his disgrace was the unfortunate passion of Rochester for the lady Frances Howard, the daughter of the lord chamberlain, Suffolk. At the age of thirteen she had been married to the earl of Essex, who was only a year older than herself. Dissensions between them produced on the part of each a rooted antipathy to the other. At court, the young countess had many admirers, among whom were Prince Henry and Rochester. But the latter was the favored lover; and in one of their furtive meetings it was proposed that she should sue for a divorce from Essex, and afterward marry the viscount. Her father and uncle were led by political motives to approve of the project, and so did the king; but by Overbury it was decidedly and violently opposed. The countess in her fury offered one thousand pounds to Sir John Wood to take Overbury's life in a duel: but her friends suggested a more innocent expedient to

remove him from court, by sending him on an embassy to France or Russia. He refused, observing that the king could not in law or justice exile him from his country. This answer was pronounced a contempt of the royal authority, and the delinquent was committed, with the consent of his patron, to the custody of the lieutenant of the Tower.

Within a few days, proceedings for a divorce between the earl and the countess of Essex were instituted before a court of delegates appointed by the king; decision was pronounced in favor of the divorce. Overbury lived not to be acquainted with this judgment. On the preceding day he expired, after a confinement of six months, during which he had not been permitted to see his friends, or to communicate with them by letter. The time, the manner of his death, the reported state of the body, and its precipitate interment, provoked a general suspicion that he had perished by poison. After a short delay, Frances Howard was married in the royal chapel to her lover, who, that she might not lose in title by the exchange, had been previously created earl of Somerset.

The king opened the next session with a conciliatory speech, which he followed up with a request for pecuniary aid, and an offer to redress a multitude of minor grievances, enumerated in the petitions of the last parliament. But little attention was paid to the royal message. The patience of James was now exhausted; he commanded the commons to proceed to the consideration of the supply, and punished their disobedience by a hasty dissolution. The next morning the most violent and refractory of the members were called before the council; The sale of of they were told, that, though the king had given fices. them liberty, he had not authorized licentiousness of speech; and five of the number were committed for a time to the Tower. In the sale of offices, which was usual at this time, that of cupbearer had fallen to George Villiers, a younger son of Sir Edward Villiers, of Brookesby, in Leicestershire. He was tall and well-proportioned; his features bespoke activity of mind and gentleness of disposition; and a short residence in the court of France had imparted to his manners that polish which James had sufficient taste to approve in others, though he could not acquire it himself. The new cupbearer immediately attracted the notice of his sove-

reign. On St. George's feast, 1615, he was sworn a gentleman of the privy chamber, with a yearly salary of one thousand pounds; and the next day, while he was employed in the duties of his new office, he received the honor of knighthood.

The earl and countess of Somerset were, in 1615, tried for the murder of Overbury. He was found guilty, but only suffered loss of property and station. The countess pleaded guilty, but

The disgrace of Coke. was permitted to live. The disgrace of the celebrated lawyer Sir Edward Coke soon followed. In professional knowledge, Coke stood pre-eminent; but his notions were confined and illiberal, his temper arrogant and unfeeling; and he became an object of personal dislike to the king. Bacon began to rise to eminence at this period, and became chancellor in a few years afterward.

In 1607, after a contest of forty years, both the king of Spain and the United Provinces having grown weary of hostilities, a truce was concluded. James gloried to meet an adversary in the

Arminius and Vorstius. field of theological controversy. In Holland the first reformers had established the Calvinistic creed in all its rigor. Arminius, the pastor of the great church at Amsterdam, and afterward professor at Leyden, had adopted another system, which he deemed more conformable to the benevolence of the Deity, and less revolting to the reason of man. War was soon declared between the partisans of these opposite opinions. James, whose early education had imprinted on his mind a deep reverence for the speculative opinions of Calvin, viewed the controversy with interest, and was not slow in condemning Arminius. On the death of that professor, the curators of the university conferred the vacant chair on Vorstius, whose orthodoxy was disputed. James, by his ambassador, protested against the professor, and reminded the States that the alliance between England and Holland reposed on the basis of purity of religion. The States saw the necessity of appeasing their ally, and Vorstius was condemned, and his followers were persecuted.

James, as head of the Church of England, aspired to the same pre-eminence in his native kingdom of Scotland. The Scottish

Religious persecution in Scotland. clergy were men of bold, untamable characters; their efforts to establish a republican form of church government had led them to discuss the authority of the civil

magistrate. Hence, to overthrow the fabric raised by Knox and his disciples became the chief object of the king's policy in Scotland. He made the attempt, and was apparently successful. With the aid of intrigue, and bribery, and force, he at length imposed bishops on the Scottish church; but the clergy and the people remained attached to the presbyterian discipline. The Catholics in Scotland were persecuted a good deal at this period. Every Catholic nobleman was compelled to receive an orthodox minister into his family, and was forewarned that, unless he should conform within a given period, his obstinacy would be punished with judgment of forfeiture. At the same time, the prisons were filled with victims of inferior quality; and so severe was the persecution, that the fate of the Scottish was still more deserving of pity than that of the English Catholics.

At his accession to the English throne, James had promised to visit his countrymen once in the space of three years. Fourteen had elapsed, and in 1616 he at length redeemed his pledge. He held a session of parliament, but did not succeed in his attempted changes in public affairs, and soon returned to England.

As James claimed his descent from Fergus, the first king of the Scots in Albion, who was sprung from the ancient kings of Erin, his accession was hailed as a blessing by the aboriginal Irish; they congratulated each other on the event, and boasted that the sceptre of Ireland was restored to the rightful national line. An act of parliament had Affairs in Ireland. been passed under Elizabeth to abolish the Catholic worship in Ireland, but it had not been in the power of a handful of Protestants to deprive a whole people of their religion. If the law were at all obeyed, it was only in the garrison towns, where submission could be enforced at the point of the bayonet; and even in these, the great mass of the inhabitants, the chief burghers and the magistrates, secretly cherished their former attachment to the Catholic creed. The death of Elizabeth afforded them an opportunity of expressing their sentiments with less restraint; and the announcement of that event was immediately followed by the restoration of the ancient service in Cork, Waterford, Clonmel, Limerick, Cashel, and other places. Mountjoy, the lord deputy, however, collected a strong body of troops, proceeded from town to town, and partly by argument, partly by intimidation, prevailed

on the inhabitants to submit. The Catholics sent over a deputation to petition for the free exercise of their religion. But James treated the proposal as an insult. It was, he told them, contrary to his conscience; as long as he could find one hundred men to stand by him, he would fight till death against the toleration of an idolatrous worship. Not content with this refusal, he committed four of the deputies to the Tower, where they remained during three months in punishment of their presumption.

Two years later a proclamation was issued, commanding all Catholic priests to quit Ireland under the penalty of death; and an order was sent to the magistrates and principal citizens of Dublin to attend regularly at the reformed Penal laws against the Irish Catholics. service. By law, the refusal subjected the offenders to a certain fine; in this instance it was also visited with imprisonment. The great English families within the pale became alarmed. They remonstrated against the punishment as illegal, and prayed to be indulged with freedom of religious worship; but the chief of the petitioners were arrested and confined in the castle; their spokesman, Sir Patrick Barnewell, was sent to England and incarcerated in the Tower. To allay the discontent occasioned by this act of oppression, James issued a "commission of graces." The levy of fines for absence from church and the administration of the oath on the livery of lands were suspended till further orders. The old forms of tenure were abolished at this period in Ireland, and a royal proclamation called on the possessors of lands to surrender their defective titles to the crown, with a promise that they should receive them back in more valid form, and on more eligible conditions. The mass of the people was soon loosened from all dependence on their former superiors; but they were not on that account more firmly attached to the crown.

Several Irish chiefs took arms against James, but each attempt failed. By several outlawries it was estimated that two millions of acres, almost the whole of six northern counties, Two millions of acres of land confiscated. were escheated to the crown. James was aware, that the endeavors to colonize Ulster under Elizabeth had proved unsuccessful; but he inquired into the causes of the failure, called to his aid the local knowledge of the lord deputy Chichester, and after long deliberation determined to make another trial on a new improved plan. By it the lands to be planted were separated into

four portions. The large lots were reserved for "undertakers and servitors," that is, adventurers of known capital from England and Scotland, and the military and civil officers of the crown; the smaller were distributed indiscriminately among these and the natives of the province; the latter were bound to take the oath of supremacy, and to admit no tenant who was not of British origin. Some hundred thousand acres were planted; and the vigor of the measure, joined to the intermixture of a new race of inhabitants, served to keep in awe those turbulent spirits that had so often defied the authority and arms of the English government. A parliament was held in Ireland in 1608, after an interval of seven and twenty years. The avowed object was to enact new laws, and to obtain a supply for the king; but the Catholics suspected a further design of imposing on their necks that penal code which weighed so heavily on their brethren in England. An act was passed by which the punishment of high-treason was to be enforced against all priests who should remain in the kingdom after the term of forty days from the conclusion of the parliament; and every person harboring or aiding a priest, was for the first offence to pay forty pounds, for the second to incur a premunire, for the third to suffer death.

The Catholics presented a remonstrance containing the catalogue of their religious grievances. They complained that obsolete statutes had been of late revived and carried into execution; that their children were not allowed to study in foreign universities; that all the Catholics of noble birth were excluded from offices and honors, and even from the magistracy in their respective counties; that Catholic citizens and burgesses were removed from all situations of power or profit in the different corporations; that Catholic barristers were not permitted to plead in the courts of law; and that the inferior classes were burdened with fines, excommunications, and other punishments, which reduced them to the lowest degree of poverty. In conclusion they prayed that, since persecution could not wean them from their religion, the king would adopt a more moderate course, which might restore tranquillity, and provide, at the same time, for his own interests and those of his people. After the prorogation, they sent the lords Gormanstown and Dunboyne in the name of the Catholic peers, and two knights and two barristers in the name of the commons, to lay their petition at the foot of the throne. James pro-

A catalogue of  
grievances of the  
Catholics.

nounced a severe reprimand, and proceeded to tax the delegates with disloyalty on the ground of religion ; but said that he would allow them to return to Ireland, in the hope that their future submission would justify his present lenity in not punishing them.

Another proclamation soon appeared, leaving to the Catholic clergy of Ireland the option between self-banishment or death.

New proclamations against the Catholic clergy. But, however anxious James might feel to strengthen the Protestant interest in the island, he saw that additional persecution, without a larger force than he could maintain, would only provoke a general and perhaps successful rebellion. He sent Chichester, the lord deputy, back with instructions to soothe rather than irritate ; the recusants received private assurances of forbearance and indulgence ; and when the parliament met again, both parties appeared to be animated with the spirit of reconciliation and harmony.

James himself was now convinced that before he could extirpate the Catholic worship, it would be necessary to colonize the

New attempts to extirpate the Catholic worship. other provinces after the example of Ulster. New inquiries into defective titles were instituted ; by the most iniquitous proceedings it was made out that almost every foot of land possessed by the natives belonged to the crown, and the "plantation" system was thus considerably extended. Such was the state of Ireland at this period. Civil injury was added to religious oppression. The natives were despoiled of their property, or driven from the place of their birth. There was, indeed, a false and treacherous appearance of tranquillity ; but James had sown the seeds of antipathy and distrust, of irritation and revenge ; his successor reaped the harvest in the discord which so long convulsed and depopulated Ireland.

To return to England. The lay Catholics were still liable to the fines of recusancy, from which the king, according to his own

Persecution continues against the Catholics in England. account, received a large income. Non-attendance at church was visited with excommunication and the civil consequences of that ecclesiastical sentence ; and the refusal of the oath subjected them to perpetual imprisonment and the penalties of premunire. Another grievance arose from the illegal extortions of the pursuivants. Armed with warrants from the magistrates or the under-sheriff, they selected a particular district, and visited every Catholic family under the



pretext of enforcing the law. From the poor, they generally exacted the sacrifice of their furniture or their cattle; to the more wealthy, they repeatedly sold their forbearance for large sums of money. These excesses attracted the notice of parliament; a promise of redress was given; and a royal proclamation proved, but did not abolish the evil.

Besides the Catholics and Puritans, there was a third class of religionists obnoxious to the law—the Unitarians, few in number, but equally unwilling to abjure their peculiar doctrines. Two of these, by name Legat and Wrightman, were burned. Another Unitarian was discovered and condemned to expiate his errors at the stake; but James, informed of the murmurs uttered by the spectators at the former executions, prudently saved him from the flames, and immured him in a dungeon for life. In this conduct he persevered to the end of his reign; and the fire went out, not through want of fuel, but through the policy or the humanity of the sovereign. From these instances of religious intolerance we may turn to the civil transactions which filled up the residue of James's reign. While the king was in Scotland, Bacon had taken possession of his office. He fell into disgrace in 1617, in consequence of some court intrigues, and only escaped by acts of degradation and protestations of repentance. As the reward of his repentance, he obtained the appointment of lord chancellor, with a pension of one thousand two hundred pounds a year, besides the emoluments of his office, and the title of Lord Verulam.

In 1619, an interesting but distressing scene was opened to the public by the last adventures and the subsequent fate of the gallant but unprincipled Sir Walter Raleigh. After his conviction in 1603, he had remained thirteen years a prisoner in the Tower; but the earl of Northumberland, the Mæcenas of the age, had converted that abode of misery into a temple of the muses. Raleigh was gradually inspired by the genius of the place; at first he endeavored to solace the tedium of confinement by the study of chemistry; thence he proceeded to different branches of literature; and two years before his enlargement published his celebrated History of the World. At the request of Buckingham, James gave him liberty in 1619, but refused him pardon.

In 1584, Raleigh had obtained from Queen Elizabeth a patent

Sir Walter Raleigh: his imprisonment, trial, and execution.

which gave to him, his heirs and assigns, full power to discover and subdue foreign and heathen lands not in possession of any Christian prince. In consequence of this most ample grant, Raleigh sent to the shores of North America several expeditions, which proved ruinous to the projector, though beneficial to the country, inasmuch as they led to the colonization of Virginia.

In 1595, he sailed in person, and the account which he published after his return was most flattering. He continued to press the subject on the attention of government, till the minister, dazzled by the prospect, presented his petition to the king, and obtained for him the permission which he sought, of going out on behalf of the nation. The expedition, consisting of fourteen sail, was compelled to put into Cork, whence, after a long and tedious voyage of four months, during which the elements seemed to have conspired against the adventurers, it reached the coast of Guiana. Misfortunes occurred to Raleigh in various forms. Ship after ship abandoned his flag; the men under his command mutinied and split into parties; and, after an unsuccessful attempt to slink away on the coast of Ireland, he returned to the harbor of Plymouth, but whether by choice or compulsion is uncertain. As Raleigh had attacked some Spanish settlements in America contrary to James's orders, he was arrested.

James consulted the judges, who said that Raleigh, remaining under sentence of death, had all along been dead in law: he could not, therefore, be brought to trial for any subsequent offence; but, in contemplation of his more recent conduct in sacking and burning the town of St. Thomas, the judgment passed on him in the first year of the king might with justice be carried into execution. Four days later he was placed at the bar of the king's bench: he pleaded that his commission, by giving him power of life and death over others, was equivalent to a pardon; but the chief-justice interrupted him, saying that in cases of treason pardon could not be implied, but must be expressed; and after a suitable exhortation, conceived in terms of respect unusual on such occasions, ended with these words, "Execution is granted." Raleigh, from the moment he despaired of saving his life, displayed a fortitude worthy of his character. His cheerfulness on the scaffold was remarkable. Having taken his leave of the lords who were present, he asked for the axe, and, feeling

the edge, observed, with a smile, that it was a sharp medicine, but a physician for all diseases. He then laid his head on the block, and gave the signal; but the slowness of the executioner provoked him to exclaim, "Why dost thou not strike? Strike, man!" At the second blow his head was severed from his body.

During sixteen years, James had now wielded the sceptre in peace: before the close of his reign, he was reluctantly dragged into a war by the ambition of his son-in-law and the enthusiasm of his people. The cause originated in a distant clime, in a quarrel respecting the site of churches amid the mountains of Bohemia; but that quarrel was connected with religion; and, in an age mad with religious fanaticism, the most trifling provocation was sufficient to array one-half of Europe in battle against the other. As this subject belongs to foreign politics, we need not dwell on it in this abridgment.

We now approach the downfall of Lord Bacon. Nature had designed him to rule, as a master spirit, in the world of letters; but ambition led him to crouch at court in search of wealth and preferment. He succeeded; but if <sup>Fall of Lord Bacon.</sup> he found the ascent to greatness slow and toilsome, his fall was sudden and instantaneous. He had not borne his honors with meekness. Vanity led him into great and useless expenses; his extravagance was supported by rapacity; and the suitors in his court, even the successful suitors, complained that they were impoverished by the venality of the judge. The commons presented a bill of impeachment, charging Bacon with bribery and corruption. This stroke unnerved him: after an unsatisfactory interview with the king, he shrank from the eyes of his accusers, and under the pretence of sickness, retired to his bed; whence he wrote to the house a letter acknowledging the enormity of his offences, and soliciting mercy for the repenting sinner. He was condemned to pay to the king a fine of forty thousand pounds, to be imprisoned during the royal pleasure, and to be incapacitated for life from coming within the verge of the court, from sitting in parliament, and from serving his country in any office of dignity or emolument.

Of Bacon's guilt there was no doubt; but, had he submitted with patience to his fate, had he devoted to literary pursuits

those intellectual powers which made him the prodigy of the age, he might have redeemed his character, and have conferred immortal benefits on mankind. He revised, indeed, his former works, he procured them indeed to be translated into the Latin language, and he wrote a life of Henry VII.; but these were unwelcome tasks, suggested to him from authority, and performed with reluctance. He still looked back to the flesh-pots of Egypt, the favors of the court; and, in addition to the restoration to liberty and the remission of his fine, boons which were granted, he solicited with unceasing importunity both a pension and employment. With this view he continued to harass the king, the prince, and the favorite with letters; he pleaded his former services, he sought to move pity by prayers the most abject, and to win favor by flattery the most blasphemous. But his petitions were received with coldness, and treated with contempt; the repeated failure of his hopes soured his temper and impaired his health; and he died, the victim of mistaken and disappointed ambition, in the fifth year after his disgrace.

James had long sought to connect himself with France, by soliciting the hand of the princess Christine for his eldest son Henry, and on the death of Henry, for his next Matrimonial projects. surviving son Charles. But Christine was already contracted in private to Philip, prince of Spain, whom she afterward married on the same day on which her brother Louis married Anne of Austria, the sister of Philip. But besides Anne there was another infanta, Donna Maria, and her the Spanish minister, the duke of Lerma, offered to Prince Charles in the place of Christine; though there is reason to believe that he had no intention to conclude the match, and threw out the project merely as a bait to seduce the English king from his near connection with the French court. By James, however, the proposal was cheerfully entertained, under the idea that the riches of the father would supply a large portion with the princess, and his superior power would render him a more valuable ally. His views were eagerly seconded in England by Gondomar the Spanish, and in Spain by Digby the English ambassador; both of whom considered the accomplishment of the marriage as a certain pledge of their future aggrandizement. By their exertions the chief difficulty—difference of religion—was apparently sur-

mounted: twenty articles, securing to the princess the free exercise of the Catholic worship in England, received the approbation of the two monarchs; and James was induced to promise that he would never more suffer Catholic priests to be executed for the sole exercise of their functions, and that he would grant to the Catholic recusants every indulgence in his power. Though the negotiation was kept secret, its general tendency transpired; the clergy and the more zealous of their hearers maintained that religion was in danger from the restoration of popery; and the result was a petition of the commons which provoked the dissolution of parliament.

Two strangers, calling themselves John and Thomas Smith, arrived in the dusk of the evening at the house of the earl of Bristol, the English ambassador, in Madrid, on the 7th <sup>The prince of Wales goes to Spain in disguise.</sup> March, 1623. They were the prince of Wales and the marquess of Buckingham, who had left England without the privity of any other person than the king, and had travelled in disguise, with three attendants, to the capital of Spain. The king, the nobility, and the population of Madrid, seemed at a loss to testify their joy at this unexpected event. The prince was received with every complimentary honor which Spanish ingenuity could devise; the prisons were thrown open; disposal of favors was placed in his hands; he was made to take precedence of the king himself; and two keys of gold gave him admission, at all hours, into the royal apartments. His visit was considered not only as a proof of his reliance on Spanish honor, an earnest of his attachment to the Spanish princess, but also as a prelude to his conversion to the Catholic faith, of which hopes had already been held out, and, there is reason to believe, not entirely without foundation. In England, the sudden disappearance of the prince had excited surprise and alarm: the intelligence of his arrival in Spain, though celebrated at the royal command with bonfires and the ringing of bells, was received with strong expressions of disapprobation. The match was soon broken off in consequence of disputes between Buckingham and the Spanish court.

The king was engaged, in 1624, in a new treaty of marriage, which had been set on foot to console him for the failure of that with Spain. When Charles and Buckingham passed through

Proposal of marriage between the prince and Henrietta Maria. France, they had stopped a day in Paris, and had been admitted in quality of strangers to the French court, where they saw the princess Henrietta Maria at a ball. She was the youngest daughter of the last king, in her fourteenth year, dark of complexion and short of stature, but distinguished by the beauty of her features and the elegance of her shape. At that time she seems to have made no impression on the heart of the prince; but afterward, in proportion as his affections were estranged from the infanta, his thoughts reverted to Henrietta; and, after his return to England, the proposal of marriage was formally made to the French court. The French cabinet acquiesced; and the king of England promised that all Catholics, imprisoned for religion since the rising of parliament, should be discharged; that all fines levied on recusants since that period should be repaid; and that for the future they should suffer no molestation on account of the private and peaceable exercise of their worship.

In March, 1625, before the marriage was solemnized, James fell ill of gout. On the eleventh day he received the sacrament The death of James. in the presence of his son, his favorite, and his attendants, with a serenity of mind and fervor of devotion which drew tears from the eyes of the beholders. Early on the fourteenth he sent for Charles; but before the prince could reach the chamber, the king had lost the faculty of speech, and in the course of a few hours expired, in the fifty-ninth year of his age, and the twenty-third of his reign. Of his seven children, three sons and four daughters, two only survived him; Charles, his successor on the throne, and Elizabeth, the titular queen of Bohemia.

James, though an able man, was a weak monarch. His quickness of apprehension and soundness of judgment were marred by His character. his credulity and partialities, his childish fears, and habit of vacillation. Eminently qualified to advise as a councillor, he wanted the spirit and resolution to act as a sovereign. His discourse teemed with maxims of political wisdom, his conduct frequently bore the impress of political imbecility. If, in the language of his flatterers, he was the British Solomon, in the opinion of less interested observers he merited the appellation given to him by the duke of Sully, that of "the

wisest fool in Europe." It was his misfortune, at the moment when he took into his hands the reins of government in Scotland, to fall into the possession of worthless and profligate favorites, who, by gratifying his inclinations, sought to perpetuate their own influence; and it is to that love of ease and indulgence which he then acquired, that we ought to attribute the various anomalies in his character. To this we see him continually sacrificing his duties and his interests, seeking in his earlier years to shun by every expedient the tedium of public business, and shifting at a later period the burden of government from himself to the shoulders of his favorites. It taught him to practise, in pursuit of his ends, duplicity and cunning, to break his word with as much facility as he gave it, to swear and forswear as best suited his convenience. It plunged him into debt that he might spare himself the pain of refusing importunate suitors, and induced him to sanction measures which he condemned, that he might escape the contradiction of his son and his favorite. To forget his cares in the hurry of the chase or the exercise of the golf, in carousing at table or laughing at the buffoonery and indecencies practised by those around him, seems to have constituted the chief pleasure of his life.

In temper, James was hasty and variable, easily provoked, and easily appeased. During his passion he would scream, and curse, and indulge in blasphemous or indelicate allusions: when his passion was cooled, he would forgive or sue to be forgiven. From his preceptor, Buchanan, James had imbibed the maxim that "a sovereign ought to be the most learned clerk in his dominions." Of his intellectual acquirements he has left numerous specimens in his works; but his literary pride and self-sufficiency, his habit of interrogating others that he might discover the extent of their reading, and the ostentatious display which he continually made of his own learning, though they won the flattery of his attendants and courtiers, provoked the contempt and derision of real scholars. Theology he considered as the first of sciences on account of its object, and of the highest importance to himself, in quality of head of the church and defender of the faith. Besides divinity, there was another science with which he was equally conversant, that of demonology. With great parade of learning, he demonstrated the existence of witches. Witchcraft, at his solici-

tation, was made a capital offence; and, from the commencement of his reign, there scarcely passed a year in which some aged female or other was not condemned to expiate on the gallows her imaginary communications with the evil spirit.

Had the lot of James been cast in private life, he might have been a respectable country gentleman: the elevation of the throne exposed his foibles to the gaze of the public, and that at a time when the growing spirit of freedom and the more general diffusion of knowledge had rendered men less willing to admit the pretensions, and more eager to censure the defects, of their superiors. With all his learning and eloquence, he failed to acquire the love or the esteem of his subjects; and though he deserved not the reproaches cast on his memory by the revolutionary writers of the next and succeeding reigns, posterity has agreed to consider him as a weak and prodigal king, and a vain and loquacious pedant.

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## CHAPTER XXXIII.

### Charles the First.

#### CONTEMPORARY SOVEREIGNS.

<i>Popes.</i>	<i>Germany.</i>	<i>France.</i>
Urban VIII.	Ferdinand II.	Leuis XIII.
Innocent X.	Ferdinand III.	Louis XIV.
	<i>Spain.</i>	
	Philip IV.	

The King's Marriage—He meets his Parliament—War with France—Third Parliament—Assassination of Buckingham—Discontent in England and Ireland—New Service-book—Covenant—Riots—Impeachment of Stafford—His Trial and Execution—Rebellion in Ireland—Remonstrance of the Commons—Impeachment of the Bishops—Impeachment of Members—Parliament levies an Army—Charles sets up his Standard—Battles of Edgehill and Newbury—Solemn League—Battle of Marston Moor—Defeat at Naseby—Surrenders to the Scottish Army—Is delivered up by the Scots—The King escapes—He is again taken—His Trial and Execution—A. D. 1625 to 1649.

CHARLES was in his twenty-fifth year when he ascended the throne. His accession caused no material alteration in the policy



of the government, for Buckingham possessed the confidence of the son as firmly as he had enjoyed that of the father. The first question which claimed the attention of the new monarch was the match with France; and on the third day after the decease of his father he ratified the treaty of marriage. The ceremony was performed by proxy on a platform erected before the great door of the cathedral of Paris; and the duke of Buckingham hastened to that capital with a numerous retinue to bring home the royal bride.

Charles soon met his first parliament, and submitted the state of his finances to its consideration. James had left personal debts amounting to seven hundred thousand pounds; and <sup>Charles meets</sup> the accession and marriage of the new king had <sup>his first parlia-</sup> involved him in heavy expenses. In the commons, the saints or zealots formed a most powerful phalanx; they generally fought under the same banner, and on most questions made common cause with the members of the country party, who, whatever might be their religious feelings, professed to seek the reformation of abuse in the prerogative, and the preservation of the liberties of the people. The session was opened with a gracious speech from the throne; but, though it had been customary to give credit to the professions of a new sovereign, nothing was heard among the commons but the misbodings of fanaticism and the murmurs of distrust. The king was urged, as he valued the advancement of true religion, as he disapproved of idolatry and superstition, to put into immediate execution all the existing laws against Catholic recusants, and missionaries. At no time could such an address have proved more unwelcome to his feelings. He had just married a Catholic princess; he had bound himself by treaty to grant indulgence to her brethren of the same faith, and his palace was crowded with Catholic noblemen whom he had invited from France to do honor to his nuptials; but prudence taught him to subdue his vexation, and he returned a gracious and satisfactory answer. They next proceeded to the supplies; the predecessors of Charles, ever since the reign of Henry VI., had received the duties of tonnage and poundage for life. Parliament voted the same to him, but limited the duration to the first year of his reign. Charles received the intelligence with surprise and indignation; but it was too late to recall their

attention to the subject ; more than twelve hundred persons had died of a plague in a week, and the parliament was adjourned by commission, to meet again, after a short recess, in the city of Oxford, where it sat but a few days ; and they were days of angry debate and mutual recrimination.

In the next winter, Buckingham sailed to the Hague, taking with him the crown-plate and jewels, on the security of which it was calculated that he might raise three hundred thousand pounds for the king. A treaty offensive and defensive had been already concluded with the States ; he negotiated a second with the king of Denmark. To please the Puritans, Charles now persecuted the Catholics ; the magistrates received orders to watch over the strict execution of the penal laws ; a commission was appointed to levy the fines due by the Catholics, and to apply them to the charges of the war ; and a succession of proclamations enjoined all parents and guardians to recall their children and wards from seminaries beyond the sea ; all Catholic priests to quit the kingdom against a certain day ; and all recusants to deliver up their arms, and confine themselves within the circuit of five miles from their respective dwellings. The king of France remonstrated by an extraordinary ambassador ; he insisted on the faithful observance of the treaty ; but Charles, who had pledged his word to call a parliament after Christmas, dared not face his opponents until he had carried into effect the prayer of their petition ; and in excuse to Louis, alleged that he had never considered the stipulation in favor of the Catholics as any thing more than an artifice to obtain the papal dispensation for the marriage of the French princess.

At Candlemas the king was crowned, and four days later he met the new parliament. A committee of the commons denounced to the house sixteen abuses, as subversive of the liberties of the people. Of these the most prominent were, the practice of impositions, which had been so warmly debated in the last reign ; that of purveyance, by which the officers of the household collected provisions at a fixed price to the distance of sixty miles from the court ; and the illegal conduct of the lord treasurer, who persisted in levying the duties of tonnage and poundage without authority of parliament.

Charles reminded the house of his wants, and received in re-

turn a promise of three subsidies and fifteenths, as soon as he should give a favorable answer to their prayer for the redress of grievances. His pride spurned the condition. He advised them to hasten and augment the supply, or "else it would be worse for themselves;" he repeated the menace, he wrote to the speaker, he reprimanded the house in the presence of the lords, and at last extorted the vote of an additional subsidy. But, by this time, the commons had discovered that the duke of Buckingham was the real cause of the national evils; and under this impression a resolution was taken to impeach him, before the upper house, of sundry high crimes and misdemeanors. Pending the impeachment, however, the king, to protect Buckingham, dissolved parliament. The dissolution left him to struggle with his pecuniary difficulties. He had threatened the commons to pursue "new counsels:" necessity compelled him to execute his threat. Tonnage and poundage, comprising all the duties levied on imports and exports, formed the principal portion of the annual income. No bill authorizing these duties had been passed: nevertheless he ordered the officers of the customs to exact them in the same manner as had been done in his father's reign. Under pretence of the protection of commerce in the narrow seas, the several ports were compelled to provide and maintain, during three months, a certain number of armed vessels, and at the same time the lords lieutenants of the different counties received orders to muster the inhabitants, train them to arms, and employ them for the purpose of suppressing civil tumult or of repelling foreign invasion.

Charles next resolved to raise a forced loan by his own authority; and with this view he appointed commissioners in every county, instructed them to take the book of the last subsidy for their guide, and empowered them to extract from each individual the advance of a certain sum of money. The duke of Buckingham, at this time, was employed in a mission which had for its object to arm the French Protestants against their sovereign, and to make a descent upon the French coast.

It was a strange policy which led the king, at a moment when, in the estimation of every thinking man, there were only two expedients by which he could extricate himself from his difficulties—a peace with Spain, or a reconci- War with France.

liation with his parliament, to neglect them both, and, in addition, to provoke a war with the monarch whose alliance he had courted and whose sister he had married. The war which followed has been attributed by English writers (among other causes) to the resentment of Buckingham, the disappointed lover of one of the continental princesses. Charles had bound himself to grant the Catholics every indulgence in his power, and yet he had enforced the penal laws against them, which course greatly exasperated the French king. At last both kings, as if it had been by mutual compact, signed orders for the suspension of all commercial intercourse between the two nations. A treaty of alliance was concluded between France and Spain, which provided that during the current year, the Spanish ships of war should be received in the French ports, and should in return afford protection to the French navy; and that in the course of the next year both powers should unite their forces, and make a descent on some part of the British islands. Buckingham soon sailed to France. His fleet consisted of forty-two ships of war and thirty-four transports; the land army, of seven regiments of nine hundred men each, a squadron of cavalry, and a numerous body of French Protestants. In a few days he appeared before La Rochelle; but the secrecy with which he had veiled his destination marred his object. The Rochellois were taken by surprise; and said that they could make no demonstration till they had collected the harvest, and consulted the other churches of the union. The news of this unexpected enterprise created alarm and embarrassment in the States, in the Princee Palatine, and the king of Denmark. They bitterly complained to Charles that their hopes and resources were extinguished by this unhappy contest between their two most powerful allies. In the meantime Buckingham published a manifesto in vindication of his proceedings. He declared that the king of Great Britain had no intention of conquest; that he had taken up arms, not as a principal in the war, but as an ally of the Protestants of France. Buckingham failed, but Charles received him with a cheerful countenance and undiminished affection. He had even the generosity to transfer the blame from Buckingham to himself, and to give out that the failure was owing to the want of supplies which it was his own duty to have provided.

Parliament was soon summoned, but before it assembled the king again endeavored to raise taxes by royal authority alone; and the people were admonished that, if the money were dutifully paid, the king would meet the parliament; if not, "he would think of some more speedy way." This attempt threw the whole nation into a ferment. The expression of the public discontent appalled the boldest of the ministers; and the taxation commission was revoked by proclamation, with a promise, "that the king would rely on the love of his people in parliament." Yet a fortnight did not elapse before he imposed new duties on merchandise by his own authority, and then recalled them on the declaration of the judges that they were illegal. Such vacillating conduct, the adoption and rejection of such arbitrary measures, served only to excite in the nation two different feelings, both equally dangerous to the sovereign—disaffection and contempt. When parliament met, the leaders of the country party conducted their proceedings with the most consummate address. They resolved to grant a supply, but no art, no entreaty, could prevail on them to pass their resolution in the shape of a bill. It was held out as a lure to the king; it was gradually brought nearer and nearer to his grasp; but they still refused to surrender their hold; they required, as a previous condition, that he should give his assent to those liberties which they claimed as the birthright of Englishmen. The four following resolutions were passed, without a dissenting voice, even on the part of the courtiers:

1. That no freeman ought to be restrained or imprisoned, unless some lawful cause of such restraint or imprisonment be expressed.
2. That the writ of habeas corpus ought to be granted to every man imprisoned or restrained, though it be at the command of the king or of the privy council, if he pray for the same.
3. That when the return expresses no cause of commitment or restraint, the party ought to be delivered or bailed.
4. That it is the ancient and undoubted right of every freeman, that he hath a full and absolute property in his goods and estate, and that no tax, loan, or benevolence ought to be levied by the king or his ministers without common consent by act of parliament.

It would fatigue the patience of the reader to detail the nu-

merous expedients by which Charles, during the space of two months, labored to lull the suspicion, or exhaust the perseverance of his opponents. At length they solicited his assent to the celebrated "Petition of Right." This document set forth the acts of tyranny which had long been practised, and prayed that all such proceedings should cease, and never afterward be drawn into precedents; as being contrary to the rights and liberties of the subject, and the laws and statutes of the nation. Charles was at a loss what answer to return, and resolved to dissemble. His subsequent conduct, during the session, was accordingly formed on a studied plan of hypocrisy and deceit.

On the 23d of August, 1628, the duke of Buckingham was assassinated at Portsmouth, by a man whose name was Felton, a Protestant, who had been a lieutenant in the army, but had retired from the service, because, on two occasions, junior officers had been advanced over his head, and the sum of eighty pounds, the arrears of his pay, had been withheld. Assassination of Buckingham. The remonstrance of the house of commons had convinced him, he said, that to deprive Buckingham of life, as the cause of the national calamities, was to serve God, the king, and the country. The king, who lay at a private house in the neighborhood of Portsmouth, received the announcement of this tragic event with a serenity of countenance which, in those who were unacquainted with his character, excited a suspicion that he was not sorry to be freed from a minister so hateful to the majority of the nation. But Charles lamented his murdered favorite with real affection. If he mastered his feelings in public, he indulged them with greater freedom in private; he carefully marked and remembered the conduct of all around him; he took the widow and children of Buckingham under his special protection; he paid his debts, amounting to sixty-one thousand pounds; he styled him the martyr of his sovereign, and ordered his remains to be deposited among the ashes of the illustrious dead in Westminster abbey. Felton underwent the usual punishment of murder, confessing his delusion, and condemning his offence.

La Rochelle surrendered, at this time, to the king of France. To the French monarch the reduction of this town was a glorious and beneficial achievement; it put an end to that kind of independent republic which the Protestants had erected in the heart

of France, and enabled him to consolidate his extensive dominions into one powerful empire. To the king of England it furnished a source of regret and self-accusation.

Parliament soon reassembled. The king, by message, ordered the commons to take the bill for tonnage and poundage into immediate consideration; but the patriots demanded the precedence for grievances—the saints for religion. The last succeeded, and many debates took place on religious subjects. On the subject of the Petition of Right violent disputes occurred, and parliament was soon dissolved. By the order of the king, the most violent of the opposition members were singled out for punishment, previously to the dissolution; and, after a hasty examination before the council, were committed, some to the Tower, others to different prisons. The attorney-general filed a criminal information against three of them; but they refused to plead, on the ground that the court of king's bench had no right to sit in judgment on their conduct in parliament. Judgment, however, was given, that all three should be imprisoned during the royal pleasure.

Charles next resolved to govern without the intervention of parliament. To strengthen the administration, he resolved to tempt with the offer of favor and office the most formidable of his adversaries in the last parliament. He resigned to the prelate Laud the government of the church, and Laud marshalled the church in support of the prerogative.

Having arranged his foreign disputes, his attention was next chiefly occupied with the improvement of the revenue. He not only persisted in levying the duties of tonnage and poundage, but augmented the rates on several descriptions of merchandise, and ordered the goods of the refractory to be distrained for immediate payment. He contrived to raise a considerable revenue by the revival of the numerous monopolies which had been abated on the successive remonstrances of parliament.

In 1633, the king resolved to visit his native country. He was accompanied by a gallant train of English noblemen, and was received by the Scots with the most enthusiastic welcome. During the six years which followed his return from Scotland, England appeared to enjoy a calm, if that could be called a calm which continually gave indications of an approaching storm

Charles governed without a parliament, but took no pains to allay, but rather inflamed that feverish irritation which the illegality of his past conduct had excited in the minds of his subjects. Nor can it be said in his excuse, that he was ignorant of their dissatisfaction. He saw and despised it; believing firmly in the divine right of kings, he doubted not to bear down the force of public opinion by the mere weight of the royal prerogative.

In 1634, writs were issued to London, and the different ports, ordering them to supply a certain number of ships of a specified

Writs were issued ordering supplies.

tonnage, sufficiently armed and manned, to rendezvous at Portsmouth on the first of March of the following year, and to serve during six months, under an admiral to be appointed by the king. The experiment succeeded; the imprisonment of those who refused to pay their share of the expense enforced obedience; and the council resolved to extend the measure from the maritime towns to the whole kingdom. Writs were directed to the sheriffs, informing each that his county was assessed at a certain number of ships toward the fleet for the ensuing year. The king's right to levy the tax was denied by many

John Hampden disputes the right of the king to levy the tax.

of his subjects, and the claims of the crown were disputed by the celebrated John Hampden, a gentleman of Buckinghamshire; one so quiet, so courteous, so submissive, that he seemed the last individual in the kingdom to oppose the opinion of the judges. But, under the appearance of humility and diffidence, he veiled a correct judgment, an invincible spirit, and the most consummate address. In 1626, he had suffered imprisonment for his refusal to pay his assessment toward the forced loan; a refusal which he justified by the danger of drawing upon himself the curse pronounced against the violators of Magna Charta; now, in a similar manner, he ventured to meet his sovereign in a court of law, merely, as he pretended, to obtain a solemn judgment on a very doubtful question; though it was plainly his real object to awaken the people from their apathy, by the public discussion of a subject which so nearly concerned their rights and liberties. The sum demanded amounted to twenty shillings. Hampden demurred to the proceedings in the court of exchequer, and the question was solemnly argued before the twelve judges during twelve days. The judges delivered their opinions during the three next terms,



four in each term. Seven pronounced in favor of the prerogative, and five in favor of Hampden. The termination of this great trial, which had so long kept the nation in suspense, was hailed as an important victory by the court; but it proved a victory which, by its consequences, led afterward to the downfall of the monarchy. The reasoning in favor of the prerogative was universally judged weak and inconclusive; and men who had paid cheerfully while they conceived the claim might be good in law, parted with their money reluctantly after they had persuaded themselves that it was illegal.

Charles was not satisfied with sowing the seeds of disaffection in England: the same arbitrary sway, the same disregard of the royal word, the same violation of private rights, marked his government of the people of Ireland. Charles endeavors to establish his arbitrary rule in Ireland.

In 1632, Viscount Wentworth had accepted the office of chief governor of Ireland. Wentworth brought with him to the service of his sovereign, that austerity of disposition and that obstinacy of purpose which had formerly earned for him the hostility of the king and of his favorite. He had once been the zealous champion of the rights of the people: he now knew no rights but those of the crown. Ireland, he maintained, was a conquered country; whatever the inhabitants possessed, they derived from the indulgence of the conqueror; and the imprudent grants of preceding kings might be resumed or modified by the reigning monarch. With these principles he proceeded to Dublin, assured of the protection of Charles, and strengthened by the influence of his friend, Archbishop Laud. His very arrival formed a new era in the British court to be observed within the castle;—a guard, an institution the government of the island. He ordered the ceremonial of the tutition unknown under former deputies, was established; and the proudest of the Irish lords were taught to feel the immense distance which separated them from the representative of their sovereign. By means of promises, which he broke, he raised supplies, and his success stimulated him to carry into execution the other plans which he had formed respecting Ireland. Of these the most important, in his judgment, was the extinction of the ancient worship; a work not to be precipitated by violence, but to be silently effected by the gradual operation of the law. Under the notion that the attachment of the lower orders to the

Catholic faith sprang out of their aptitude to imitate the conduct of their chiefs, he had persuaded himself that if the principal landholders could be induced to conform, the great mass of the people would spontaneously follow their example. With this view, he restored to full activity the oppressive powers of the court of wards. The Catholic heir, if he were a minor, was educated by order of the deputy in the Protestant faith; if of age, he was refused the possession of his lands till he had abjured his religion by taking the oath of supremacy. The abolition of this grievance had been solemnly promised by Charles in 1628; but Wentworth was careful to prevent the confirmation of the promise.

Wentworth next arranged a most extensive plan of spoliation, and claimed the whole province of Connaught in right of the sovereign. In the county of Roscommon, a jury Jury imprisoned for resisting the crown. of freeholders, intimidated by his menaces and presence, returned a verdict in favor of the demands of the crown; the same was the result in those of Mayo, Sligo, Clare, and Limerick; but the men of Galway refused to surrender the inheritance of their fathers. The jury found against the crown, and Wentworth immediately fined the sheriff one thousand pounds for returning such an inquest, and sent the members before the castle-chamber in Dublin, where they were severally fined four thousand pounds, and consigned to prison during his pleasure. Wentworth was of a temper jealous, haughty, and impatient of contradiction. The slightest resistance to his will, the semblance of contempt of his authority, was sufficient to kindle his resentment; and from that moment the unfortunate offender was marked out for ruin.

Much, however, as the people of Ireland and England were aggrieved, they betrayed no disposition to oppose open force to the unjust pretensions of their sovereign; it was Opposition to the royal will in Scotland. in Scotland that the flame was kindled, which gradually spread, till it involved the three kingdoms in one common conflagration. When Charles returned from his native country in 1633, he brought back with him strong feelings of resentment against some lords who had ventured to oppose his favorite measures in the Scottish parliament. Laud labored strenuously to establish the English liturgy in Scotland; but his reasoning and influence were compelled to yield to the obstinacy of the Scottish bishops, who deemed it a disgrace to their coun-

try to owe either the service, or the discipline of their church to their English neighbors. To four of the prelates, whose principles or subserviency had lately raised them to the episcopal dignity, the king assigned the task of compiling a new code of ecclesiastical law, and a new form of public worship. Charles had no right to impose on the nation a new form of worship, or new rules of conduct abhorrent from its religious habits and persuasion. He was not by law the head of the Scottish Church. The moment the liturgy was announced, wocs and curses were showered from every pulpit on the heads of the men who sought "to gag the spirit of God, and to depose Christ from his throne, by betraying to the civil magistrate the authority of the kirk." Riots took place; but the ministers of the crown in Scotland were slow to engage in a contest in which they felt no interest, and the issue of which seemed more than doubtful.

But the leaders of the anti-episcopal party adopted a new and most efficient expedient. Under their auspices, a form of covenant was devised with the view of uniting the whole nation into one dissenting body. By orders The covenant. from the committees, every Scotsman who valued the pure faith and discipline of the kirk, was summoned to the capital to observe a solemn fast, as a preparation for the renewal of the covenant between Israel and God; and on the appointed day, zealots of each sex, and of every rank and profession, from the Highlands as well as the Lowlands, crowded to the church of the Gray Friars. The service began with a fervent prayer from Henderson, the minister, and an exciting speech from Lord Loudon, the best of their orators: the congregation rose; and all, with arms outstretched to heaven, swore to the contents of the covenant. From the capital the enthusiasm quickly diffused itself to the extremities of the kingdom; where good-will was wanting, intimidation was applied; and the covenanters, in every county but that of Aberdeen, outnumbered their opponents in the proportion of a hundred to one. The royal authority, though still acknowledged, was no longer obeyed.

James, on his accession to the English throne, had established a privy council of Scotsmen, charged exclusively with the affairs of their native country. By the advice of this council, after three months had been spent in de- Preparation for war on both sides.

liberation, Charles resolved, in opposition to the remonstrances of his council in Scotland, to suppress the covenant by open force. He at first, however, offered concessions; but the Scottish leaders refused to accept them, for they received information that no reliance was to be placed on this apparent change of disposition in the monarch; and that his object was to lull them into a fatal security, till he had completed his preparations for war. By the general assembly, episcopacy was abolished; and the bishops themselves, with the ministers, the known friends of the bishops, were excommunicated or deprived. Charles by proclamation annulled these proceedings; while the Scots received them with transports of joy, and celebrated a day of national thanksgiving. While the Covenanters thus steadily pursued the abolition of episcopacy, they were not inattentive to the danger which threatened them from England. Their preparations for war kept pace with those of their sovereign. Every man capable of bearing arms was regularly trained; officers who had grown old in actual service hastened from the Swedish and Dutch armies to animate and exercise their countrymen; and arms and ammunition were furnished by the Scottish merchants in Holland.

Charles could not but remark the visible indifference of his English subjects. To the majority, discontented with the illegal tenor of his government, it was a matter of little concern, perhaps of real satisfaction, that the Scots refused submission to his mandates; the Puritans openly condemned the war as an impious crusade against the servants of God; and the only persons who seemed to interest themselves in the cause were the more orthodox of the clergy, and the few men of wealth and importance who depended on the favor of the court. The war soon began in Scotland, and the king was unsuccessful in all directions. Every day brought him intelligence of some new disaster or disappointment. Charles repaired to York, where he proposed to the lords who accompanied him an oath of allegiance, binding them to oppose all seditious, conspiracies, and covenants against his person and dignity. From York, Charles advanced to the neighborhood of Berwick. Leslie, the Scottish general, had fixed his head-quarters at Dunglass. That general called for every fourth man from each presbytery; and

Negotiations prevent hostilities.

though the call was not exactly obeyed, twelve thousand volunteers crowded to his standard. To this army, animated by the most powerful motives that can influence the human breast, Charles could oppose an equal, perhaps superior number of men; but they were men who felt no interest in the cause for which they were destined to fight, who disapproved of the arbitrary proceedings of their sovereign, and who had been warned that the suppression of the Scottish Covenanters could only serve to rivet those chains which had been forged for themselves. Negotiations, however, took place, and Charles returned to London.

He, however, resolved on a second campaign against Scotland; but wanted money. By the advice of Wentworth, it was resolved to apply, in the first instance, to the liberality of the Irish parliament. Before his departure, to reward his past services and to give greater weight to his efforts, he was created earl of Strafford, and appointed lord lieutenant of Ireland. There no man dared openly to oppose his pleasure; the two houses voted a grant of four subsidies; and at his command added a promise of two more, if they should be found necessary. Strafford then returned to assist at the councils of his sovereign, having left orders for the immediate levy of an army of eight thousand men.

In England the meeting of a parliament, after an interruption of many years, was hailed with expressions of joy, and the people expected from its labors the redress of those grievances under which they had labored, and the vindication of those liberties which had been violated. Charles met the two houses without any sanguine expectations of success; but he called upon them to grant him an ample and speedy supply; and to demonstrate to them the justice of his cause, exhibited an intercepted letter, subscribed by seven of the principal Covenanters, and soliciting the aid of the king of France. The result, however, proved that the commons had inherited the sentiments and policy of their predecessors. They took no notice of the prayers or the wants of the sovereign; but gave their whole attention to the national grievances. Charles viewed the apathy of the commons at first with impatience, afterward with alarm. It was in vain that he endeavored to quicken

their proceedings by an earnest and conciliatory speech at Whitehall; and his request to the lords, that they would not listen to the grievances of the commons till the royal wants had been supplied, was productive of a fatal dispute between the two houses.

Parliament dissolved. Finding the commons determined, Charles dissolved parliament. Riots took place in London. The king passed some days in the deepest anxiety, looking with impatience for the arrival of troops from the army; and beholding, evening after evening, from his palace, the illegal proceedings of the mob, and the conflagration of houses on the opposite bank of the river. At last, he found himself at the head of six thousand men.

In Scotland, the Covenanters acted with unanimity and enthusiasm. They had been careful to keep in full pay the officers whom in the last campaign they had invited from Germany; the men who had been disbanded after the negotiation with the king, cheerfully returned to their colours; and many individuals, on the security of noblemen and merchants, sent their plate to the mint that they might supply money for the weekly pay of the soldiers. When Charles commenced his preparations, his enemies were ready to act. Leslie collected his army at Chouseley Wood, near Dunse; during three weeks the men were daily trained to martial exercises, and encouraged by sermons and prayers; and, August 20th, he crossed the Tweed with twenty-three thousand infantry and three thousand cavalry. The lord Conway had arrived in Northumberland to take the command, with the rank of general of the horse. He dared not oppose an inferior and undisciplined force to the advance of the enemy; but received a peremptory order from the earl of Strafford, the commander-in-chief under the king, to dispute the passage of the Tyne. The works which he hastily erected, in Stella-haugh, were demolished by the Scottish artillery; a division led by Leslie's guard, passed at Newburn ford, and was speedily driven back into the river by a charge of six troops of horse; but these in their turn were checked by the fire from a battery; the Scots a second time formed on the right bank, and the whole English army retired—the horse toward Durham, the infantry, four thousand in number, to Newcastle.

Thence they hastened by forced marches to the borders of Yorkshire, and the two northern counties remained in the undisputed possession of the conquerors.

Charles summoned a parliament, which he met with the most lively apprehensions. The task of leading the op-<sup>Parliament summoned.</sup> position was assumed by Pym, Hampden, and St. John. The Catholics, according to custom, were the first to feel their enmity. Charles, harassed with petitions to relieve his Protestant subjects from their terrors, gave orders that all Catholics should quit the court, and be expelled from the army; that the houses of recusants should be searched for arms, and that the priests should be banished from the realm within thirty days. Both houses concurred in pronouncing the commissions for the levy of ship-money, and all the proceedings consequent on those commissions, to be illegal. Impeachments against Laud and Strafford were next resolved on, and they were taken into custody.

Strafford's trial soon took place: Westminster<sup>The trial of Strafford.</sup> Hall was fitted up for the purpose. On each side of the lords sat the commons on elevated benches as a committee of their house, and near them the Scottish commissioners with the Irish deputies, the bearers of the remonstrance. Two private boxes behind the throne were prepared for the accommodation of the king and queen, whose presence, it was hoped, would act as a check on the forwardness of the witnesses and the violence of the managers. Near them, a gallery had been erected, which was daily crowded with ladies of the highest rank. The proceedings were conducted during thirteen days.

The parliament, to secure Strafford's death, brought in a bill of attainder; the king reluctantly signed it, and on the 12th May, 1641, the unfortunate nobleman was led<sup>His execution.</sup> to execution. He had requested Archbishop Laud, also a prisoner in the Tower, to impart to him his blessing from the window of his cell. The prelate appeared: he raised his hand, but grief prevented his utterance, and he fell senseless on the floor. On the scaffold the earl behaved with composure and dignity. At the first stroke his head was severed from the body. The spectators, said to have amounted to one hundred thousand persons, behaved with decency; but in the evening the people displayed their joy

by bonfires, and demolished the windows of those who refused to illuminate.

Thus, after a long struggle, perished the earl of Strafford, the most able and devoted champion of the claims of the crown, and the most active and formidable enemy to the liberties of the people. By nature he was stern and imperious, choleric and vindictive. In authority, he indulged these passions without regard to the provisions of law or the forms of justice; and, from the moment that he attached himself to the court, he labored (his own letters prove it) to exalt the power of the throne on the ruin of those rights of which he once had been the most strenuous advocate. As president of the North, he first displayed his temper and pretensions; in Ireland, he trampled with greater freedom on the liberties of the people; and, after the rupture with the Scots, he ceased not to inculcate in the council that the king had a right to take what the parliament had undutifully refused to grant. Yet, numerous and acknowledged as his offences were, the propriety of his punishment has been justly questioned. Perhaps it may be difficult to decide between the conflicting arguments which have been advanced; but there appears little doubt that, in a well-regulated state, it is better to allow to offenders any benefit which they may derive from the deficiency of the law, than to bring them to punishment by a departure from the sacred forms of justice.

Charles, soon afterward, visited Scotland peaceably, and was received with honor by a deputation from the estates at his entrance into Edinburgh. He was aware that in Scotland a reaction had long been working in the minds of moderate men, who, satisfied with the concessions already made by the sovereign, began to look with suspicion on the obstinacy and pretensions of the popular leaders. A party had some time before been secretly formed under the auspices of the earl of Montrose, who opened a correspondence with the king. Montrose, however, and several others, being suspected by their countrymen, were thrown into prison. The king procured their release, and, after some arrangements with the Covenanters, returned to England.

The proceedings of the English parliament and the success of Scottish Covenanters had created a deep and general sensation in Ireland. Could that be blamable in Irishmen which was so me-



ritorious in others? Had not they an equal claim to extort the redress of grievances, and to repel religious persecution? These questions were asked in every company; and, in reply, it was observed that new shackles had been <sup>Discontent in Ire-</sup>land. forged for the national rights, new dangers prepared for the national faith; that the English parliament had advanced pretensions to legislate for Ireland, and that the leaders, both in England and Scotland, in all their speeches, publications, and remonstrances, displayed the most hostile feelings toward the Catholic worship, and a fixed determination to abolish it, wherever their influence should extend. Though the two races were intermixed by marriages, though they professed, in opposition to the law, the same religion, there still remained a marked difference in their habits and feelings, which prevented any cordial co-operation between them. The gentlemen of the pale persuaded the Irish to imitate the conduct of the English parliament. Inquiries were instituted into the abuses of government, and commissioners were sent to London to demand from the justice of Charles that toleration, the purchase-money of which he had received many years before. It was plainly his interest to conciliate his Irish subjects. He gave them a most flattering reception, bestowed particular marks of attention on Lord Gormanstown, the head of the deputation, and bade them hope for full redress from his equity and affection. Disturbances, however, spread throughout the island, and whether it was that the lords justices felt themselves unequal to the station which they held, or that they allowed the insurrection to grow for the sake of the forfeitures which must follow its suppression, their conduct displayed no energy. They despatched information to the king and the lord lieutenant, (then in London,) fortified the city of Dublin, and, secure within its walls, awaited the arrival of succors from England. In the mean time the open country was abandoned to the mercy of the insurgents; who, mindful of their own wrongs and those of their fathers, burst into the English plantations, seized the arms and the property of the inhabitants, and restored the lands to the former proprietors or to their descendants. The fugitives with their families sought in crowds an asylum in the nearest garrisons, where they languished under that accumulation of miseries which such a state of sudden destitution must invariably produce.

In defence of their proceedings, the rebel chieftains published a declaration that they had taken up arms in support of the royal prerogative, and for the safety of their religion, against the machinations of a party in the English parliament, which had invaded the rights of the crown, intercepted the graces granted by the king to his Irish subjects, and solicited subscriptions in Ireland to a petition for the total extirpation of the Protestant episcopacy and of the Catholic worship.

The disputes between Charles and his parliament continued, and at last the king adopted the bold but hazardous expedient of impeaching of high-treason the lord Kimbolton, Holles, Haslerig, Pym, Hampden, and Stroud, all distinguished members of the country party. He charged them with having conspired to alienate from him the affections of his people, to excite disobedience in the army, to subvert the rights of parliament, and to extort the consent of the majority by the influence of mobs and terror; and with having, moreover, invited a foreign force into the kingdom from Scotland, and actually levied war against the sovereign. The king himself, attended by his guards, and a number of officers with their swords, proceeded to the house of commons. His purpose was to arrest the accused members; but his secret had been betrayed, and the objects of his search had already left the house. The king, having stationed his attendants at the door, entered with his nephew, Charles, by his side. Having taken the chair, he looked around him, and, not seeing the persons whom he sought, inquired of the speaker if they were present. The speaker falling on his knees, replied that he was merely the organ of the house, and that he had neither ears to hear, nor tongue to speak, but as he was directed by it. The king, seating himself, said that in cases of treason there was no privilege; that it was not his intention to offer violence, but to proceed against the accused by due course of law; that, if the birds had not flown, he would have taken them himself; as the case was, he expected from the loyalty of the house that they would send them to him, or he should have recourse to other expedients. He was heard in silence, and retired amid low but distinct murmurs of "Privilege, privilege."

This unadvised and abortive attempt completed the degradation of the unfortunate monarch. It was equally condemned by his

The king impeaches several members of parliament.

friends and enemies; and it furnished the latter with the means of working on the passions of their adherents, and of exciting them to a state bordering upon frenzy. The accused members return in triumph. The commons adjourned for a week; but during this recess a permanent committee sat in the city to concert matters with their partisans, and to arrange a new triumph over the fallen authority of the sovereign. On the appointed day the five accused members proceeded by water to the house. They were escorted by two thousand armed mariners in boats, and by detachments of the train-bands with eight pieces of cannon on each bank of the river; and were received on landing by four thousand horsemen from Buckinghamshire, who had come to assert the innocence, and to demand justice for the libel on the character of Hampden, their representative. The air resounded with shouts of joy and with military music; and, as the procession passed by Whitehall, the populace indulged in the most unseemly vociferations against the misguided monarch. But Charles was no longer there. Distrusting the object, and aware of the power of the opponents, he had, on the preceding evening, fled with his family to Hampton Court.

It now became evident that the hope of a reconciliation was at an end, and that both parties resolved to stake the issue of the contest on the sword. Aware that, by his irregular entrance into the house of commons, he had given Charles apologizes. the vantage-ground to his adversaries, Charles attempted to retrace his steps by apologizing for his conduct, by promising to proceed against the five members by due course of law, by abandoning the prosecution altogether, and proposing that they should accept a general pardon. But these concessions, instead of mollifying, strengthened their obstinacy. They rejected every offer, and insisted that, to atone for so flagrant a breach of privilege, he should deliver up the names of his advisers. He scorned to return an answer. To probe, however, the sincerity of their declarations, he made to them a request that they should lay before him, in one view, a summary of all the enactments which they required, respecting his authority and revenue, their own privileges, the rights of the people, and the reformation of the church, with a promise that his answer should prove him one of the most easy and benevolent of monarchs. To such a proposal it would

have been impolitic to return a direct refusal. But they grasped at the opportunity to effect what they had long sought, and what they had previously demanded as a ground of confidence, that the government of the forts, and the command of the army and navy, should be intrusted to officers nominated by the two houses of parliament. The king was startled by this answer, and endeavored to temporize.

A long succession of declarations and answers served to occupy the attention of the public during several months. In this war of words, these appeals of the contending parties to the good sense of the people, the king had plainly the advantage over his adversaries. But the real object of Charles was, like that of his opponents, to prepare for war. He had, in February, sent his queen to Holland, under the pretence of conducting his daughter Mary to her husband, but for the purpose of soliciting aid from foreign powers, of raising money on the valuable jewels which she had carried with her, and of purchasing arms and ammunition. In the mean time he gradually withdrew himself from the vicinity of the metropolis, first to Newmarket, then into the more northern counties, and at last fixed his residence in York. A body-guard was raised for him by the neighboring gentlemen, to form in due time the nucleus of a more numerous army.

In Ireland, a national association was formed, and the members, in imitation of the Scottish Covenanters, bound themselves by a common oath to maintain the free and public exercise of the Catholic worship, to bear true faith and allegiance to King Charles, and to defend him against all who should endeavor to subvert the royal prerogative, the power of parliament, or the just rights of the subject. They resolved never to lay down their arms till they had obtained an acknowledgment of the independence of the Irish on the English parliament, the repeal of all degrading disqualifications on the ground of religion, the free exercise of the Catholic worship, the confirmation of toleration, and the exclusion of all but natives from civil and military offices within the kingdom. The Scots, they added in a petition to the king, whose grievances were certainly less numerous, and whose church had been less persecuted, had appealed to the sword in defence of their religion and liberties; and their conduct had been ultimately approved of both by him

and the parliament of England; whence they inferred that what was commendable in Scotchmen could not, by impartial judges, be considered as blamable in Irishmen. In Ulster, the natives, looking on the planters as intruders and robbers, had stripped them of their property, and chased them from their homes, and in some instances had taken their lives. On the other hand, the military, acting by the orders of the council, executed, where they had the power, martial law on the insurgents, laying waste the country, and slaying the fugitives without distinction or mercy. As early as October 27, 1641, the English garrisons began to plunder the lands of the Irish in Ulster.

In England, the two houses had already voted a levy of sixteen thousand men in opposition to the king, who intended to levy war against the parliament. On the other hand, the king was not idle. Numbers of the nobility, and gentry, and clergy, with the members of both universities, lent him money. Negotiations were, however, again attempted. The parliament demanded many matters restricting the prerogative; and that Catholic peers should be deprived of their votes until they had conformed; and the children of Catholics be brought up in the Protestant faith. Charles replied that he was willing to concur in the forced education of Catholic children, to compel the Catholic peers to give their proxies to Protestants, and to abolish all innovations in religion; but he could not consent to the rest of the demands.

Charles, finding that the parliament had commenced to denounce his proclamations, resolved on hostile measures. Having sounded the disposition of the Yorkshire gentlemen, he summoned all his "loving subjects" north of the Trent, and within twenty miles to the south of that river, to meet him in arms at Nottingham on the 22d of August, 1642. On that day, the royal standard, on which was a hand pointing to a crown, with this motto, "Give to Cæsar his due," was carried by a guard of six hundred foot from the castle into a large field; the king followed with a retinue of two thousand men; and the inhabitants crowded around to hear the proclamation read by the herald-at-arms. This ceremony, called the raising of the standard, was deemed equivalent to a declaration of hos

tilities; and thus was the country led into the most direful of national calamities—a civil war.

From Nottingham, Charles despatched deputies to London, the bearers of a proposal that commissioners should be appointed on both sides, with full powers to treat of an accommodation. The two houses, assuming a tone of conscious superiority, replied that they could receive no message from a prince who had raised his standard against his parliament. He next conjured them to think of the blood that would be shed, and to remember that it would lie at their door; they retorted the charge; he was the aggressor, and his would be the guilt. With this answer vanished every prospect of peace; both parties appealed to the sword; and, within a few weeks, the flames of civil war were lighted up in every part of the kingdom.

There was one class of men on whose services the king might rely with confidence—the Catholics—who, alarmed by the fierce intolerance and the severe menaces of the parliament, saw that their own safety depended on the ascendancy of the sovereign. But Charles hesitated to avail himself of this resource. His adversaries had allured the zealots to their party, by representing the king as the dupe of a popish faction, which labored to subvert the Protestant, and to establish on its ruins the popish worship. While higher classes repaired with their dependants to the support of the king, the call of the parliament was cheerfully obeyed by the yeomanry in the country, and by the merchants and tradesmen in the towns. Both parties soon distinguished their adversaries by particular appellations. The royalists were denominated Cavaliers; and they on their part gave to their enemies the name of Roundheads, because they cropped their hair short. \* The command of the royal army was intrusted to the earl of Lindsey, of the parliamentary forces to the earl of Essex. Charles, having left Nottingham, proceeded to Shrewsbury, collecting reinforcements, and receiving voluntary contributions on his march. Halfway between Stafford and Wellington he halted the army, and placing himself in the centre, solemnly declared in the presence of Almighty God that he had no other design, that he felt no other wish, than to maintain the Protestant faith, to govern according to law, and to observe all the statutes enacted in parliament. Waller reduced Portsmouth, while Essex concen-

trated his forces, amounting to fifteen thousand men, in the vicinity of Northampton. From Northampton he hastened to Worcester to oppose the advance of the royal army.

At Nottingham the king could muster no more than six thousand men; but he left Shrewsbury at the head of thrice that number. By a succession of skilful manœuvres he contrived to elude the vigilance of the enemy; and had advanced two days' march on the road to the metropolis before Essex became aware of his object. That general saw his error, and followed the king with expedition. His vanguard entered the village of Keynton on the same evening on which the royalists halted on Edgehill, only a few miles in advance. At midnight, Charles held a council of war, in which it was resolved to turn upon the pursuers, and to offer them battle. Early in the morning the royal army was seen in position on the summit of a range of hills, which gave them a decided superiority in case of attack; but Essex, whose artillery, with one-fourth of his men, was several miles in the rear, satisfied with having arrested the march of the enemy, quietly posted the different corps, as they arrived, on a rising ground in the Vale of the Red Horse, about half a mile in front of the village. About noon, the Cavaliers grew weary of inaction; their importunity at last prevailed; and, about two, the king discharged a cannon with his own hand as the signal of battle.

The battle which followed was a very severe engagement. After some hours the firing ceased on both sides, and the adverse armies stood gazing at each other till the darkness induced them to withdraw—the royalists to their first position on the hills, and the parliamentarians to the village of Keynton. Both armies claimed the honor, neither reaped the benefit, of victory. Essex, leaving the king to pursue his march, withdrew to Warwick, and thence to Coventry; Charles, having compelled the garrison of Banbury to surrender, turned aside to the city of Oxford. The two houses, though they assumed the laurels of victory, felt alarm at the proximity of the royalists, and ordered Essex to come to their protection. In the mean while the royal army, leaving Oxford, loitered—for what reason is unknown—in the vicinity of Reading, and permitted Essex to march without molestation by the more eastern road to the capital. Kingston, Acton, and Windsor were already garrisoned for the parliament;

and the only open passage to London lay through the town of Brentford. Charles had reached Colnbrook in this direction, when he was met by commissioners, who prevailed on him to suspend his march. The conference lasted two days; on the second of which Essex threw a brigade, consisting of three of his best regiments, into Brentford. Charles felt indignant at this proceeding. It was in his opinion a breach of faith; and two days later, after an obstinate resistance on the part of the enemy, he gained possession of the town, having driven part of the garrison into the river, and taken fifteen pieces of cannon and five hundred men. The latter he ordered to be discharged, leaving it to their option either to enter among his followers or to promise on oath never more to bear arms against him. This action put an end to the projected treaty. The king's situation daily became more critical. His opponents had summoned forces from every quarter to London, and Essex found himself at the head of twenty-four thousand men. The two armies faced each other a whole day on Turnham Green; but neither ventured to charge, and the king understanding that the corps which defended the bridge at Kingston had been withdrawn, retreated first to Reading, and then to Oxford.

The whole kingdom at this period exhibited a most melancholy spectacle. No man was suffered to remain neuter. The inter-  
The condition of  
the nation. course between distant parts of the country was interrupted, and the operations of commerce were suspended. In Oxford and its vicinity, in the four northern counties, in Wales, Shropshire, and Worcestershire, the royalists triumphed without opposition; in the metropolis, and the adjoining counties on the southern and eastern coast, the superiority of the parliament was equally decisive. But the nation soon got tired of civil war. Petitions for peace, though they were ungraciously received, continued to load the tables of both houses; and, as the king himself had proposed a cessation of hostilities, prudence taught the most sanguine advocates for war to accede to the wishes of the people. A negotiation was opened at Oxford, but no pacific result took place.

During the treaty every effort was made to recruit the parliamentary army: at its expiration, Essex invested Reading, and took that town. After several messages from the parliament, he removed from Reading and fixed his head-quarters at Tame. One



night, Prince Rupert, making a long circuit, surprised Chinnor in the rear of the army, and killed or captured the greater part of two regiments that lay in the town. In his retreat to Oxford he was compelled to turn on his pursuers at Chalgrove; they charged with more courage than prudence, and were repulsed with considerable loss. It was in this action that the celebrated Hampden received the wound of which he died. The reputation which he had earned by his resistance to the payment of the ship-money had deservedly placed him at the head of the popular leaders, while his insinuating manner, the modesty of his pretensions, and the belief of his integrity, gave to his opinions an irresistible weight. Measures were soon taken to recruit, to its full complement, the army under Essex; and an ordinance was passed to raise a separate force of ten thousand horse for the protection of the metropolis. Committees were appointed to raise men and money in numerous other districts, and were invested with almost unlimited powers; for the exercise of which in the service of the parliament, they were made responsible to no one but the parliament itself.

Here, however, it is time to call the attention of the reader to the opening career of that extraordinary man, who, in the course of the next ten years, raised himself from the ignoble pursuits of a grazier to the high dignity of lord protector of the three kingdoms. Oliver Cromwell was sprung from a younger branch of the Cromwells, a family of note and antiquity in Huntingdonshire, and widely spread through that county and the whole of the Fen district. In the more early part of his life he fell into a state of profound and prolonged melancholy; and it is plain from the few and disjointed documents which have come down to us, that his mental faculties were impaired. It was probably to withdraw him from scenes likely to cause the prolongation or recurrence of his malady, that he was advised to direct his attention to the pursuits of agriculture. He disposed by sale of his patrimonial property in Huntingdon, and took a large grazing farm in the neighborhood of the little town of St. Ives. This was an obscure, but tranquil and soothing occupation, which he did not quit till five years later, when he migrated to Ely, on the death of his maternal uncle, who had left to him by will the lucrative situation of farmer of the tithes and of churchlands be-

longing to the cathedral of that city. Those stirring events followed which led to the first civil war; Cromwell's enthusiasm kindled, the time was come "to put himself forth in the cause of the Lord," and that cause he identified in his own mind with the cause of the country party in opposition to the sovereign and the church. The energy with which he entered into the controversies of the time attracted public notice, and the burgesses of Cambridge chose him for their representative in both the parliaments called by the king in 1640. It was not, however, before the year 1642, that he took his place among the leaders of his party. When the parliament selected officers to command in the new army under the earl of Essex, Cromwell received the commission of captain; within six months afterward he was raised to the higher rank of colonel, with permission to levy for himself a regiment of one thousand horse out of the trained bands in the Eastern association. To the sentiment of honor which animated the cavaliers in the field, he resolved to oppose the energy which is inspired by religious enthusiasm. At the head of his *Ironsides*, he by his activity and daring added new laurels to those which he had previously won; and from parliament, as a proof of confidence, he received the commission of lieutenant-general in 1643.

In 1643, Charles invested Gloucester, the only place of note in the midland counties which admitted the authority of the parliament, but was compelled to raise the siege. A The battle at Newbury. battle took place soon afterward, at Newbury, in which the king's cavalry appears to have been more than a match for that of the enemy; but it could make no impression on the forest of pikes presented by the infantry, the greater part of which consisted of the trained bands from the capital. The battle raged till late in the evening, and both armies passed the night in the field, but in the morning the king allowed Essex to march through Newbury to London; and having ordered Prince Rupert to annoy the rear, retired with his infantry to Oxford. Ever since the beginning of the troubles, a thorough understanding had existed between the chief of the Scottish Covenanters and the principal of the English reformers. Their views were similar; their objects the same. The English parliament sent commissioners to Scotland, whose arrival was celebrated as a day of national triumph; and the letters which they delivered were read

with shouts of exultation and tears of joy. A proclamation was issued summoning all the lieges in Scotland between the ages of sixteen and sixty to appear in arms; and the chief command of the forces was, at the request of the parliament, accepted by Leslie, the veteran general of the Covenanters in the last war. This formidable league, The parliament forms a league with the Covenanters. this union cemented by interest and fanaticism, struck alarm into the breasts of the royalists. But Charles stood undismayed, and prepared to meet this additional evil. With this view he had labored to secure the obedience of the English army in Ireland against the adherents and emissaries of the parliament. The Catholics, by the establishment of a federative government, had consolidated their power, and given an uniform direction to their efforts. It was the care of their leaders to copy the example given by the Scots during the successful war of the Covenant. Like them they professed a sincere attachment to the person, a profound respect for the legitimate authority of the monarch; but like them they claimed the right of resisting oppression, and of employing force in defence of their religion and liberties. At their request, and in imitation of the general assembly of the Scottish kirk, a synod of Catholic prelates and divines was convened at Kilkenny; a statement of the grievances which led the insurgents to take up arms was placed before them; and they decided that the grounds were sufficient, and the war was lawful, provided it were not conducted through motives of personal interest or hatred, nor disgraced by acts of unnecessary cruelty. An oath and covenant was ordered to be taken, binding the subscribers to protect, at the risk of their lives and fortunes, the freedom of the Catholic worship, the person, heirs, and rights of the sovereign, and the lawful immunities and liberties of the kingdom of Ireland, against all usurpers and invaders whomsoever. A day was then appointed for a national assembly, which, without the name, assumed the form and exercised the rights of a parliament.

Experience had proved to Charles that the very name of parliament possessed a powerful influence over the minds of the lower classes in favor of his adversaries. To dispel the charm, he resolved to oppose the loyal Charles summons a parliament. members to those who remained at Westminster, and summoned

by proclamation both houses to meet him at Oxford on the twenty-second of January in the succeeding year. Forty-three peers and one hundred and eighteen commoners obeyed; the usual forms of parliament were observed, and the king opened the session with a gracious speech, in which he deplored the calamities of the kingdom, desired them to bear witness to his pacific disposition, and promised them all the freedom and privileges belonging to such assemblies. Negotiations were attempted, but without success. In various counties actions were fought, of which the success was various and the result unimportant. Every eye fixed itself on the two grand armies in the vicinity of Oxford and London. The parliament professed a resolution to stake the fortune of the cause on one great and decisive battle. The king's principal resource was in the courage and activity of Prince Rupert. He ordered that commander to collect all the force in his power, to hasten into Yorkshire and fight the enemy. He did so; and

Battle of Mars-  
ton Moor. on 2d July, 1644, was fought the battle of Marston Moor. In the parliamentary army, the English and the Scots, who had lately crossed the Tweed, were intermixed, to preclude all occasion of jealousy or dispute. Rupert, at the head of the royal cavalry on the right, charged with his usual impetuosity, and with the usual result. He bore down all before him, but continued the chase for some miles, and thus, by his absence from the field, suffered the victory to slip out of his hands. At the same time the royal infantry, under Goring, Lucas, and Porter, had charged their opponents with equal intrepidity and equal success. The line of the confederates was pierced in several points; and their generals, Manchester, Leven, and Fairfax, convinced that the day was lost, fled in different directions. By their flight the chief command devolved upon Cromwell, who improved the opportunity to win for himself the laurels of victory. With his Ironsides and the Scottish horse he had driven the royal cavalry, under the earl of Newcastle, from their position on the left. Ordering a few squadrons to observe and harass the fugitives, he wheeled round on the flank of the royal infantry, and found them in separate bodies, and in disorder, indulging in the confidence and license of victory. It was not long, indeed, before the royal cavalry, amounting to three thousand men, made their appearance returning from the pursuit. But

the aspect of the field struck dismay into the heart of Rupert. His thoughtless impetuosity was now exchanged for an excess of caution; and after a few skirmishes he withdrew. Cromwell spent the night on the spot; but it was to him a night of suspense and anxiety. His troopers were exhausted with the fatigue of the day; the infantry was dispersed, and without orders; and he expected every moment a nocturnal attack from Rupert, who had it in his power to collect a sufficient force from the several corps of royalists which had suffered little in the battle. But the morning brought him the pleasing intelligence that the prince had hastened by a circuitous route to York. He soon, however, returned to his former command in the western counties; and York, abandoned to its fate, opened its gates to the enemy, on condition that the citizens should not be molested.

In the South of England, Charles obtained some advantages; but the "parliamentary men" continued strong. They wasted, however, much time in personal disputes. The Catholics endured much persecution from the parliament, but it affected property more than life or limb. Episcopacy was at this time abolished by the parliamentarians. In January, 1645, Archbishop Laud, who had been a considerable time in prison, was attainted and executed. An attempt at negotiations soon afterward took place between the king and parliament, but without success. War was resumed, and Montrose, acting for the king, gained some advantage in Scotland.

England, however, was the real arena on which the conflict was to be decided, and in England the king soon found himself unable to cope with his enemies. He still possessed one-third of the kingdom. From Oxford he extended his sway almost without interruption to the extremity of Cornwall; North and South Wales, with the exception of the castles of Pembroke and Montgomery, acknowledged his authority; and the royal standard was still unfurled in several towns in the midland counties. But his army, under the nominal command of the prince of Wales, and the real command of Prince Rupert, was frittered away in a multitude of petty garrisons, and languished in a state of the most alarming insubordination. Their excesses provoked new associations in the counties of Wilts, Dorset, Devon, Somerset,

The association of Clubmen. and Worcester, known by the denomination of Clubmen, whose primary object was the protection of private property, and the infliction of summary vengeance on the depredators belonging to either army. But, though they professed to observe the strictest neutrality between the contending parties, their meetings excited a well-founded jealousy on the part of the parliamentary leaders; who, the moment it could be done without danger, pronounced such associations illegal, and ordered them to be suppressed by military force.

Charles took the field again, in May, 1645. He marched from Oxford at the head of ten thousand men, of whom more than one-half were cavalry; the siege of Chester was raised at the sole report of his approach; and Leicester, an important post in possession of the parliament, was taken by storm on the first assault. Fairfax had appeared with his army before Oxford, where he expected to be admitted by a party within the walls; but the intrigue failed, and he received orders to proceed in search of the king. On the evening of the seventh day his van overtook the rear of the royalists between Daventry and Harborough. Fairfax, the parliamentary general, and his officers, hailed with joy the prospect of a battle. Charles, on the contrary, had sufficient reason to decline an engagement. His numbers had been diminished by the necessity of leaving a strong garrison in Leicester, and several reinforcements were still on their march to join the royal standard. But in the presence of the Roundheads, the Cavaliers never listened to the suggestions of prudence. Early in the morning, the royal army formed in line about a mile south of Harborough. Till eight, they awaited with patience the expected charge of the enemy; but Fairfax refused to move from his strong position near Naseby, and the king, yielding to the importunity of his officers, gave the word to advance. Prince Rupert commanded on the right. The enemy fled before him; six pieces of cannon were taken, and Ireton, the general of the parliamentary horse, was wounded, and for some time a prisoner in the hands of the victors. But the lessons of experience had been thrown away upon Rupert. He urged the pursuit with his characteristic impetuosity, and, as at Marston Moor, by wandering from the field, suffered the victory to be won by the masterly conduct of Oliver Cromwell. In this battle,

fought near the village of Naseby, the king lost more than three thousand men, nine thousand stand of arms, his park of artillery, the baggage of the army, and with it his own cabinet, containing private papers of the first importance. Out of these the parliament made a collection, which was published, with remarks to prove to the nation the falsehoods of Charles, and the justice of the war.

After the battle of Naseby, the campaign presented little more than the last and feeble struggles of an expiring party. Charles himself bore his misfortunes with an air of magnanimity, which was characterized as obstinacy by The struggles of an expiring party. the desponding minds of his followers. From Leicester he retreated to Hereford; from Hereford to Ragland Castle, the seat of the loyal marquis of Worcester; and thence to Cardiff, that he might more readily communicate with Prince Rupert at Bristol. Each day brought him a repetition of the most melancholy intelligence. From Cardiff he hastily crossed the kingdom to Newark. Learning that the Scottish cavalry were in pursuit, he left Newark, burst into the associated counties, ravaged the lands of his enemies, took the town of Huntingdon, and at last reached in safety his court at Oxford. His generals in Scotland gained some advantages at this time, and the Scottish cavalry, which, in accordance with treaty, had already advanced to Nottingham, marched back to the Tweed to protect their own country. The king on the third day left Oxford with five thousand men, to drive the infantry from the siege of Hereford. They did not wait his arrival, and he entered the city amid the joyful acclamations of the inhabitants. But Charles was not long suffered to enjoy his triumph. Full of confidence, he had marched from Hereford to the relief of Bristol; but at Ragland Castle learned that it was already in possession of the enemy. While the king mourned over the loss of Bristol, he received disastrous intelligence from Scotland. His troops met with severe reverses, and the prisoners were put to death in cold blood; not the men only, but also every woman and child found near them. Nor was this sacrifice sufficient. Forty females, who had made their escape, Inhumanity of the victors. and had been secured by the country people, were a few days later delivered up to the victors, who, in obedience to the decision of the kirk, put them to death by throwing them

from the bridge near Linlithgow into the river Avon. Afterward, the Scottish parliament approved of their barbarities, on the pretence that the victims were "papists from Ireland." In the Highlands, Montrose raised the royal standard, and, with a small force and diminished reputation, continued to bid defiance to his enemies. At length, in obedience to repeated messages from the king, he dismissed his followers, and reluctantly withdrew to the continent.

Oxford during the war had been rendered one of the strongest fortresses in the kingdom. With a garrison of five thousand men, and a plentiful supply of stores and provisions, Charles might have protracted his fate for several months; yet, the result of a siege must have been his captivity. He possessed no army; he had no prospect of assistance from without; and within, famine would in the end compel him to surrender. The march of Fairfax with the advanced guard of his army toward Andover, admonished him that it was time to quit the city of Oxford. He left Oxford at midnight, disguised as a servant, following his supposed master Ashburnham, who rode before in company with Hudson, a clergyman, well acquainted with the country. They passed through Henley and Brentford to Harrow; but the time which was spent on the road proved either that Charles had hitherto formed no plan in his own mind, or that he lingered with the hope of some communication from his partisans in the metropolis. At last he turned in the direction of St. Alban's; and, avoiding that town, hastened through by-ways to Harborough. Crossing by Stamford, he rested at Downham, and spent two or three days in inquiries for a ship which might convey him to Newcastle or Scotland. Not having suc-

Charles finally surrenders to the Scottish army. ceeded, he surrendered at Kelham to the Scottish army, on a promise of safety. The moment the place of the king's retreat was ascertained, both Presbyterians and Independents united in condemning the perfidy of their northern allies. Menaces of immediate hostilities were heard. Poyntz received orders to watch the motions of the Scots with five thousand horse; and it was resolved that Fairfax should follow with the remainder of the army. But the Scottish leaders, anxious to avoid a rupture, and yet unwilling to surrender the royal prize, broke up their camp before Newark, and retired with



precipitation to Newcastle. A committee assembled to balance the accounts between the nations; many charges on both sides were disputed and disallowed; and at last the Scots agreed to accept four hundred thousand pounds in lieu of all demands, of which one-half should be paid before they left England, the other after their arrival in Scotland. The first payment of one hundred thousand pounds was made at Northallerton: the Scots, according to agreement, evacuated Newcastle; and the parliamentary commissioners from London, without any other ceremony, took charge of the royal person. Four days later, the Scots received the second sum of one hundred thousand pounds; their army re-passed the border-line between the two kingdoms; and the captive monarch, under a strong guard, but with every demonstration of respect, was conducted to prison at Holmby.

The king during his captivity at Holmby divided his time between his studies and amusements. Three months passed away without any official communication from the two houses. The king's patience was exhausted; and he addressed them by a letter, in which he said that on full consideration there were many things he would cheerfully concede. By the lords the royal letter was favorably received, and they resolved by a majority of thirteen to nine that the king should be removed from Holmby to Oatlands; but the commons neglected to notice the subject.

To disband the army was now become the main object of the Presbyterian leaders; but they disguised their real motives under the pretence of the national benefit. The royalists were humbled in the dust; the Scots had departed; and they said that it was time to relieve the country from the charge of supporting a multitude of men in arms without any ostensible purpose. The Independents resolved to oppose their adversaries with their own weapons, and to intimidate those whom they were unable to convince. Suddenly, at their secret instigation, the army, rising from its cantonments in the neighborhood of Nottingham, approached the metropolis, and selected quarters in the county of Essex. The person of the king was soon afterward taken possession of by the army. This design of seizing the person of the king was attributed to the contrivance of Cromwell. The day after the abduction of the king from Holmby, the army rendezvoused at Newmarket, and

entered into a solemn engagement, stating that, whereas several officers had been called in question for advocating the cause of the military, they had chosen certain men out of each company, who then chose two or more out of themselves, to act in the name and behalf of the whole soldiery of their respective regiments; and that they did now unanimously declare and promise that the army should not disband till their grievances had been redressed. The chiefs, however, who now ruled at Westminster, were not the men to surrender without a struggle. They submitted, indeed, to pass a few ordinances calculated to give satisfaction, but these were combined with others which displayed a fixed determination not to succumb to the dictates of a mutinous soldiery. Every day the contest assumed a more threatening aspect. After a short time the army took possession of London.

Charles was, in August, 1647, transferred to the palace of Hampton Court. There he was suffered to enjoy the company of his children, whenever he pleased to command their attendance, and the pleasure of hunting, on his promise not to attempt an escape; all persons whom he was content to see, found ready admission to his presence; and, what he prized above all other concessions, he was furnished with the opportunity of corresponding freely and safely with the queen at Paris. At the same time the two houses, at the requisition of the Scottish commissioners, submitted propositions once more to the royal consideration; but the negotiations were soon discontinued. Charles surrendered

Charles escapes his parole, and in November made his escape to the Isle of Wight. The governor, named Hammond, received him in a friendly manner, and placed him in Carisbrook Castle.

Charles having refused to assent to some bills proposed in parliament, and feeling aware of the consequences of his refusal, resolved to anticipate the vengeance of the parliament by making his escape to a ship which had been sent by the queen, and had been waiting for him several days in Southampton Water; but he was prevented by the vigilance of Hammond, who closed the gates on the departure of the commissioners, doubled the guards, confined the royal captive to his chamber, and dismissed the greater part of his attendants. An attempt to raise in his favor the inhabitants of the island was instantly suppressed, and the

houses resolved that they would receive no additional message from the king; that they would send no address or application to him; that if any other person did so without leave, he should be subject to the penalties of high-treason.

In the mean while an extraordinary ferment seemed to agitate the whole mass of the population. With the exception of the army, every class of men was dissatisfied. Four-fifths of the nation began to wish for the re-establishment of the throne. The king appealed to the people through the agency of the press. The impression made by him called for an answer, and a long and labored vindication of the proceedings of the house of commons was published, to which several answers, eloquently and convincingly written, were circulated in many parts of the country. But, while the royal cause made rapid progress among the people, in the army itself the principles of the "Levellers" (a fanatic sect) had been embraced by the majority of the privates, and had made several converts among the officers. They insisted that the king was answerable for the blood which had been shed; and that it was the duty of the representatives of the nation to call him to justice for the crime, and, in order to prevent the recurrence of similar mischiefs, to provide for the liberties of all, by founding an equal commonwealth on the general consent. Cromwell invited the patrons of this doctrine to meet at his house the *grandees* (so they were called) of the parliament and army; but they took care not to commit themselves by too explicit an avowal before they could see their way plainly before them. Risings took place in favor of Charles in several places, and an army from Scotland under the duke of Hamilton crossed the borders. This army was defeated at Preston by Cromwell. The king's adherents in the northern counties had already surprised Berwick and Carlisle; and, to facilitate his entry, had for two months awaited with impatience his arrival. Hamilton, though possessed of personal courage, was diffident of his own powers, and resigned himself to the guidance of men who sacrificed the interests of the service to their private jealousies and feuds.

At this time the prince of Wales had been more than six weeks in the Downs. Having heard that the fleet had revolted, he repaired to the Hague, and taking upon himself the command,

The prince of Wales sails to the English coast.
 hastened with nineteen sail to the English coast. Had he appeared before the Isle of Wight, there can be little doubt that Charles would have recovered his liberty; but the council, with the prince, decided that it was more for the royal interest to sail to the mouth of the river, where they long continued to solicit by letters the wavering disposition of the parliament and the city. While Hamilton advanced, there seemed a prospect of success; the destruction of his army extinguished their hopes. The king, by a private message, suggested that before their departure from the coast, they should free him from his captivity. But the mariners proved that they were the masters. They demanded to fight the hostile fleet under the earl of Warwick, who studiously avoided an engagement, that he might be joined by a squadron from Portsmouth. During two days the royalists offered him battle; by different manœuvres he eluded their attempts; and on the third day, the want of provisions compelled the prince to steer for the coast of Holland, without paying attention to the request of his royal father.

It is now time to revert to the subject of the proposed treaty with the king. Fifteen commissioners, five lords and ten commoners, were appointed to conduct the negotiation. At length they arrived; Charles repaired from his prison in Carisbrook Castle to the neighboring town of Newport; but no practical result took place. It had long, however, been the conviction of the officers of the army that the life of the king was incompatible with their safety. If he were restored, they would become the objects of his royal vengeance; if he were detained in prison, the public tranquillity would be disturbed by a succession of plots in his favor. In private assassination there was something base and cowardly, from which the majority revolted; but to bring him to public justice was to act openly and boldly; it was to proclaim their confidence in the godness of their cause; to give to the world a splendid proof of the sovereignty of the people and of the responsibility of kings. When the motion was made in the commons, a few ventured to oppose it; not so much with the hope of saving the life of Charles, as for the purpose of transferring the odium of his death on its real authors. But their opponents were clamorous, obstinate, and menacing. The opposition was silenced; and a com-

Preparations for the trial of the king.

mittee of thirty-eight members was appointed to receive information, and to devise the most eligible manner of proceeding. At the recommendation of this committee, the house passed a vote declaratory of the law, that it was high-treason in the king of England, for the time being, to levy war against the parliament and kingdom of England; and this was followed up with an ordinance erecting a high court of justice to try the question of fact, whether Charles Stuart, king of England, had or had not been guilty of the treason described in the preceding vote. The lords would not concur in the proceedings, and the act for the trial of the king was passed by the authority of the commons only.

Cromwell continued to act his accustomed part. Whenever he rose in the house it was to recommend moderation, to express the doubts which agitated his mind, to protest that if he assented to harsh and ungracious measures, he did it with reluctance, and solely in obedience to the will of the Almighty.

On the 18th December, 1648, the king in anticipation of his subsequent trial, was removed to the palace of St. James. The princes of Europe looked with cold indifference on his fate. The king of Spain, during the whole contest, had maintained a friendly correspondence with the parliament. Frederic III., king of Denmark, though he was his cousin-german, made no effort to save his life; and Henrietta could obtain for him no interposition from France, where the infant king had been driven from his capital by civil dissension, and she herself depended for subsistence on the charity of the Cardinal de Retz, the leader of the Fronde. The Scottish parliament, indeed, made a feeble effort in his favor. The commissioners subscribed a protest against the proceedings of the commons, by whom it was never answered; and argued the case with Cromwell, who referred them to the covenant, and maintained that if it was their duty to punish the malignants in general, it was still more so to punish him who was the chief of the malignants.

As the day of trial approached, Charles resigned the hopes which he had hitherto indulged; and his removal to Whitehall admonished him to prepare for that important scene on which he was soon to appear. Without

Indifference of the princes of Europe.  
The commissioners to try the king meet.

information or advice, he could only resolve to maintain the port and dignity of a king, to refuse the authority of his judges, and to commit no act unworthy of his exalted rank and that of his ancestors. On the 20th of January, 1649, the commissioners appointed by the act assembled in the painted chamber, and proceeded in state to the upper end of Westminster Hall. A chair of crimson velvet had been placed for the lord president, John Bradshaw, serjeant-at-law; the others, to the number of sixty-six, ranged themselves on either side, on benches covered with scarlet; at the feet of the president sat two clerks at a table, on which lay the sword and the mace; and directly opposite stood a chair intended for the king. After the preliminary formalities of reading the commission, and calling over the members, Bradshaw ordered the prisoner to be introduced.

Charles was received at the door by the serjeant-at-arms, and conducted by him within the bar. His step was firm, his coun-

The reply of Charles to the charges. tenance erect and unmoved. He did not uncover; but first seated himself, then rose, and surveyed the court with an air of superiority, which abashed and irritated his enemies. While the clerk read the charge, he appeared to listen with indifference; but a smile of contempt was seen to quiver on his lips at the passage which described him as a "tyrant, traitor, murderer, and public and implacable enemy to the commonwealth of England." At the conclusion, Bradshaw called on him to answer; but he demanded by what lawful authority he had been brought thither. He was king of England; he acknowledged no superior upon earth; and the crown which he had received from his ancestors, he would transmit, unimpaired by any act of his, to his posterity. He would never acknowledge an usurped authority. It was a duty imposed upon him by the Almighty to disown every lawless power that invaded either the rights of the crown or the liberties of the subject.

Bradshaw, after the trial had proceeded some days, animadverted on the principal events of Charles's reign. The meek spirit of the prisoner was roused; he made an attempt to speak, but was immediately silenced with the remark, He is sentenced to be beheaded. that the time for his defence was passed. The charge was again read, and was followed by the judgment, "that the court, being satisfied in conscience that he, the said Charles

Stuart, was guilty of the crimes of which he had been accused, did adjudge him as a tyrant, traitor, murderer, and public enemy to the good people of the nation, to be put to death by severing his head from his body." The king heard it in silence, sometimes smiling with contempt, sometimes raising his eyes to heaven, as if he appealed from the malice of men to the justice of the Almighty. At the conclusion, the commissioners rose in a body to testify their assent, and Charles made a last and more earnest effort to speak; but Bradshaw ordered him to be removed, and the guards hurried him out of the hall.

During this trial a strong military force had been kept under arms to suppress any demonstration of popular feeling in favor of the king. On the first day, when the name of Fairfax as one of the commissioners was called, a <sup>Manifestations</sup> <sub>in his favor.</sub> female voice cried from the gallery, "He has more wit than to be here." On another occasion, when Bradshaw attributed the charge against the king to the consistent voice of the people of England, the same female voice exclaimed, "No, not one-tenth of the people." A faint murmur of approbation followed, but was instantly suppressed by the military. The speaker was recognised to be Lady Fairfax, the wife of the commander-in-chief; and these affronts, probably on that account, were suffered to pass unnoticed.

When Coke, the solicitor-general, opened the pleadings, the king gently tapped him on the shoulder with his cane, crying, "Hold, hold." At the same moment the silver head of the cane fell off, and rolled on the floor. It was an accident which might have happened at any time; but in this superstitious age it could not fail to be taken for an omen. Both his friends and enemies interpreted it as a presage of his approaching decapitation.

On one day, as the king entered the court, he heard behind him the cry of "Justice, justice;" on another, as he passed between two lines of soldiers, the word "execution" was repeatedly sounded in his ears. He bore these affronts with patience, and on his return said to Herbert, "I am well assured that the soldiers bear me no malice. The cry was suggested by their officers, for whom they would do the like if there were occasion." On his return from the hall, men and women crowded behind the guards, and called aloud, "God preserve your majesty." But

one of the soldiers venturing to say, "God bless you, sir," received a stroke on the head from an officer with his cane. "Truly," observed the king, "I think the punishment exceeded the offence."

By his conduct during these proceedings, Charles had exalted his character even in the estimation of his enemies: he had now The king prepares for death. to prepare himself for a still more trying scene; to nerve his mind against the terrors of a public and ignominious death. But he was no longer the man he had been before the civil war. Affliction had chastened his mind; he had learned from experience to submit to the visitations of Providence; and he sought and found strength and relief in the consolations of religion. The next day, the Sunday, was spent by him at St. James's, and by the commissioners at Whitehall. *They* observed a fast, preached on the judgments of God, and prayed for a blessing on the commonwealth. *He* devoted his time to devotional exercises in the company of Herbert and of Dr. Juxon, bishop of London, who, at the request of Hugh Peters, (and it should be recorded to the honor of that fanatical preacher,) had been permitted to attend the monarch. His nephew, the prince elector, the duke of Richmond, the marquess of Hertford, and several other noblemen, came to the door of his bed-chamber to pay their last respects to their sovereign; but they were told in his name that he thanked them for their attachment, and desired their prayers; that the shortness of his time admonished him to think of another world; and that the only moments which he could spare must be given to his children. These were two, the princess Elizabeth and the duke of Gloucester; the former wept for her father's fate; the latter, too young to understand the cause, joined his tears through sympathy. Charles placed them on his knees, gave them such advice as was adapted to their years, and seemed to derive pleasure from the pertinency of their answers. In conclusion, he divided a few jewels between them, kissed them, gave them his blessing, and hastily retired to his devotions.

On the last night of his life he slept soundly about four hours, and early in the morning awakened Herbert, who lay on a pallet by his bedside. "This," he said, "is my second marriage-day. I would be as trim as may be; for before night I hope to be



espoused to my blessed Jesus." He then pointed out the clothes which he meant to wear, and ordered two shirts, on account of the severity of the weather: "For," he observed, "were I to shake through cold, my enemies would attribute it to fear. I would have no such imputation. I fear not death. Death is not terrible to me. I bless my God I am prepared."

The king spent an hour in privacy with the bishop; Herbert was afterward admitted; and about ten o'clock, Colonel Hacker announced that it was time to proceed to White-<sup>He is conducted to Whitehall.</sup> hall. He obeyed, was conducted on foot between two detachments of military across the park, and received permission to repose himself in his former bedchamber. About two o'clock, the king proceeded through the long gallery, lined on each side with soldiers, who, far from insulting the fallen monarch, appeared by their sorrowful looks to sympathize with his fate. At the end, an aperture had been made in the wall, through which he stepped at once upon the scaffold. It was hung with black; at the further end were seen the two executioners, the block, and the axe; below appeared, in arms, several regiments of horse and foot; and beyond, as far as the eye was permitted to reach, waved a dense and countless crowd of spectators. The king stood collected and undismayed amid the apparatus of death. There was in his countenance that cheerful intrepidity, in his demeanor that dignified calmness, which had characterized, in the hall of Fotheringay, his royal grandmother, Mary Stuart. It was his wish to address the people; but they were kept beyond the reach of his voice by the swords of the military; and, therefore, confining his discourse to the few persons standing with him on the scaffold, he took, he said, that opportunity of denying, in the presence of his God, the crimes of which he had been accused.

Being ready, he bent his neck on the block, and after a short pause, stretched out his hands as a signal. At that instant the axe descended; the head rolled from the body; <sup>His execution. Reflections.</sup> and a deep groan burst from the multitude of the spectators. But they had no leisure to testify their feelings; two troops of horse dispersed them in different directions.

Such was the end of the unfortunate Charles Stuart: an awful lesson to the possessors of royalty, to watch the growth of public

opinion, and to moderate their pretensions in conformity with the reasonable desires of their subjects. Had he lived at a more early period, when the sense of wrong was quickly subdued by the habit of submission, his reign would probably have been marked with fewer violations of the national liberties. It was resistance that made him a tyrant. The spirit of the people refused to yield to the encroachments of authority; and one act of oppression placed him under the necessity of committing another, till he had revived and enforced all those odious prerogatives, which, though usually claimed, were but sparingly exercised by his predecessors. For some years his efforts seemed successful; but the Scottish insurrection revealed the delusion; he had parted with the real authority of a king, when he forfeited the confidence and affection of his subjects.

But while we blame the illegal measures of Charles, we ought not to screen from censure the subsequent conduct of his princ-

His opponents  
not to be screened.

pal opponents. From the moment that war seemed inevitable, they acted as if they thought themselves absolved from all obligations of honor and honesty. They never ceased to inflame the passions of the people by misrepresentation and calumny; they exercised a power far more arbitrary and formidable than had ever been claimed by the king; they punished summarily, on mere suspicion, and without attention to the forms of law; and, by their committees, they established in every county a knot of petty tyrants, who disposed at will of the liberty and property of the inhabitants. Such anomalies may, perhaps, be inseparable from the jealousies, the resentments, and the heart-burnings which are engendered in civil commotions; but certain it is that right and justice had seldom been more wantonly outraged than they were by those who professed to have drawn the sword in the defence of right and justice. Neither should the death of Charles be attributed to the vengeance of the people. They, for the most part, declared themselves satisfied with their victory; they sought not the blood of the captive monarch; they were even willing to replace him on the throne, under those limitations which they deemed necessary for the preservation of their rights. The men who hurried him to the scaffold were a small faction of bold and ambitious spirits, who had the address to guide the passions and fanaticism of their fol-

lowers, and were enabled through them to control the real sentiments of the nation. But so it always happens in revolutions: the most violent put themselves forward; their vigilance and activity seem to multiply their number; and the daring of the few wins the ascendancy over the indolence or the pusillanimity of the many.

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## CHAPTER XXXIV.

### The Commonwealth.

Council of State appointed—Charles II. proclaimed in Scotland—Success of Cromwell in Ireland—Charles lands in Scotland—Battle at Dunbar—Battle of Worcester—The Escape, and Adventures of Charles—Reduction of Ireland and Scotland—Cromwell dissolves the Long Parliament, and expels its members—Calls a new Parliament—Makes himself Protector—Aspires to the title of King—His Death, and Character—His son Richard proclaimed Protector—He resigns the office—From A. D. 1649 to 1660.

THE moment the head of the royal victim fell on the scaffold at Whitehall, a proclamation was read in Cheapside, declaring it treason to give to any person the title of king without the authority of parliament; and at the same time was published the vote of the 4th of January, that the supreme authority in the nation resided in the representatives of the people. The peers, though aware of their approaching fate, continued to sit; but, after a pause of a few days, the commons resolved, first, that the house of lords, and, next, that the office of king, ought to be abolished. The next measure was the appointment, by the commons, of a council of state, to consist of forty-<sup>A council of state appointed.</sup> one members, with powers limited in duration to twelve months. But, at the very outset, a schism appeared among the new councillors. The oath required of them by the parliament contained an approval of the king's trial, of a vote against the

Scots and their English associates, and of the abolition of monarchy and of the house of lords. By Cromwell and eighteen others it was taken cheerfully, and without comment; by the remaining twenty-two, with Fairfax at their head, it was firmly, but respectfully, refused. Cromwell and his friends had the wisdom to yield; the retrospective clauses were expunged, and in their place was substituted a general promise of adhesion to the parliament. There was much in the internal state of the country to awaken apprehension in the breasts of Cromwell and his friends. Throughout the kingdom the lower classes loudly complained of the burden of taxation: in several parts they suffered under the pressure of penury and famine. But that which chiefly created alarm was the progress made among the military by the "Levelers," men of consistent principles and uncompromising conduct, under the guidance of Colonel John Lilburne, an officer distinguished by his talents and his eloquence. He wrote a book against Cromwell and his partisans: by the parliament it was voted a seditious and traitorous libel, and the author was committed, by order of the council, to close custody in the Tower.

It had been determined to send to Ireland a division of twelve thousand men; and the regiments to be employed were selected by ballot, apparently in the fairest manner. The men, however, avowed a resolution not to march. It was not, they said, that they refused the service; but they believed the expedition to be a mere artifice to send the discontented out of the kingdom.

When the Scottish parliament received the news of the king's execution, the chancellor, attended by the members, proceeded to the cross in Edinburgh, and proclaimed Charles, the son of the deceased prince, king of Scotland, England, France, and Ireland. But to this proclamation was appended a provision, that the young prince, before he could enter on the exercise of the royal authority, should satisfy the parliament of his adhesion both to the national covenant of Scotland, and to the solemn league and covenant between the two kingdoms. The earl of Cassilis, with four new commissioners, was appointed to proceed to Holland, where Charles, under the protection of his brother-in-law, the prince of Orange, had resided since the death of his father. His court consisted of a few individuals whom that monarch had placed around him, and

Scotland proclaims Charles, son of the late king.

whom he now swore of his privy council. He was perplexed by the conflicting opinions of several advisers.

The royal interest was predominant in Ireland. The fleet under Prince Rupert rode triumphant off the coast; the parliamentary commanders, Jones in Dublin, Monk in Belfast, and Coote in Londonderry, were almost confined within the limits of their respective garrisons; and Inchiquin in Munster, the Scottish regiments in Ulster, and the great body of the Catholics adhering to the supreme council, had proclaimed the king, and acknowledged the authority of his lieutenant. To the leaders in London, the danger of losing Ireland became a source of the most perplexing solicitude, and the office of lord lieutenant was conferred on Cromwell. Out of the standing army of forty-five thousand men, with whose aid England was now governed, he demanded a force of twelve thousand veterans, with a plentiful supply of provisions and military stores, and the round sum of one hundred thousand pounds in ready money. On the day of his departure, his friends assembled at Whitehall, and three ministers solemnly invoked the blessing of God on the arms of his "saints." He sailed from Milford with a single division; his son-in-law, Ireton, followed with the remainder of the army, and a fortnight was allowed to the soldiers to refresh themselves after their voyage. The campaign was opened with the siege of Drogheda. Ormond had thrown into the town a garrison of two thousand five hundred chosen men, under the command of Sir Arthur Aston, an officer who had earned a brilliant reputation by his services to the royal cause in England during the civil war. On the eighth day a sufficient breach had been effected in the wall: the assailants on the first attempt were driven back with immense loss. They returned a second, perhaps a third time to the assault, and their perseverance was at last crowned with success. Cromwell gave orders that no one belonging to the garrison should be spared; and Aston, his officers and men, having been previously disarmed, were put to the sword. From thence the conquerors, stimulated by revenge and fanaticism, directed their fury against the townsmen; and, on the next morning, one thousand unresisting victims were immolated together within the walls of the great church, whither they had fled

Cromwell sent to reduce Ireland.  
The massacre at Drogheda and at Wexford.

for protection. From Drogheda the conqueror led his men, flushed with slaughter, to the siege of Wexford. The mayor and governor offered to capitulate; but while their commissioners were treating with Cromwell, an officer perfidiously opened the castle to the enemy; the adjacent wall was immediately scaled; and, after a stubborn but unavailing resistance in the market-place, Wexford was abandoned to the mercy of the assailants. The tragedy so recently acted at Drogheda was renewed. No distinction was made between the defenceless inhabitant and the armed soldier; nor could the shrieks and prayers of three hundred females, who had gathered around the great cross, preserve them from the swords of these ruthless barbarians.

The garrisons of Cork, Youghal, Bandon, and Kinsale declared for the parliament, and Cromwell seized the opportunity to close the campaign, and place his followers in winter quarters. But inactivity suited not his policy or inclination. After seven weeks of repose he again summoned them into the field; and at the head of twenty thousand men, well appointed and disciplined, confidently anticipated the entire conquest of Ireland. The royalists were destitute of money, arms, and ammunition. Cromwell met with little resistance; wherever he came, he held out the promise of life and liberty of conscience; but the rejection of the offer, though it were afterward accepted, was punished with the blood of the officers; and if the place were taken by force, with indiscriminate slaughter. Proceeding on this plan, one day granting quarter, another putting the leaders only to the sword, and on the next immolating the whole garrison—hundreds of human beings at a time—he quickly reduced most of the towns and castles in the three counties of Limerick, Tipperary, and Kilkenny. But this bloody policy at length recoiled upon its author. Men, with no alternative but victory or death, learned to fight with the energy of despair. At the siege of Kilkenny the assailants, though twice repulsed from the breach, were, by the timidity of some of the inhabitants, admitted within the walls; yet, so obstinate was the resistance of the garrison, that, to spare his own men, the general consented to grant them honorable terms. From Kilkenny he proceeded to the town of Clonmel, where Hugh, the son of the deceased O'Neil, com-

The sanguinary proceedings of Cromwell in Ireland.

manded with one thousand two hundred of the best troops of Ulster. The duration of the siege exhausted his patience; the breach was stormed a second time; and, after a conflict of four hours, the English were driven back with considerable loss. The garrison, however, had expended their ammunition; they took advantage of the confusion of the enemy to depart during the darkness of the night; and the townsmen the next morning, keeping the secret, obtained from Cromwell a favorable capitulation. This was his last exploit in Ireland. From Clonmell he was recalled to England to undertake a service of greater importance and difficulty, to which the reader must now direct his attention.

The young king at St. Germain's had given to Montrose a commission to raise the royal standard in Scotland. The fame of that nobleman secured to him a gracious reception from the northern sovereigns; he visited each court in succession; and, in all, obtained permission to levy men, and received aid either in money or in military stores. In autumn, 1649, he despatched the first expedition of twelve thousand men from Göttenburg, under the lord Kinnoul; but the winds and waves fought against the royalists; several sail were lost among the rocks; and, when Kinnoul landed at Kirkwall in the Orkneys, he could muster only eighty officers and one hundred common soldiers out of the whole number. But Montrose was not to be appalled by ordinary difficulties. Having received from the new king the order of the garter, he followed with five hundred men, mostly foreigners; added them to the wreck of the first expedition and to the new levies, and then found himself at the head of a force of more than one thousand men. On his banner was painted a representation of the late king decapitated, with this motto, "Judge and avenge my cause, O Lord." Montrose was defeated, and sentenced to death. On the scaffold, he defended his conduct, praised the character of the present king, and appealed from the censures of the kirk to the justice of heaven. As a last disgrace, the executioner hung round his neck his late declaration, with the history of his former exploits. He smiled at the malice of his enemies, and said that they had given him a more brilliant decoration than the garter with which he had been honored by his sovereign.

Montrose endeavours to rouse the Scots in favor of the royal cause.

Montrose, by his death, won more proselytes to the royal cause than he had ever made by his victories. He was in his thirty-eighth year.

Charles signed a treaty, binding himself to take the Scottish Covenant and the Solemn League and Covenant; to disavow and declare null the peace with the Irish, and never to permit the free exercise of the Catholic religion in Ireland, or any other part of his dominions; to acknowledge the authority of all parliaments held since the commencement of the late war; and to govern, in civil matters, by advice of the parliament—in religious, by that of the kirk. These preliminaries being settled, he embarked on board a small squadron furnished by the prince of Orange; and, after a perilous navigation of three weeks, during which he had to contend with the stormy weather, and to elude the pursuit of the parliamentary cruisers, he arrived in safety in the Frith of Cromartie, where he was received with the honors due to his dignity.

It was the negotiation between the Scots and their nominal king that arrested Cromwell in the career of victory, and called him away from Ireland. He left the command in Ireland to Ireton, and, returning to England, appeared in parliament. He was received with acclamations; the palace of St. James was allotted for his residence, and a valuable grant of lands was voted as a reward for his eminent services. In a few days followed the appointment of Fairfax to the office of commander-in-chief, and of Cromwell to that of lieutenant-general of the army designed to be employed in Scotland. Fairfax objected to the invasion of Scotland, and resigned his commission; in consequence of which, the chief command of all the forces raised, or to be raised, by order of parliament, was conferred on Oliver Cromwell. Thus this adventurer obtained at the same time the praise of moderation (for he had urged Fairfax to continue in command) and the object of his ambition. Immediately he left the capital for Scotland; and Fairfax retired to his estate in Yorkshire, where he lived with the privacy of a country gentleman till he once more drew the sword, not in support of the commonwealth, but in favor of the king.

Cromwell passed the Tweed at the head of sixteen thousand men, most of them veterans, all habituated to military discipline.



He found the Scottish troops posted behind a deep intrenchment, running from Edinburgh to Leith, fortified with numerous batteries, and flanked by the cannon of the castle at one extremity, and of the harbor at the other. Cromwell employed all his art to provoke an engagement, which Leslie, the Scottish general, wished to avoid. The caution of Leslie triumphed over the skill and activity of Cromwell, who saw no alternative but victory or retreat: of the first he had no doubt, if he could come in contact with the enemy; the second was a perilous attempt, when the passes before him were preoccupied, and a more numerous force was hanging on his rear. At Musselburg, having sent the sick on board the fleet, he ordered the army to march the next morning to Haddington, and thence to Dunbar. At Cromwell defeats the Scots at Dunbar. Dunbar, Cromwell posted his men in the vicinity of Broxmouth House; Leslie with the Scots moving along the heights of Lammermuir, occupied a position on the Doon Hill, about two miles to the south of the invaders; and the advanced posts of the armies were separated only by a ravine of the depth and breadth of about thirty feet. Cromwell was not ignorant of the danger of his situation; he had even thought of putting the infantry on board the fleet, and of attempting to escape with the cavalry by the only outlet, the high road to Berwick; but the next moment he condemned the thought. On the other side the Scotch council compelled their general to depart from his usual caution, and to make preparation for battle. The next morning the Scottish lancers, aided by their artillery, charged down the hill, drove the brigade of English cavalry from its position, and broke through the infantry, which had advanced to the support of the horse. At that moment the sun made its appearance above the horizon; and Cromwell, turning to his own regiment of foot, exclaimed, "Let the Lord arise, and scatter his enemies." They instantly moved forward with their pikes levelled; the horse rallied; and the enemy's lancers hesitated, broke, and fled. At that moment the mist dispersed, and the first spectacle which struck the eyes of the Scots was the rout of their cavalry. A sudden panic instantly spread from the right to the left of their line; at the approach of the English they threw down their arms and ran. Cromwell's regiment halted to sing the 117th Psalm; but the pursuit was continued for more than eight

miles; the dead bodies of three thousand Scots strewed their native soil; and ten thousand prisoners, with the artillery, ammunition, and baggage, became the reward of the conquerors. Cromwell now thought no more of his retreat. He marched back to the capital; the hope of resistance was abandoned; Edinburgh and Leith opened their gates, and the whole country to the Forth submitted to the will of the English general.

To the young king, the defeat at Dunbar was a subject of real and ill-dissembled joy. Hitherto he had been a mere puppet in the hands of Argyle and his party; now their power was broken, and it was not impossible for him to gain the ascendancy. On the first day of the new year, he rode in procession to the church of Scone, where his ancestors had been accustomed to receive the Scottish crown: there, on his knees, with his arm upraised, he swore by the Eternal and Almighty God to observe the two covenants; to establish the presbyterian government in Scotland and in his family; and to give his assent to acts for establishing it in his other dominions. Argyle then placed the crown upon his head, and seated him on the throne, and both nobility, and people swore allegiance to him "according to the national covenant, and the Solemn League and Covenant." In April, the king, with Leslie and Middleton as his lieutenants, took the command of the army, which had been raised by new levies to twenty thousand men; and, having fortified the passages of the Forth, awaited, on the left bank, the motions of the enemy.

In the mean while, Cromwell had obtained possession of the castle of Edinburgh through the perfidy or the timidity of the governor.

Charles invades England. He gained such great advantages in a few months, that Charles resolved to abandon the Scottish contest, and to transfer the war to England. So rapid was his advance, that he traversed the lowlands of Scotland, and the northern counties in England, without meeting a single foe. The king pushed forward till he reached Worcester, where he was solemnly proclaimed by the mayor, amid the loud acclamations of the gentlemen of the county, who, under a suspicion of their loyalty, had been confined in that city by order of the council.

At the first news of the royal march, the leaders at Westminster abandoned themselves to despair. They were relieved by the arrival of despatches from the general, and by the indecision of the royal-

ists, who, unprepared for the event, had hitherto made no movement. The occurrences of each day added to the disappointment of Charles and the confidence of his enemies. He had summoned by proclamation all his male subjects between the age of sixteen and sixty to join his standard. A few of the neighboring gentlemen with their tenants, not two hundred in number, obeyed the call; and it was found that the whole amount of his force did not exceed twelve (or according to Cromwell, sixteen) thousand men, of whom one-sixth part only was composed of Englishmen. But, while a few straggling royalists thus stole into his quarters, as if it were to display by their paucity the hopelessness of his cause, the daily arrival of hostile reinforcements swelled the army in the neighbourhood to more than thirty thousand men. At length Cromwell arrived, and was received with enthusiasm. The royalists had broken down an arch of the bridge over the Severn at Upton; but a few soldiers passed on a beam in the night; the breach was repaired, and Lambert crossed with ten thousand men to the right bank. A succession of partial but obstinate actions alternately raised and depressed the hopes of the two parties; the grand attempt was reserved by the lord general for his auspicious day, the 3d of September, on which, twelve months before, he had defeated the Scots at Dunbar. On that day, the memorable battle of Worcester took place, in which Charles was defeated with great loss, and with difficulty made his escape. Though the parliament offered a reward of one thousand pounds for his person, and denounced the penalties of treason against those who should afford him shelter; though parties of horse and foot scoured the adjacent counties in search of so valuable a prize; though the magistrates received orders to arrest every unknown person, and to keep a strict watch on the seaports in their neighborhood, yet no trace of his flight, no clue to his retreat could be discovered. Week after week passed away; of almost every other individual of note the fate was ascertained; that of Charles Stuart remained an impenetrable mystery. At last, when a belief prevailed, both among his friends and foes, that he had met with death from the peasantry, ignorant of his person and quality, the intelligence arrived, that, on the 17th of October, forty-four days after the battle, he had landed in safety at Fecamp, on the coast of Normandy.

Charles had been protected by four brothers, laboring men, of

the name of Penderell, and of Yates, his former guide, who had married a sister of the Penderells. He could not <sup>Adventures of Charles.</sup> conceal from himself that their poverty might make them more accessible to temptation; but his friends conjured him to dismiss such thoughts; they were men of tried fidelity, who, born in the domain, and bred in the principles of a loyal and Catholic family, had long been successfully employed in screening priests and cavaliers from the searches of the civil magistrates and military officers. By one of them, surnamed the trusty Richard, he was one day led into the thickest part of a wood near Boseobel House, while others posted themselves at convenient stations, to descry and announce the approach of the enemy. About nine in the evening they left the wood together for the house of Mr. Wolf, a Catholic recusant at Madeley, not far from the Severn; but an accidental alarm lengthened their road, and added to the fatigue of the royal wanderer. They reached Madeley at midnight; Wolf was roused from his bed, and the strangers obtained admission. But their host felt no small alarm for their safety. Troops were frequently quartered upon him; two companies of militia actually kept watch in the village, and the places of concealment in his house had been recently discovered. All the bridges were guarded, and all the boats secured, which compelled the unfortunate prince to abandon his design of going into Wales. On the next night he placed himself again under the care of his trusty guide, and, with a heavy and misboding heart, retraced his steps toward his original destination, the house of Boseobel. At Boseobel he found Colonel Careless, one of his devoted adherents; and, by his persuasion, Charles consented to pass the day with him amid the branches of an old and lofty oak. This celebrated tree, which was afterward destroyed to satisfy the veneration of the cavaliers, grew near to the common path in the meadow-field, which lay in the centre of the wood. It had been partially lopped a few years before, and the new shoots had thrown round it a thick and luxuriant foliage. Within this cover the king and his companion passed the day. Invisible themselves, they occasionally caught a glimpse of the soldiers passing among the trees, and sometimes saw them look into the meadow. A plan of escape was now submitted to his approbation. The daughter of Colonel Lane, of

Bentley, had obtained from the governor of Stafford a pass to visit Mrs. Norton, a relation near Bristol. Charles consented to assume the character of her servant, and Lord Wilmot departed on the following night to make arrangements for his reception. It took but little time to transform Charles into a domestic servant. He departed on horseback with his supposed mistress behind him, accompanied by her cousin, Mr. Lassells; and, after a journey of three days, reached Abbotsleigh, Mr. Norton's house, without interruption or danger. He soon afterward escaped to the coast of Sussex, and got across to France, where he was received with a warm welcome.

In Ireland, Ireton, to whom Cromwell, with the title of lord deputy, had left the chief command, pursued with little interruption the career of his victorious predecessor. Sir Charles Coote met the men of Ulster and Letter-Progress of the war in Ireland.kenny; after a long and sanguinary action they were defeated; and the next day their leader, Mac Mahon, the warrior bishop of Clogher, was made prisoner by a fresh corps of troops from Inniskilling. Lady Fitzgerald, a name as illustrious in the military annals of Ireland as that of Lady Derby in those of England, defended the fortress of Treecoghan, but neither the efforts of Sir Robert Talbot within, nor the gallant attempt of Lord Castlehaven without, could prevent its surrender. Waterford, Carlow, and Charlemont accepted honorable conditions, and the garrison of Duncannon, reduced to a handful of men by the ravages of the plague, opened its gates to the enemy. For a time the Irish had cherished the expectation that the young monarch would, as he had repeatedly promised, come to Ireland and take the reins of government into his hands; they now, to their disappointment, learned that he had accepted the invitation of the Scots, their sworn and inveterate enemies. In a short time, the conditions to which he had subscribed began to transpire; that he had bound himself by oath, not only not to permit the exercise of the Catholic worship, but to root out the Catholic religion wherever it existed in any of his dominions. This intelligence caused a general gloom and despondency. Charles's representative, Ormond, felt that it was time for him to leave Ireland; but before his departure, he called a general assembly, and selected the marquis of Clanricard, a Catholic nobleman, to command as his deputy. Ire-

ton, who anticipated nothing less than the entire reduction of the island, opened the campaign in the summer of 1651, with the siege of Limerick. The conditions which he offered were refused by the inhabitants, and, at their request, Hugh O'Neil, with three thousand men, undertook the defence of the city, but with an understanding that the keys of the gates and the government of the place should remain in the possession of the mayor. Both parties displayed a valor and obstinacy worthy of the prize for which they fought. But in October a reinforcement of three thousand men from England arrived in the camp; a battery was formed of the heavy cannon landed from the shipping in the harbor; and a wide breach in the wall admonished the inhabitants to prepare for an assault. In this moment of suspense, with the dreadful example of Drogheda and Wexford before their eyes, they met at the town-hall. It was in vain that O'Neil remonstrated; that the bishops of Limerick and Emly entreated and threatened; Stretch, the mayor, gave the keys to Colonel Fanning, who seized St. John's gate, turned the cannon on the city, and admitted two hundred of the besiegers. A treaty was now concluded; and, if the garrison and inhabitants preserved their lives and property, it was by abandoning twenty-two individuals to the mercy of the conquerors. Ireton died soon afterward of a pestilential disease which ravaged the West of Ireland. His death proved a severe loss to the commonwealth, not only on account of his abilities as an officer, but because it removed the principal check to the inordinate ambition of Cromwell. He was succeeded by General Ludlow.

During the next winter the confederates had leisure to reflect on their forlorn condition. Charles indeed, a second time an exile, solicited them to persevere; but it was difficult to persuade men to hazard their lives and fortunes without the remotest prospect of benefit to themselves or to the royal cause. Lord Muskerry, indeed, collected five thousand men on the borders of Cork and Kerry, but was obliged to retire before his opponents: his strong fortress of Ross opened its gates; and, after some hesitation, he made his submission. In the north, Clanricard reduced Ballyshannon and Donegal; but there his career ended; and Coote (one of Cromwell's generals) drove him into the isle of Carriek, where he was compelled to accept the usual conditions.

The last chieftain of note who braved the arms of the commonwealth was Colonel Richard Grace: he, at last, capitulated, and the subjugation of Ireland was completed.

It soon became a question how to dispose of the wives and families of those who had perished by the ravages of disease and the casualties of war, and of the multitudes, who, The inhabitants sold as slaves. chased from their homes and employments, were reduced to a state of utter destitution. These at different times, to the amount of several thousands, were collected in bodies, driven on shipboard, and conveyed to the West Indies, where they were sold as slaves. At first it was sought to exterminate the Catholics altogether; but when this failed, another project was adopted of confining the Catholic landholders to Connaught and Clare, beyond the river Shannon, and of di- Efforts to exterminate the Catholics. The cruelties exercised against them. viding the remainder of the island, Leinster, Munster, and Ulster, among Protestant colonists. No Catholic was permitted to reside within any garrison or market-town, or to remove more than one mile from his own dwelling without a passport describing his person, age, and occupation; every meeting of four persons beside the family was pronounced an illegal and treasonable assembly; to carry arms, or to have arms at home, was made a capital offence; and any "transplanted" Irishman, who was found on the left bank of the Shannon, might be put to death by the first person who met him, without the order of a magistrate. Seldom has any nation been reduced to a state of bondage more galling and oppressive. Under the presence of the violation of these laws, their feelings were outraged, and their blood was shed with impunity. They held their property, their liberty, and their lives at the will of the petty despots around them, foreign planters, and the commanders of military posts, who were stimulated by revenge and interest to depress and exterminate the native population. The religion of the Irish proved an additional source of solicitude to their fanatical conquerors. All Catholic clergymen were ordered to quit Ireland within twenty days, under the penalties of high-treason, and all other persons were forbidden to harbor any such clergymen under the pain of death. Additional provisions tending to the same object followed in succession. Whoever knew of the concealment of a priest, and did not reveal it to the proper authorities, was

made liable to the punishment of a public whipping and the amputation of his ears; to be absent on a Sunday from the service at the parish church, subjected the offender to a fine of thirty pence; and the magistrates were authorized to take away the children of Catholics and send them to England for education, and to tender the oath of abjuration to all persons of the age of one and twenty years, the refusal of which subjected them to imprisonment during pleasure, and to the forfeiture of two-thirds of their estates real and personal. During this period the Catholic clergy were exposed to a persecution far more severe than had ever been previously experienced in the island. Of the many priests who still remained in the country, several were discovered, and forfeited their lives on the gallows; those who escaped detection concealed themselves in the caverns of the mountains, or in lonely hovels raised in the midst of the morasses, whence they issued during the night to carry the consolations of religion to the huts of their oppressed and suffering countrymen. A proclamation was also issued ordering all nuns to marry or leave Ireland. They were successively transported to Belgium, France, and Spain, where they were hospitably received in the convents of their respective orders.

In Scotland, the power of the commonwealth was as firmly established as in Ireland. All authority derived from any other source than the parliament of England was abolished by proclamation; the different sheriffs, and civil officers of doubtful fidelity, were removed for others attached to the commonwealth; a yearly tax of one hundred and thirty thousand pounds was imposed in lieu of free quarters for the support of the army; and English judges, assisted by three or four natives, were appointed to go the circuits, and to supersede the courts of session. The parliament next resolved to incorporate the two countries into one commonwealth, without kingly government or the aristocratical influence of a house of peers. This was thought to fill up the measure of Scottish misery. For there is a pride in the independence of his country, of which even the peasant is conscious. But, before the plan could be amicably adjusted, the parliament itself, with all its projects, was overturned by the successful ambition of Cromwell.

At this period, several naval engagements took place between



Van Tromp, a distinguished Dutch admiral, and Blake, who commanded the English fleet. Both displayed great talent. Our space does not permit us in this abridgment to dwell upon their actions.

To return to Cromwell: when he resumed his seat in the house, in 1651, he had reminded the members of their indifference to two measures earnestly desired by the country, the act of amnesty and the termination of the present <sup>Cromwell dis-</sup>parliament. <sup>solves the parlia-</sup>ment. An act of oblivion was obtained, which, with some exceptions, pardoned all offences committed before the battle of Worcester, and relieved the minds of the royalists from the apprehension of additional forfeitures. On the question of the expiration of parliament, after several warm debates, the period was fixed for the 3d of November, 1654. Cromwell resolved on a plan to procure the dissolution of the parliament, and vest for a time the sovereign authority in a council of forty persons, with himself at their head. Finding he could not succeed without force, he ordered some soldiers to accompany him to the house, on the 20th April, 1653. Leaving the military in the lobby, he entered the house, and composedly seated himself on one of the outer benches. His dress was a plain suit of black cloth, with gray worsted stockings. For a while he seemed to listen with interest to the debate; but, when the speaker was going to put the question, he whispered to Harrison, "This is the time: I must do it;" and rising, put off his hat to address the house. At first, his language was decorous and even laudatory. Gradually he became more warm and animated: at last he assumed all the vehemence of passion, and indulged in personal vituperation. He charged the members with self-seeking and profaneness; with the frequent denial of justice, and numerous acts of oppression. He then paced forward and backward, and then stamping on the floor, added, "You are no parliament. I say you are no parliament: bring them in, bring them in." Instantly the door opened, and Colonel Worseley entered, followed by more than twenty musketeers. Colonel Harrison took the speaker by the hand, and led him from the chair; Algernon Sidney was next compelled to quit his seat; and the other members, eighty in number, on the approach of the military, rose and moved toward the door. When all were gone, fixing his eye on the mace, "What,"

said he, "shall we do with this fool's bauble? Here, carry it away." Then, taking the act of dissolution from the clerk, he ordered the doors to be locked, and, accompanied by the military, returned to Whitehall. Thus, by the parricidal hands of its own children, perished the long parliament, which, under a variety of forms, had, for more than twelve years, defended and invaded the liberties of the nation. It fell without a struggle or a groan, unpitied and unregretted. It would, however, be unjust to the memory of those who exercised the supreme power after the death of the king, not to acknowledge that there existed among them men capable of wielding with energy the destinies of a great empire. It could not escape the sagacity of Cromwell that the fanatics, with whose aid he had subverted the late government, were not the men to be intrusted with the destinies of the three kingdoms; yet, he deemed it his interest to indulge them in their wild notions of civil and religious reformation, and to suffer himself for a while to be guided by their counsels. They soon proceeded to establish a council of state. With Cromwell, in the place of lord president, were joined four civilians and eight officers of high rank; so that the army still retained its ascendancy, and the council of state became in fact a military council.

Without any election being allowed, Cromwell summoned one hundred and thirty-nine representatives for England, six for The Barebone Parliament. Wales, six for Ireland, and five for Scotland. To each of them was sent a writ of summons under the signature of Cromwell, requiring his personal attendance at Whitehall on a certain day, to take upon himself the trust, and to serve the office of member for some particular place. On the appointed day, the 4th of July, one hundred and twenty of these "faithful and godly" men attended in the council-chamber at Whitehall. They were seated on chairs round the table; and Cromwell took his station near the middle window, supported on each side by a numerous body of officers. He placed on the table an instrument under his own hand and seal, intrusting to them the supreme authority for the space of fifteen months from that day, then to be transmitted by them to another assembly, the members of which they should previously have chosen. Though not distinguished by their opulence, they were men of

independent fortunes; during the late revolutions they had learned to think for themselves on the momentous questions which divided the nation; and their fanaticism, by converting their opinions into matters of conscience, had superadded an obstinacy of character not easily to be subdued. They have been gradually described as men in trade, and of no education; and because one of them, Praise-God Barebones, was a leather-dealer in Fleet street, the assembly is generally known by the denomination of Barebones' Parliament. They established a system of the most rigid economy; the regulations of the excise were revised; the constitution of the treasury was simplified and improved; unnecessary offices were totally abolished, and the salaries of the others considerably reduced; the public accounts were subjected to the most rigorous scrutiny; new facilities were given to the sale of the lands now considered as national property. Provision was made for the future registration of marriages, births, and deaths. But the fanaticism of their language, and the extravagance of their notions, exposed them to ridicule. Some of their proceedings were very displeasing to Cromwell, and, accordingly, he soon dissolved the assembly. A new constitution was soon published, and Cromwell at last obtained the great object of his ambition—the office and authority, though without the title, of king. The title he received was that of lord protector.

Cromwell soon published three ordinances, by which, of his supreme authority, he incorporated Scotland with England, absolved the natives from their allegiance to Charles Stuart, abolished the kingly office and the Scottish parliament, with all tenures and superiorities importing servitude and vassalage, erected courts-baron to supply the place of the jurisdictions which he had taken away, and granted a free pardon to the nation, with the exception of numerous individuals whom he subjected to different degrees of punishment. Thus the whole frame of the Scottish constitution was subverted: yet no one ventured to remonstrate or oppose, for the spirit of the nation had been broken.

By foreign powers the recent elevation of Cromwell was viewed without surprise. They were aware of his ambition, and had anticipated his success. All who had reason to hope from his

friendship, or to fear from his enmity, offered their congratulations, and ambassadors and envoys from most of the princes of Europe crowded to the court of the protector. He received them with all the state of a sovereign. A treaty with the United Provinces was the first which engaged the attention of the protector, and was not concluded till repeated victories, in one of which Van Tromp was killed, had proved the superiority of the English navy, and a protracted negotiation had exhausted the patience of the States. On the 5th of April, 1653, after a negotiation of ten months, the peace was definitively signed.

A new parliament was called in September, 1654, in which Cromwell found many who were opposed to his Meeting of parliament. sway. The leaders of the opposition were Bradshaw, Hazlerig, and Scot, who contended that the existing government emanated from an incompetent authority, and stood in opposition to the solemn determination of a legitimate parliament. A motion to limit the succession to Cromwell's family was negatived by a division of two hundred against eighty voices; and it was resolved that, on the death of the protector, his successor should be chosen by the parliament if it were sitting, and by the council in the absence of parliament. Cromwell soon dissolved the parliament. A rising of royalists took place at this time, but was without much difficulty suppressed.

Cromwell now became thoroughly tyrannical, and the long and sanguinary struggle, which was originally undertaken to recover The tyranny of Cromwell. the liberties of the country, terminated in the establishment of a military despotism. The institutions which had acted as restraints on the power of preceding sovereigns were superseded or abolished; the legislative, as well as the executive authority, fell into the grasp of the same individual; and the best rights of the people were made to depend on the mere pleasure of an adventurer, who, under the mask of dissimulation, had seized, and by the power of the sword retained, the government of three kingdoms.

Cromwell again called a parliament; but the result of the elections revealed to him the alarming secret, that the antipathy to his government was more deeply rooted, and more widely spread, than he had previously imagined. The whole nation was in a ferment; and in several counties the court candidates were rejected.

Cromwell, however, gave orders to prevent the admission of his opponents into the house. Several members, to show their disapprobation, voluntarily seceded, and those, who had been excluded by force, published in bold and indignant language an appeal to the justice of the people. At this period the Society of Friends first appeared, the members of which suffered much persecution.

Cromwell next revolved in his own mind a secret project of the first importance to himself and the country. To Cromwell aspires to the title of king. his ambition, it was not sufficient that he actually possessed the supreme authority, and exercised it with more despotic sway than any of his legitimate predecessors; he still sought to mount a step higher, to encircle his brows with a diadem, and to be addressed with the title of majesty. It chanced that a plot against the protector's life was, at this time, discovered and defeated. The circumstance furnished an opportunity favorable to his views; and the re-establishment of "kingship" was mentioned in the house, not as a project originating from him, but as the accidental and spontaneous suggestion of others. The detection of the conspiracy was followed by an address of congratulation to the protector, who, on his part, gave to the members a princely entertainment at Whitehall. At their next meeting, the question of kingship was regularly brought before them. Several officers instantly started from their seats, and the mover was violently borne down to the bar: the house debated each article in succession, but the project was finally adopted. As long as the question was before parliament, Cromwell bore himself in public as if he were unconcerned in the result; but his mind was secretly harassed by the reproaches of his friends and by the misgivings of his conscience. He saw, for the first time, marshalled against him the men who had stood by him in his different fortunes. The marked opposition of these men had given energy to the proceedings of the inferior officers, who formed themselves into a permanent council under the very eyes of Cromwell, passed votes in disapprobation of the proposed alteration, and to the number of one hundred waited on him to acquaint him with their sentiments. He replied, that there was a time when they felt no objection of the title of king; for the army had offered it to him with the original instrument of government. He had rejected it

then, and had no greater love for it now. In the mean while the new form of government had received the sanction of the house. Cromwell, when it was laid before him, had recourse to his usual arts, openly refusing that for which he ardently longed. At length it was whispered at court that the protector had resolved to accept the title; and immediately Lambert, Fleetwood, and Desborough made to him, in their own names and those of several others, the unpleasant declaration, that they must resign their commissions, and sever themselves from his councils and service for ever. This bold step subdued the protector. He abandoned the lofty hopes to which he had so long, so pertinaciously clung, despatched Fleetwood to the house to prevent a debate, and shortly afterward summoned the members to meet him at Whitehall. Addressing them with more than his usual embarrassment, he said, that neither his own reflections nor the reasoning of the committee had convinced him that he ought to accept the title of king; and thus ended the mighty farce which for more than two months held in suspense the hopes and fears of three nations. Several changes were, however, now made. The supreme authority was vested in the protector; but, instead of rendering it hereditary in his family, the most which he could obtain was the power of nominating his immediate successor. The two houses of parliament were restored, and to Cromwell was given the power of nominating the members of the "other house," (he dared not yet term it the house of lords;) but, in the first instance, the persons so nominated were to be approved by the house of representatives, and afterward by the "other house" itself.

In the eyes of the superficial observer, Cromwell might now appear to have reached the zenith of power and greatness. At home he had discovered, defeated, and punished several conspiracies against him; abroad, his army had gained laurels in the field; his fleets swept the seas; and his friendship was sought by every power. The real fact however was, that his authority in England never rested on a more precarious footing than at the present moment; while, on the other hand, the cares and anxieties of government, joined to his apprehensions of assassination, and the pressure of domestic affliction, were rapidly undermining his constitution, and hurrying him from the gay and glittering visions of ambition to the darkness and silence of the tomb.

It is said that he wore defensive armor under his clothes ; carried loaded pistols in his pockets ; sought to remain in privacy ; and, when he found it necessary to give audience, <sup>His fears and</sup> sternly watched the eyes and gestures of those who <sup>anxiety.</sup> addressed him. He had often faced death without flinching in the field ; but his spirit broke under the continual fear of unknown and invisible foes. He passed the nights in a state of feverish anxiety ; sleep fled from his pillow ; and for more than a year before his death, we always find the absence of rest assigned as either the cause which produced, or a circumstance which aggravated, his numerous ailments.

The selfishness of ambition does not exclude the more kindly feelings of domestic affection. Cromwell was sincerely attached to his children ; but, among them, he gave the preference to his daughter Elizabeth Claypole. She <sup>The death of</sup> <sup>Cromwell.</sup> was now dying. Cromwell abandoned the business of state that he might hasten to Hampton Court, to console his favorite daughter. He frequently visited her, remained long in her apartment, and, whenever he quitted it, seemed to be absorbed in the deepest melancholy. She died. The protector was already confined to his bed with the gout, and, though he had anticipated the event, some days elapsed before he recovered from the shock. A slow fever still remained. For change of air he had removed to Whitehall, till the palace of St. James should be ready for his reception. There his fever became a double tertian, his strength rapidly wasted away, and he died on the 3d September, 1658. It was his "fortunate day," a circumstance from which his sorrowing relatives derived a new source of consolation. It was, they observed, on the 3d of September that he overcame the Scots at Dunbar ; on that day, he also overcame the royalists at Worcester ; and on the same day, he was destined (they said) to overcome his spiritual enemies, and to receive the crown of victory in heaven.

Till the commencement of the present century, when Bonaparte arose, who, by the splendor of his victories and the extent of his empire, cast all preceding adventurers into <sup>Reflections.</sup> the shade, the name of Cromwell stood without a parallel in the history of civilized Europe. Men looked with a feeling of awe on the fortunate individual who, without the aid of birth, or wealth, or connections, was able to seize the govern-

ment of three powerful kingdoms, and to impose the yoke of servitude on the necks of the very men who had fought in his company to emancipate themselves from the less arbitrary sway of their hereditary sovereign. That he who accomplished this was no ordinary personage, all must admit; and yet, on close investigation, we shall discover little that was sublime or dazzling in his character. Cromwell was not the meteor which surprises and astounds by the rapidity and brilliancy of its course. Cool, cautious, calculating, he stole on with slow and measured pace; and, while with secret pleasure he toiled up the ascent to greatness, labored to persuade the spectators that he was reluctantly borne forward by an exterior and resistless force, by the march of events, the necessities of the state, the will of the army, and even the decree of the Almighty. He seems to have looked upon dissimulation as the perfection of human wisdom, and to have made it the key-stone of the arch on which he built his fortunes.

Cromwell left two sons, Richard and Henry. After the establishment of the commonwealth, Richard married, and, retiring to the house of his father-in-law in Hampshire, devoted himself to the usual pursuits of a country gentleman. Henry accompanied his father in the reduction of Ireland, which country he afterward governed, first with the rank of major-general, afterward with that of lord deputy.

The moment Oliver Cromwell expired, the council assembled, and the result of their deliberation was an order to proclaim Richard Cromwell protector, on the ground that he had been declared by his late highness his successor in that dignity. Not a murmur of opposition was heard; the ceremony was performed in all places after the usual manner of announcing the accession of a new sovereign; addresses poured in from the army and navy, from several churches, and from the cities and counties.

The royalists, who had persuaded themselves that the whole fabric of the protectorial power would fall in pieces on the death of Cromwell, beheld with amazement the general acquiescence in the succession of Richard; and the foreign princes, who had deemed it prudent to solicit the friendship of the father, now hastened to offer their congratulations to his son. Yet, fair and tranquil as the prospect appeared, an ex-

Richard Cromwell proclaimed protector.

Richard Cromwell retires from the government.



perienced eye might easily detect the elements of an approaching storm; for many said that to suffer the supreme power to devolve on Richard was to disgrace and to disinherit the men who had suffered so severely, and bled so profusely, in the contest. Between Richard and the "long" parliament (which had reassembled) disputes arose, and the country was soon in a state of anarchy. The intentions of the armies in Scotland and Ireland remained uncertain; and the royalists, both Presbyterians and Cavaliers, were exerting themselves to improve the general confusion to the advantage of the exiled king. Richard exercised no real authority, though he continued to occupy the state apartments at Whitehall. By repeated messages, he was ordered to retire; and, on his promise to obey, the parliament granted him the privilege of freedom from arrest during six months; transferred his private debts to the account of the nation, gave him two thousand pounds as a relief to his present necessities, and voted that a yearly income of ten thousand pounds should be settled on him and his heirs, a grant easily made on paper, but never carried into execution. The office of lord-general was abolished; no intermediate rank between the lieutenant-general and the colonels was admitted; Fleetwood was named lieutenant-general, with the chief command in England and Scotland, but limited in its duration to a short period, revocable at pleasure, and deprived of several of those powers which had hitherto been annexed to it.

Ever since the death of Oliver Cromwell, the exiled king had watched with intense interest the course of events in England; and each day added a new stimulus to his hopes of a favorable issue. In Cheshire the royal standard <sup>Rising in favor of royalty.</sup> was unfurled by Sir George Booth, a person of considerable influence in the county, and a recent convert to the cause of the Stuarts. At Chester, the parliamentary garrison retired into the castle, and the royalists took possession of the city. Each day brought to them a new accession of strength; and their apparent success taught them to augur equally well of other expected attempts throughout the kingdom. But the unwelcome truth could not long be concealed; and when they learned that they stood alone, that the other risings had been either prevented or instantly suppressed, their confidence was exchanged for despair. The conduct of Monk now begins to claim a considerable share of our attention

Ever since the march of Cromwell in pursuit of the king, in 1649, to Worcester, he had commanded in Scotland; where, instead of concerning himself with the intrigues and parties in England, he appeared to have no other occupation than the duties of his place, to preserve the discipline of his army, and enforce the obedience of the Scots. After the fall of the protector Richard, he became an object of distrust. Lord Fairfax was also become a convert to the cause of monarchy; to him the numerous royalists in Yorkshire looked up as leader; and he, on the solemn assurance of Monk that he would join him within twelve days or perish in the attempt, undertook to call together his friends, and to surprise the city of York. On the first day of the new year, each performed his promise. The gates of York were thrown open to Fairfax by the Cavaliers confined within its walls; and Monk, with his army, crossed the Tweed. In parliament, the Presbyterian party now ruled without opposition. They appointed Monk commander-in-chief of the forces in the three kingdoms, and joint commander of the fleet with Admiral Montague.

Nineteen years and a half had now elapsed since the "long" parliament first assembled—years of revolution and bloodshed, during which the nation had made the trial of almost every form of government: it was resolved to return at last to that form from which it had previously departed. On the 16th of March, [1660,] its existence, which had been illegally prolonged since the death of Charles I., was terminated by its own voluntary act. The reader is already acquainted with its history. For the glorious stand which it made against the encroachments of the crown, it deserves both admiration and gratitude; its subsequent proceedings assumed a more ambiguous character; ultimately they led to anarchy and military despotism.

Monk had now spent more than two months in England, and still his intentions were covered with a veil of mystery which no ingenuity, either of the royalists or of the republicans, could penetrate. He soon sent a message to Charles, who was at Brussels, advising him to promise a general or nearly general pardon, liberty of conscience, the confirmation of the national sales, and the payment of the arrears due to the army, and that he would aid in his restoration. By Charles the

The "long" parliament is terminated.

Monk sends a commissioner to Charles.

messenger was received as an angel from heaven. But when he communicated the glad tidings to Ormond, Hyde, and Nicholas, these councillors discovered that the advice suggested by Monk was derogatory to the interests of the throne and the personal character of the monarch, and composed a royal declaration which, while it professed to make to the nation the promises recommended by Monk, in reality neutralized their effect, by subjecting them to such limitations as might afterward be imposed by the wisdom of parliament. Notwithstanding the alterations made at Brussels, Monk professed himself satisfied with the declaration. Though he still declared himself a friend to republican government, he now ventured to assume a bolder tone. The militia of the city, amounting to fourteen thousand men, was already embodied under his command; he had in his pocket a commission from Charles, appointing him lord-general over all the military in the three kingdoms; and he resolved, should circumstances compel him suddenly to throw off the mask, to proclaim the king, and to summon every faithful subject to repair to the royal standard. A new parliament met on the 25th of April. Charles's letter was delivered to the two houses, and was well received. Encouraged by the bursts of loyalty with which the king's letter had been received, his friends made it their great object to procure his return to England Charles is invited to return. before limitations could be put on the prerogative. The two houses voted, that by the ancient and fundamental laws of the realm the government was and ought to be by king, lords, and commons; and they invited Charles to come and receive the crown to which he was born. Charles was as eager to accept, as the houses had been to vote, the address of invitation. As soon as the weather permitted, he set sail for Dover, where Monk, at the head of the nobility and gentry from the neighboring counties, waited to receive the new sovereign. From Dover to the capital the king's progress bore the appearance of a triumphal procession.

That the re-establishment of royalty was a blessing to the country will hardly be denied. It presented the best, perhaps the only, means of restoring public tranquillity. To Monk belongs the merit of having, by his foresight and caution, effected this desirable object without bloodshed or violence; but, to his dis-

praise, it must also be recorded, that he effected it without any previous stipulation on the part of the exiled monarch. Never had so fair an opportunity been offered of establishing a compact between the sovereign and the people; of determining, by mutual consent, the legal rights of the crown, and of securing from future encroachment the freedom of the people. By the negligence or perfidy of Monk, a door was left open to the recurrence of dissension between the crown and the people; and that very circumstance, namely, his untrammelled return, which Charles had hailed as the consummation of his good fortune, served only to prepare the way for a second revolution, which ended in the permanent exclusion of his family from the government of these kingdoms.

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## CHAPTER XXXV

### Charles the Second.

Charles calls a new Parliament—Affairs in Ireland—War with the Dutch—Plague in London—The Great Fire—War with Holland—The “Test Act”—Oates’s Plot—Bill of Exclusion—Rye-House Plot—Death, and Character of Charles.—From A. D. 1660 to 1685.

THE convention parliament was soon dissolved, and Charles called a new parliament after the ancient and legitimate form. The result of the elections showed that the fervid loyalty which blazed forth at his restoration, had, in the interval, suffered but little abatement. This parliament, at the commencement of its long career, passed several laws of the highest importance, both in regard to the pretensions of the crown and the civil and religious liberties of the people. The Solemn League and Covenant, with the acts for erecting a high court of justice for the trial of Charles Stuart, and others of the same nature, were ordered to be burnt in the midst of Westminster Hall by the hands of the common hangman. The

Proceedings of Charles's first parliament.

Presbyterians met to consult and remonstrate; but their synods were everywhere dispersed by the government.

In England, the demands of justice were satisfied with the blood of several regicides: to expiate the guilt of Scotland, a more illustrious victim was selected, the marquess of Argyle. Charles seemed inclined to save him, but his enemies were inexorable. He was tried, and executed in May, 1661.

In Ireland, a new race of proprietors had arisen—soldiers and adventurers of English birth, who, during the late revolutionary period, had shared among themselves the lands of the natives, whether royalists or Catholics. On Affairs in Ireland. the fall of Richard Cromwell, a council of officers was established in Dublin; these summoned a convention of deputies from the Protestant proprietors; and the convention tendered to Charles the obedience of his ancient kingdom of Ireland. The present was graciously accepted; and the penal laws against the Irish Catholics were ordered to be strictly enforced. The first measure recommended to him by his English advisers, with respect to Ireland, was the re-establishment of episcopacy. Charles accordingly directed the surviving bishops to take possession of their respective dioceses, and nominated new prelates to the vacant sees. The settlement of landed property in Ireland followed.

In 1660, James, duke of York, was married to Anne, the daughter of the chancellor Hyde. In 1661, Charles married Catherine, sister of the king of Spain. The prin- The marriage of Charles. cess brought a dower of five hundred thousand pounds, the possession of Tangier on the coast of Africa, and of Bombay in the East Indies, and a free trade to Portugal and the Portuguese colonies. Charles's conduct toward her at first was attentive, but he soon forgot his duty to God and his wife, by plunging into a life of licentiousness.

Charles, who wanted money, sold Dunkirk, in 1663, to the king of France, by the advice of Clarendon. This sale of Dunkirk had no small influence on the subsequent fortune of each. The possession of it had flattered the national pride; for it was looked on as a compensation for the loss of Calais. The public discontent began to be openly expressed; Charles saw a formidable party growing up against him; and Clarendon, after a

protracted struggle, submitted to his fate, and fled to the continent.

In 1665, Charles entered on a war with the Dutch, on account of commercial disputes respecting the African trade. The most formidable fleet that England had as yet witnessed sailed under James. The duke, despising the narrow prejudices of party, had called around him the seamen who fought and conquered in the last war; and, for more than a month, his armament insulted the coast of Holland, and rode triumphant in the German Ocean. At length an easterly wind drove the English to their own shores, and the Dutch fleet immediately put to sea under Admiral Opdam. Early in the morning of the 3d June, the hostile fleets descried each other near Lowestoffe. A severe engagement took place, in which James displayed much valor. Opdam was killed; and the Dutch, alarmed at the loss of their commander, fled.

In the depths of the previous winter, two or three isolated cases of plague had occurred in the outskirts of the metropolis; and, about the end of May, under the influence of a warmer sun, and with the aid of a close and stagnant atmosphere, the evil burst forth in all its terrors. Provision was made for the speedy interment of the dead. In the daytime, officers were always on the watch to withdraw from public view the bodies of those who expired in the streets; during the night, the tinkling of a bell, accompanied with the glare of links, announced the approach of the pest-cart, making its round to receive the victims of the last twenty-four hours. The cart proceeded to the nearest cemetery, and shot its burden into a large common grave. In September, the plague began to abate.

In January, 1666, the French monarch, Louis, though with many expressions of regret, declared war against England, by virtue of a treaty which had linked France and Holland, in 1662. The French agent at Copenhagen prevailed on the king of Denmark to withdraw from his alliance with England, and to make common cause with the States. Charles, on his side, concluded a treaty with the king of Sweden, by which each party engaged not to furnish munitions of war to the enemies of the other.

From the war which now raged in the British seas, our atten-

tion must for a time be called to the great fire which, at this period, consumed a large portion of London. About two in the morning of Sunday, the 2d of September, 1666, Great fire in London. a fire burst out in Pudding-lane, near Fish-street, one of the most crowded quarters of the metropolis. It originated in a bakehouse; the buildings in the neighborhood, formed of wood, with pitched roofs, quickly caught the flames; and the stores with which they were filled, consisting of those combustible articles used in the equipment of shipping, nourished the conflagration. During the day, the wind, which blew from the east, hourly augmented in violence; and the fire spread with astonishing velocity, leaping from roof to roof, and frequently igniting houses at a distance, and in apparent security. The lurid glare of the sky, the oppressive heat of the atmosphere, the crackling of the flames, and the falling of the houses and churches, combined to fill every breast with astonishment and terror. Charles never appeared so deeply affected as at the sight of the conflagration. Wherever the danger appeared the greatest, the king was to be found with his brother James, mixing among the workmen, animating them by his example, and with his own hand rewarding their exertions. He divided the city into districts, and gave the command of each district to one of the privy council. He ordered biscuits and other necessaries to be brought from the royal stores for the relief of the families in the fields, and sent out strong patrols of his guards to prevent robbery. In many places houses were blown up or demolished; but the ignited flakes were carried over the empty space, or the ruins again took fire, or the flames unexpectedly turned in a new direction. With the aid of gunpowder, large openings were made; Charles attended at the demolition of several houses; and the conflagration, being thus prohibited from extending its ravages, gradually died away, though months elapsed before the immense accumulation of ruins ceased to present appearances of internal heat and combustion. By this deplorable accident two-thirds of the metropolis, the whole space from the Tower to the Temple, had been reduced to ashes. The number of houses consumed amounted to 13,200; of churches, including old St. Paul's, to 89.

In May, 1667, the Dutch fleet appeared off the coast of Eng-

land, but the English government was not taken by surprise. The Dutch fleet appears off the English coast. The warnings of the duke of York had awakened them to a sense of the danger; and, three months before, orders had been issued to raise a fort at Sheerness, to throw a boom across the Medway at the stakes, to mount the guns on the batteries, and to prepare a competent number of fire-ships. At the first alarm, Monk, by the royal order, hastened to the mouth of the Medway. He erected batteries, moored guard-ships for the protection of the boom, and sunk five ships before it in the narrowest part of the channel. He had not completed these preparations, when the Dutch advanced with the wind and tide in their favor; but the obstruction in the passage opposed an insuperable bar to their progress, and they were compelled to fall back with the ebb. During the night, however, they discovered a new channel, sufficiently deep for large ships at high water, and in the morning worked their way without impediment. The Dutch fleet advanced triumphantly up the Thames; but the commander, whether he had fully executed his orders, or was intimidated by the warm reception which he experienced from the river forts, soon fell down the river. For six weeks De Ruyter, the Dutch admiral, continued to sweep the English coast. But his attempts to burn the ships at Portsmouth, Plymouth, and Torbay were successively defeated; and, though he twice threatened to remount the Thames, the spirited opposition with which he was received induced him to renounce the design. A treaty was soon afterward concluded between England and Holland.

In 1668, Lord Chancellor Clarendon having, by haughty and overbearing conduct, created many enemies, was deprived of his office, and driven into exile having been accused of malpractices. In exile he spent most of his time relieving with literary composition the tedium of banishment, and repeatedly soliciting permission to revisit his native country, that he might breathe his last in the company of his children. But Charles treated these prayers with neglect, and the unfortunate exile died, in 1674, at Rouen in Normandy.

In 1668, Charles received an important communication from his brother James. Hitherto, that prince had been an obedient and zealous son of the Church of England; but Dr. Heylin's



History of the Reformation had shaken his religious credulity, and the result of the inquiry was a conviction that it became his duty to reconcile himself with the Church of Rome. He communicated to the king in private that he was determined to embrace the Catholic faith; and Charles, without hesitation, replied that he was of the same mind, and would consult with the duke on the subject in the presence of some peers. The meeting was held in the duke's closet. Charles, with tears in his eyes, lamented the hardship of being compelled to profess a religion which he did not approve, declared his determination to emancipate himself from this restraint, and requested the opinion of those present, as to the most eligible means of effecting his purpose with safety and success. They advised him to communicate his intention to Louis, and to solicit the powerful aid of that monarch. He was the most accomplished dissembler in his dominions; nor will it be any injustice to his character to suspect that his real object was to deceive both his brother and the king of France. The secret negotiation, however, proceeded with greater activity; and Lord Arundel hastened to the French court. He solicited from Louis the present of a considerable sum, to enable the king to suppress any insurrection which might be provoked by his intended conversion, to which proposal no direct objection was made. James, with all the fervor of a proselyte, urged his brother to publish his conversion without delay, while Louis, on the contrary, represented to the English king that a premature declaration might endanger his crown and his person. Thus, time passed away without Charles avowing any change to his subjects.

The subject of the succession now began to elaim much attention. A boy of the name of Crofts, the reputed son of the king by Lucy Barlow, had been placed for education at the Oratory in Paris. Soon after the restoration he came to England: Charles ordered him to conform to the established church, created him duke of Monmouth, and gave to him in marriage the countess of Buccleugh, the most wealthy heiress in Scotland. Buckingham, observing the unbounded affection of the king for this young man, resolved to set him up as a competitor for the crown in opposition to the duke of York. In 1671, the duchess of York died at St. James's in her thirty-

James, the king's brother declares himself a Catholic.

The duke of Monmouth.

fourth year, having been the mother of eight children, of whom only two daughters survived her, Mary and Anne, both afterward queens of England. She became a Catholic a short time before her death.

In 1672, Louis and Charles, as allies, made war on Holland. De Ruyter, with seventy-five men-of-war, and a considerable number of fire-ships, stationed himself between Dover and Calais, to prevent the intended junction of the French and English fleets. The duke of York could muster no more than forty sail at the Nore; but with these he contrived to join the French. The combined fleet now sailed in search of the enemy, whom they discovered lying before Ostend. But the prudence of De Ruyter refused to engage even on equal terms; and the duke returned to Southwold Bay, on the coast of Suffolk, that his ships might take in their full complement of men and provisions. In a few days, De Ruyter learned, from the captain of a collier, the situation and employment of the English fleet. He suddenly resolved to become the aggressor, and sailed with his whole force for Southwold Bay, where James engaged him. Seldom has any battle in our naval annals been more stubbornly contested. The English had to struggle with a bold and experienced enemy, and against the most fearful disparity of force. The duke's ship, the *Prince*, of one hundred guns, lost above one-third of her men, and lay a motionless wreck on the water. Having ordered her to be towed out of danger, he passed through the window of the cabin into his shallop, rowed through the enemy's fire, and unfurled the royal standard in the *St. Michael* of ninety guns. It was soon reported to the duke that the *St. Michael* could with difficulty be kept afloat, on account of an injury which she had received in her hull; and he transported his flag to the London. De Ruyter was the first to shrink from the conflict. He sailed away, and the duke, with five-and-twenty ships, remained to the windward of the enemy, and thus terminated this obstinate engagement. The war soon began to languish, for De Ruyter had the prudence to shun a second engagement.

In 1673, the house of commons resolved that every individual refusing to take the oath of allegiance and supremacy, and to receive the sacrament according to the rites of the

The Test Act.

Church of England, should be incapable of public

employment, military or civil; and a bill was passed into a statute known as the "Test Act," requiring, not only that the oaths should be taken, and the sacrament received, but also that a declaration against transubstantiation should be subscribed by all persons holding office, under the penalty of a fine of five hundred pounds, and of being disabled to sue in any court of law or equity, to be guardian to any child, or executor to any person, or to take any legacy or deed of gift, or to bear any public office. James refused to take the test, and soon afterward voluntarily resigned all the offices which he held under the crown. By the retirement of James, the command of the combined fleet, amounting to ninety sail of the line, had devolved on Prince Rupert. With so formidable a force, it was expected that he would sweep the Dutch navy from the face of the ocean; but he performed nothing worthy of his reputation; and, though he fought three actions with De Ruyter, neither received nor inflicted considerable injury.

The religious antipathies of the people had been excited by the conversion of James to the Catholic faith, and they were now blown into a flame by the intelligence that he had recently married, by proxy, the sister to the reigning duke of Modena, Maria d'Este, a Catholic princess of the age of fifteen. The princess soon arrived in England.

Ever since the fall of Clarendon, the violent opponents of that nobleman feared the resentment of the duke of York, and considered their own safety to be intimately connected with his exclusion from the throne. The earl of Carlisle moved, in 1674, that, to a prince of the blood, the penalty for Attempts to exclude the duke of York. marrying a Catholic should be the forfeiture of his right to the succession. Though this motion was lost, the duke of York had but a cheerless prospect before him. The opponents of James fixed their eyes on the young duke of Monmouth; nor was it unreasonable in them to hope that the king's partiality for his son would serve to reconcile him to the exclusion of his brother. A second, and in many respects a more formidable, rival was William, prince of Orange, the next in succession to the crown after the duke of York and his children. William was a Protestant; his exertions in defence of his country had exalted him in the eyes of all who dreaded the ambitious designs

of the French monarch; and some of the popular leaders in England had not hesitated to pledge themselves to his service and to advocate his interests, even at a time when he was at war with their sovereign.

About this time it was agreed that the king of France should pay a yearly pension to the king of England; that the two sovereigns should bind themselves to enter into no engagements with other powers unless by mutual consent; and that each should lend effectual aid to the other in the event of rebellion within their respective kingdoms.

During the long prorogation, and with the aid of his foreign pension, Charles enjoyed a seasonable relief from the cares and agitation in which he had lived for several years. He retired to Windsor, where he spent his time in the superintendance of improvements, the amusement of fishing, and the company and conversation of his friends.

In the year 1674, William, prince of Orange, had very unceremoniously refused the hand of the princess Mary, daughter of James, duke of York; but now he condescended to solicit that union which he had previously rejected. He was accepted, and the marriage gave satisfaction.

The reader must now divert his attention to one of the most extraordinary occurrences in our domestic history, the imposture generally known by the appellation of Oates's plot.

Oates' plot. Its author and hero was Titus Oates, *alias* Ambrose, the son of a ribbon-weaver, who, exchanging the loom for the Bible, distinguished himself as an Anabaptist minister during the government of Cromwell, and became an orthodox clergyman on the restoration of the ancient dynasty. Titus was sent to Cambridge, took orders, and officiated as curate in several parishes, and as chaplain on board of a man-of-war; but all these situations he successively forfeited in consequence of his misconduct.

Several Jesuits, in the month of April, 1678, held a private meeting in London. On this foundation, however, frail and slender as it was, Oates contrived to build a huge superstructure of malice and fiction. The meeting was in reality the usual triennial congregation of the order. Renewed efforts to exclude James. Oates said that it was a consultation on the most eligible means of assassinating the king, and of subverting by force the

Protestant religion. A bill was soon introduced in the house of commons for the exclusion of all Catholics, and, consequently, of the duke of York, both from parliament and from the presence of the sovereign. The bill passed without opposition, when opposition could lead only to the forfeiture of character, perhaps of liberty and life. Encouraged by the state of the public mind, the popular leaders determined to throw off the mask, and to commence a direct attack on the duke of York. An address to exclude him from the presence and the councils of the sovereign was moved by Lord Shaftesbury in the house of lords, by Lord Russell in the house of commons. Charles openly expressed his indignation at this motion, but he advised his brother to submit to a compromise. It cost James a violent struggle before he would yield; but he deemed it a duty to obey the will of the sovereign, and announced from his seat in the house of lords that he was no longer a member of the council.

We will not detain the reader with a narrative of the partial trials and judicial murders of the unfortunate men whose names had been inserted by Oates in his pretended discoveries. So violent was the excitement, so general the delusion created by the perjuries of the informer, that the voice of reason and the claims of justice were equally disregarded. Several innocent persons were executed on the perjured evidence of Oates and an accomplice named Bedloe.

A measure, called the bill of exclusion, was at this time brought into parliament, which provided Bill of exclusion. that James should be incapable of inheriting the crowns of England and Ireland; that, on the demise of Charles without heirs of his body, his dominions should devolve, as if the duke of York were also dead, on that person next in succession who had always professed the Protestant religion established by law. While the debates on the bill were progressing, Charles prorogued parliament. It was at this time that the Habeas Corpus Act was passed.

In England, the executions on account of the pretended "Popish plot" continued. The bill for the exclusion of James from the succession was carried in the commons, but was defeated in the lords. The commons selected the Lord Execution of Stafford for trial, who, on account of his age and Lord Stafford.

infirmities, appeared the least able to make a powerful defence. On the 13th of November, 1680, this venerable nobleman was placed at the bar to plead against the informers, and politicians, and zealots who thirsted for his blood. After a trial of several days, he was found guilty of treason, on perjured evidence, and sentenced to death. He suffered with fortitude on the 20th December, 1680.

In 1681, the succession bill was revived, but Charles suddenly dissolved the parliament. In the same year was executed Oliver Plunket, the Catholic archbishop of Armagh, a prelate whose loyalty had been attested by four successive chief governors of Ireland. He had been thrown into prison on the usual charge of having received orders in the Church of Rome, when the promise of reward to informers induced some of the king's witnesses, as they were called, to select him for a principal conspirator in a pretended Irish plot. But they dared not face the man whom they had accused in their own country : at the trial it appeared that they were gone to England, and Plunket, instead of obtaining his discharge, was compelled to follow them. At this arraignment the chief-justice granted him a respite of five weeks to procure evidence from Ireland ; but his messenger was driven back by contrary winds ; and his means of defence did not reach the English coast till the third day after his condemnation. Plunket suffered, and was the last of the victims sacrificed to the imposture of the "popish plot."

In May, 1682, James, who had for some time retired from England, returned and settled once more in the palace of St. James.

By several discontented persons frequent consultations were held in 1683, and measures were proposed by the more violent, not only for an insurrection in the city, but also for the assassination of the royal brothers at Whitehall, or in the theatre, or at a farm belonging to one of the conspirators, called the Rye House, and situate in a lonely spot near Hoddesdon, on the road by which the king usually returned from Newmarket to London. By means of Lord Howard an indirect communication had all along been maintained between these men and the more discontented among the Whig leaders, the duke of Monmouth, the earl of Essex, the Lord Grey, Lord William Russell, Algernon Sydney, and Mr. Hampden, who, though they refused to hear

any mention of assassination, were willing to employ the services of those among whom the notion originated. Information was given to the government, and Russell, Sydney, and others were arrested and committed to the Tower. The trial of Lord William Russell excited general interest, as it promised a solution of the important question, whether the Whig leaders were implicated or not in the plans of the minor conspirators. Lord Russell made but a feeble defence. He acknowledged that he was present at some of the meetings, but it was by mere accident. The jury returned a verdict of guilty. Lord Russell himself was drawn, by the earnest entreaties of his wife, to petition the king, and to solicit the intercession of the duke of York, but without success. He met his fate with resignation and fortitude. He said little on the scaffold, but delivered a written speech to the sheriffs. In it he stated that he died a Protestant; that, in the prosecution of the popish plot, he had acted on the conviction of its reality, which conviction he still retained, and that he knew nothing of any practices to suborn and instruct the witnesses; that he had taken an active part in favor of the bill for excluding James, because he thought that measure necessary to free the nation from the "pollution of popery." Posterity has long ago absolved Russell from seeking to dip his hands in the blood of the king. But there were other charges against him. He was a party to the design of compelling the king, by force, to banish and disinherit James, the presumptive heir to the crown, and concurred in the design of raising an insurrection in Scotland to co-operate with another in England for the same purpose. The succeeding trial, that of Algernon Sydney, soon took place before Sir George Jeffreys, of infamous memory. Sydney was found guilty.

Monmouth was pardoned. To his father he protested on his knees that he was innocent of any design against the royal life, but confessed and condemned the part which he had taken in the disloyal plans and practices of the con-<sup>The execution of</sup>spirators; then turning to his uncle, he acknowledged himself guilty of many offences against him, solicited forgiveness, and promised that, if James should survive the king, he himself would be the first man to draw the sword in defence of his right whenever occasion might require. Sydney was soon led to the scaffold. Never did man face the terrors of death with less parade or greater indif-

ference. He suffered no friend to accompany him; he refused the aid of the minister of religion: and, when he was asked if he did not intend to address the spectators, he replied, that "he had made his peace with God, and had nothing to say to man." Having made himself ready, he placed his neck upon the block, and bade the executioner perform his duty.

On Monday, the 2d of February, 1685, after a feverish and restless night, Charles rose at an early hour. To his attendants

Last illness and death of Charles.

he appeared drowsy and absent; his gait was unsteady, his speech embarrassed. Remedies were applied, and the royal patient gradually recovered his consciousness and the use of his speech. It soon, however, became evident that his dissolution was rapidly approaching. The duke of York, though aware of his brother's secret preference of the Catholic worship, had hitherto been silent on the subject of religion. By law, the reconciliation of any individual to the Church of Rome was an act of high-treason; no priest could be privately introduced to the king for that purpose, while the room was crowded with lords, bishops, and medical attendants; and to remove them without a plausible reason could only provoke suspicion and inquiry. Having motioned to the company to withdraw to the other end of the apartment, James knelt down by the pillow of the sick monarch, and asked if he might send for a Catholic priest. "For God's sake do!" was the king's reply; "but," he immediately added, "will it not expose you to danger?" James replied that he cared not for the danger; and, having despatched a trusty messenger in search of a priest, stated aloud that the king required all present to quit the apartment, with the exception of the earl of Bath, lord of the bed-chamber, and

He dies in the Catholic faith.

the earl of Feversham, captain of the guard. In a short time, Hudleston, a priest, was led through the queen's apartments to a private door on the right hand of the bed; and James introduced him to the king with these words: "Sir, this worthy man comes to save your soul." The priest threw himself on his knees, and offered to the dying monarch the aid of his ministry. To his inquiries Charles replied that it was his desire to die in the communion of the Roman Catholic church; that he heartily repented of all his sins, and, in particular, of having deferred his reconciliation to that hour;



that he hoped for salvation from the merits of Christ his Saviour; that he pardoned all his enemies, asked pardon of all whom he had offended, and was in peace with all men; and that he purposed, if God should spare him, to prove the sincerity of his repentance by a thorough amendment of life. Hudleston, having received his confession, anointed him, administered the eucharist, and withdrew. During that night the king suffered at times the most distressing pain; but, in the intervals between the paroxysms, his mind was calm and collected, and he spoke of his approaching death with composure and resignation. About two o'clock, looking on the duke, who was kneeling at the bedside, and kissing his hand, he called him the best of friends and brothers, desired him to forgive the harsh treatment which he had sometimes received, and prayed that God might grant him a long and prosperous reign. About six, on the following morning, he complained of pain in the side, accompanied with a difficulty of breathing: to remove which eight ounces of blood were taken from his arm. Three hours later he lost the faculty of speech, and about noon, 6th February, 1685, calmly expired.

In person, Charles was tall and well-proportioned, with a swarthy complexion. He was kind, familiar, communicative. Parade and ceremony he held His character. in aversion: to act the part of a king was to him a tiresome and odious task; and he would gladly burst from the trammels of official greatness, that he might escape to the ease and comfort of a colloquial familiarity. With talents, said to be of the highest order, he joined an insuperable antipathy to application; whence it happened that, to the scanty stock of knowledge which he had acquired in his youthful days, he made but few additions in a more advanced age. Impatient of trouble, and fearful of opposition, he looked upon the practice of dissimulation as the grand secret in the art of reigning. His example exercised the most pernicious influence on the morals of the higher classes of his subjects. His court became a school of vice, in which the restraints of decency were laughed to scorn. Of his pecuniary transactions with the king of France, no Englishman can think without feelings of shame, or speak but in the language of reprobation. With respect to his religion, we may perhaps come to the conclusion that, for the greater part of his

reign, he looked on religion as a political question, and cared little to which of the two churches he might belong. In conclusion, it may be proper to remark that during his reign the arts improved, trade met with encouragement, and the wealth and comforts of the people increased.

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## CHAPTER XXXVI.

### James the Second.

The King succeeds to the Throne—His intentions regarding Religion—The Rebellion of the Duke of Monmouth—The Revolt suppressed—Jeffreys commissioned to try the Prisoners—James determines to grant liberty of conscience—The King's contest with the Bishops—The Prince of Orange lands in England—The King deserted even by his Children—He escapes to France—Meeting of the Convention—The Bill of Rights—William and Mary proclaimed.—From A. D. 1685 to 1689.

NEVER did prince succeed more tranquilly to a throne than James II. to that of England. The first question which claimed the attention of the new monarch was the state of the revenue. A parliament was summoned to meet on the 19th of May, and a royal proclamation issued, which, alleging state necessity as the cause, ordered the usual duties to be levied on merchandise, till parliament should have settled the revenue of the crown.

Of James's attachment to the Church of Rome, after the sacrifices which he had made, every man must have been convinced; and a question now with him was whether, after his  
The king's views respecting religion. accession to the throne, he ought to be content with the clandestine exercise of the Catholic worship, or openly to attend a form of religious service still prohibited by law. The latter accorded better with that hatred of dissimulation which was believed to mark his character, and as early as the second Sunday after his brother's death, in opposition to the advice of the council, he ordered the folding-doors of the queen's chapel to be thrown open, that his presence at mass might be noticed by the attendants in the antechamber. It has been a subject of

dispute, whether, at this period of his reign, the king had formed an intention of restoring the Catholic religion to its ancient ascendancy, by making it the religion of the state, or merely sought to relieve its professors from the galling restrictions and barbarous punishments to which they were still subject by law. It seems evident, from the perusal of his confidential letters, that he limited his views to the accomplishment of two objects, which he called liberty of conscience and freedom of worship, and which, had he been successful, would have benefited not the Catholics only, but every class of religionists.

On the feast of St. George, 1685, the king and queen were crowned by the hands of archbishop Sancroft, in Westminster Abbey. During the short interval between the coronation and the opening of parliament, the public mind was occupied with the trial and punishment of Titus Oates, who had distinguished himself in the last reign, as arch-informer with respect to the pretended popish plot. His guilt was proved beyond the possibility of doubt, and he was condemned to pay a fine of 2000 marks, to be stripped of his canonical habit, to be twice publicly whipped, and to stand every year of his life five times in the pillory. The parliament soon met, and James, when the necessary forms had been complied with, addressed the two houses in a short speech which he read leisurely and distinctly from the throne. He found the parliament willing to accede to his demands.

The duke of Monmouth landed on the coast of Dorsetshire, on the 15th June, 1685, in order to assert his right to the throne as son of Charles II., by a queen whom he asserted to have been lawfully married. He was immediately attainted, and a price set upon his head. A proclamation had already ordered the kingdom to be put in a posture of defence against invasion. The earl of Argyle, who was appointed to a high command in the invading force, had sailed from Holland to Scotland, landed in Lorn and afterward in Cantire, and published in both places a declaration against James, which he brought with him from Holland. It would exhaust the patience of the reader to detail the subsequent particulars of this ill-concerted and ill-fated expedition. Each day was marked by new disappointments, and new causes of dissension between the earl and his associates.

Argyle was soon defeated and taken prisoner. He was executed in Edinburgh, on the 30th June, 1685.

Monmouth had engaged to follow Argyle in the course of six days; yet three weeks elapsed before he left Amsterdam. With Monmouth lands in England and assumes the title of James II. an inconsiderable force the unfortunate adventurer undertook to win the crowns of three kingdoms; but his hopes were buoyed up with the expectation that multitudes would hasten to his standard. He stole unobserved down the Channel, and on the 11th of June appeared in front of the small port of Lyme in Dorsetshire. The moment he landed on the beach, he offered on his knees a fervent prayer for the success of the enterprise, and then, drawing his sword, marched at the head of his followers, into the town. The mayor and principal inhabitants had fled; but the lower classes were summoned round a blue flag planted in the market-place, where they listened to Monmouth's declaration against James. When Monmouth published this declaration, which was most intemperate in its language, and slanderous in its assertions, he must have been intoxicated with the assurance of success, or have made up his mind to conquer or die. From the king it is evident that, after such wanton and bitter provocation, he could expect no mercy. Neither was it calculated to make a favorable impression on the public mind. Not a nobleman, not a gentleman of interest or opulence openly ventured to declare in his favor. But the religious and political prejudices of the populace were excited: they crowded to offer their services; arms were distributed, companies formed, and officers appointed; and, on the fourth day, Monmouth marched from Lyme at the head of four regiments, amounting in all to more than three thousand men. From Lyme he hastened to Taunton, a rich and populous town, where he was received with loud acclamations, as the saviour of the country. He soon took on himself by solemn proclamation the title of King James II., and set a price on the head of the "usurper of the crown, James duke of York."

The king, though cheered by the votes of parliament, was not without strong grounds of disquietude. He dared not trust the Monmouth is defeated and taken prisoner. decision of the contest to the militia of the counties, whose fidelity was doubtful as their inexperience was certain; and the regular force in the whole kingdom did not exceed

five thousand men. Unable for the moment to arrest the progress of his opponent, he gave the command to Lord Feversham, with instructions to secure Bristol. Monmouth reaped little benefit from the assumption of royalty. He wandered from place to place without any apparent object. No person of quality offered his services, and his friends in the capital and the country remained quiet. When he became acquainted with the fate of Argyle, his last hope was gone. He was soon defeated in the battle of Sedgemoor, and, having fled, was in a short time taken and conducted to London. By the act of attainder he was already condemned, and could have no hope of life but from the pity or generosity of the king. But what claim had he on that prince? Twenty months had not elapsed since he had obtained the pardon of James on a solemn promise to be the first to draw the sword in defence of his rights; and yet he had ungratefully levied an army against him, and set the crown on his own head, and publicly declared the king a murderer, a tyrant, and an usurper; and had announced to the world that, on account of his crimes, he would pursue him to the death. Still, in the face of this provocation, the love of life taught him not to despair, and he wrote to James a supplicatory letter, expressive of the deepest remorse for his ingratitude and rebellion, attributing the blame to the counsels of "false and horrid" companions; and soliciting the favor of a personal interview. The king received him in the presence of Sunderland and Middleton, the two secretaries of state. He threw himself on his knees, and implored forgiveness in the most passionate terms; but James replied, that, by usurping the title of king, he had rendered himself incapable of pardon.

The interview with Monmouth has subjected the king to much severe, but perhaps unmerited, censure. He has been accused of want of feeling, in consenting to behold a nephew on his knees with a predetermination not to grant him mercy, and of cruelty in adding to the sufferings Monmouth is executed. of his victim by exciting hopes which he was resolved to disappoint. But his predetermination to refuse the prayer of the criminal has been assumed without any proof; and the interview itself was not of the king's seeking; it was reluctantly granted by him as a favor to the prayers of Monmouth, (who, it is to be remembered, was not acknowledged by James as his nephew,)

and of Monmouth's intercessors, and on the representation that the disclosures to be made by the prisoner would, on account of their superior importance, cancel his crimes of treason and usurpation. Monmouth was beheaded in two days after the interview with the king.

A commission was soon afterward appointed, consisting of Judge Jeffreys, who three months before had been raised to the peerage, Jeffreys commissioned to try the rebels. Montague, the chief baron, and three puisne judges, to proceed to the trial of those who had aided Monmouth. On account of the danger to which they might be exposed in the revolted counties, they were accompanied by a strong military escort, the command of which, with the temporary rank of lieutenant-general, was intrusted to Jeffreys; and it was probably this singular union of the military with the judicial character, that induced the wits to give to his progress during the circuit the nickname of "Jeffrey's campaign." A multitude of prisoners awaited their doom from the mouth of their stern and inexorable judge. That they had forfeited their lives by the laws of their country cannot be denied; and that many among them were incorrigible enthusiasts, who publicly avowed the righteousness of their cause, and their readiness to renew the attempt, is also true; yet the demands of justice might surely have been satisfied, and a salutary example have been made, without that deluge of blood so unsparingly poured out by Jeffreys and his associates.

As the time for the meeting of parliament approached, the minds of men became daily more and more agitated. During The meeting and prorogation of parliament. the rebellion, the levy of forces and the appointment of Catholic officers created no great alarm—the urgency of the case supplied a sufficient justification—but months had now passed since the battle of Sedgemoor, and the army was still kept up to its former complement. By a strange fatality it chanced that, at this moment of suspense and disquietude, the king of France revoked the edict of Nantes, and numbers of French Protestants sought an asylum in England from the persecution which they suffered in their own country. It was to no purpose that James labored to allay the ferment; that he openly declared his disapprobation of every species of religious persecution, and that he promoted with all his influence the measures devised for the relief of the refugees. On the appointed day,

the king opened the session with a speech from the throne. He said, that he had deemed it necessary for the safety of the nation and the stability of the government to augment the regular army, and he now called on parliament to provide the means of defraying the additional expense, and also to sanction the employment of Catholic officers. The opposition being very powerful, James suddenly prorogued the parliament, with the secret resolution of accomplishing, by his dispensing power, that object which he was not permitted to effect constitutionally with the consent of the lords and commons.

Several Protestant clergymen at this time adopted the Catholic creed, of whom were Obadiah Walker, master of University College, Oxford, and Boyce, Dean, and Bernard, fellows of different colleges. To these James granted dispensations, by which they were empowered to enjoy the benefits of their respective situations without taking the oaths, or attending the established worship. In defence of his conduct he maintained that it was incumbent on him to see that no man should suffer because he had the courage to follow the dictates of his conscience. Though the ancient worship was still proscribed by law under the penalties of imprisonment, forfeiture, and death, the Catholics, for the last four years, had been permitted to practise it in private houses without molestation. But James was not satisfied with mere connivance: he deemed it both his duty and his interest to give protection to the public exercise of his religion. He had prepared an effectual check to the ebullition of popular resentment by the presence of an army of about sixteen thousand men, consisting of twelve battalions of infantry and thirty-five squadrons of cavalry, encamped on Hounslow Heath. It was remarked that several of the officers were Catholics; the piety of all good Protestants was scandalized by the public celebration of mass in the tent of Lord Dunbarton, the second in command.

James soon addressed the privy council. During the four last reigns, he said, law upon law had been passed to enforce uniformity of doctrine. But experience had shown the uselessness of such enactments. Under them dissent had increased; they had led, in his father's time, to the destruction of the government in church and state; they had perpetuated to the present hour division in the nation, and all

those evils which necessarily grew out of civil dissension. It was time to put an end to such a state of things. Conscience could not be forced; persecution was incompatible with the doctrines of Christianity; and it was, therefore, his resolve to grant religious liberty to all his subjects.

Before we proceed to the fourth and last year of this inauspicious reign, it will be proper to call the attention of the reader to the numerous causes of irritation and estrangement which previously existed between the king and his nephew and son-in-law, the prince of Orange. William's advocacy of the bill of exclusion, and his reception of Monmouth during the life of Charles, were offences not easily forgotten. James persuaded himself that William of Orange, the husband of his daughter Mary, might be induced to approve of the general abolition of the penal laws on matters of religion now, and to pledge his word that he would maintain that abolition even after he should succeed to the throne. For this purpose, James despatched to Holland Sir William Penn, the celebrated Quaker, that he might read lectures on toleration, to the prince and princess. The prosecution and trial of the

Imprisonment of  
the prelates.

seven bishops soon followed. A year had elapsed since his proclamation of liberty of conscience. James now ordered it to be republished, and appended to it an additional declaration, stating his unalterable resolution of securing to the subjects of the English crown "freedom of conscience for ever," and of rendering thenceforth merit and not oaths the qualification for office. Several prelates prayed to be excused from reading the declaration, not because they were wanting in duty to the sovereign, but because it was founded on the dispensing power, which had often been declared illegal in parliament; whereupon James ordered them into custody. While the public attention was absorbed by the proceedings against the bishops, the queen was unexpectedly taken in labor; and, in the course of an hour, the king was blessed with what he so ardently wished for, the birth of a son, the apparent heir to his crown. The disappointment and vexation of his opponents were marked. But they quickly rallied; they had prepared the people to expect a supposititious birth, and they maintained that their predictions had been verified.

On the appointed day the seven prelates were brought from the



Tower, accompanied by several peers and gentlemen; on their approach to Westminster Hall the crowd divided; and, as they passed through the lane of spectators, the bystanders begged their blessing, and kissed their hands and garments. After much time had been spent in arguing the objections taken by their counsel, they pleaded not guilty, and were discharged on their own recognizances, the archbishop in two hundred pounds, the bishops in one hundred pounds each, to appear again for trial on that day fortnight. The expectation of the trial drew multitudes from the country to the metropolis. Their advocates entered into the real merits of the case, and contended that the bishops had only exercised their right of petitioning for the redress of grievances as British subjects, and their duty of supporting the Act of Uniformity as its legal guardians. The judges charged the jury separately. The jury (for it cannot be objected to James that he ever made an attempt to pervert the course of justice) had been fairly chosen. Differing in opinion among themselves, they left the court, and spent the night in loud and violent debate. In the morning they returned, and pronounced a verdict of not guilty. It was received with deafening shouts of applause; the enthusiasm communicated itself to the crowd without the hall; it was rapidly propagated to the extremities of the metropolis; thence it reached the neighboring hamlets, and at length penetrated to the camp of Hounslow Heath, where it is said that the king himself, who chanced to be dining with the general, Lord Feversham, was surprised and alarmed at the loud acclamations of the soldiers.

The prince of Orange had never lost sight of the great object of his ambition. A pamphlet was published in Holland, May 10th, 1688, to prove that James was a usurper, because, being a Catholic, he could not inherit the English throne; and that the princess of Orange was the rightful sovereign, and ought to have succeeded on the death of her uncle, Charles II. James saw the danger with threatened him, in all its magnitude and proximity. The impolicy of his past misrule now flashed on his mind; he hastened to repair his former errors, and hoped by retracing his steps to recover the confidence of his subjects. At the same time he made every exertion to augment his naval and military force.

William had originally fixed on March, 1688, for the sailing of the expedition, but he was much delayed. On the afternoon of the 19th of October, 1688, he sailed from Helvoetsluys, the men-of-war in three divisions forming a line out at sea, and the transports taking their allotted stations between that line and the shore. It blew a steady breeze from the south-west; scarcely a cloud obscured the heavens, and, as the fleet passed by Scheveling toward the north, the whole population of the Hague rushed to the shore, to view the proud and animating spectacle. Little did William anticipate the contrast exhibited on the following day. It was his intention to proceed to a certain distance, and then alter his course for the coast of Yorkshire, where he was expected by the earl of Danby; but, about ten in the evening, the wind suddenly changed to the west, and, by midnight, the storm had dispersed the fleet in every direction. The next morning the prince regained his former anchorage with about sixty sail: of the others some rode out the tempest, while the rest sought shelter in the different roads and havens. When, however, the extent of the loss could be ascertained, it proved much less than had been expected, for only a few ships had foundered.

William sailed again from Holland, on 1st November, 1688, in pursuit of the English crown. By friends and foes it was be-

He sails again, and lands in Devonshire. lieved that he intended to land on the coast of Yorkshire: but, having steered for twelve hours to the north, he changed his course; and, availing himself of a favorable wind, passed, without opposition, the royal fleet in the Downs, and in two days reached Torbay, in Devonshire, his real destination. To oppose the prince by land, James resolved to collect his army in the neighborhood of Salisbury. The prince, though he had been permitted to land without opposition, did not meet with the reception which he had been taught to expect. At his approach to Exeter, the bishop and dean fled from the city; the clergy and corporation remained passive spectators of his entry; and, though the populace applauded, no addresses of congratulation, nor public demonstrations of joy, were made by the respectable citizens. William was disappointed; he complained that he had been deceived and betrayed; he threatened to re-embark, and to leave his recreant associates to the ven-

geance of their sovereign. Still, however, his hopes were kept alive by the successive arrival of a few stragglers from a distance: in a short time they were raised almost to assurance of success by the perfidy of Lord Cornbury, son of the earl of Clarendon, who went over to him with part of the army.

The king's advisers, in despair of success, conjured him to seek an accommodation with his nephew, and to prevent, at any price, the total subversion of his throne. But James refused to see what was evident to all besides himself, and still believed in the loyalty of the army. The princess Anne privately left London. On the receipt of the intelligence James burst into tears, and exclaimed, "God help me! my very children have forsaken me!" The queen had hitherto refused to separate her lot from that of her husband; but when he had made up his mind to leave the kingdom, and that he solemnly promised to follow her within twenty-four hours, she consented to accompany her child. The time for their escape was fixed for two after midnight. A yacht, with Lord and Lady Powis and three Irish officers on board, was ready to receive them; and thence they pursued their course in safety to Calais. The king soon fled from London, and the news of his flight created surprise and consternation. About thirty spiritual and temporal peers joined the lord mayor and aldermen at the Guildhall, and, after some consultation, forming themselves into a separate council, assumed for a time the supreme authority.

The lord chancellor Jeffreys was discovered at Wapping in a strange disguise. A party of the trained bands rescued him from the fury of the mob; but they still pursued him with whips and halters, and, as the lord mayor was too much alarmed to take his examination, he was, at his own desire, conducted under an escort of two regiments to the Tower. The lords in council soon afterward sent a warrant for his detention, and, in the course of a few months, he died in prison.

James returned to London for a time, but again retired and fled to Ambleteuse, on the coast of France, which he reached on the 25th of December. Thence he hastened to join his wife and child at the castle of St. Germain's, where he was received by Louis with expressions of sympathy and proofs of munificence which did honor to that monarch.

The lords and commons continued to sit at Westminster, and by them an address was voted to the prince of Orange, begging him to assume and exercise the government of the realm till the meeting of a national convention on the 22d of January, 1689; and, for the election of the members of that convention, to issue writs similar to those which the king was accustomed to issue for the election of members of parliament; with this request the prince complied.

Hitherto no mention has been made of Scotland. At the announcement of the intended invasion, the council of state proclaimed, in an address to James, their determination to peril their lives and fortunes in support of the throne of their rightful sovereign, but they soon abandoned his cause. Many of the leading men in Scotland proceeded to the English metropolis, eager to pay their court to the prince of Orange, and to secure the good-will of their future sovereign. By his direction they assembled in a room at Whitehall, and, after three days' deliberation, agreed to follow, in substance though not in form, the precedent which had been set by the two English houses.

The English convention met on the appointed day, January 22d. The lower house was composed chiefly of the men who had distinguished themselves in their respective counties by their opposition to the obnoxious measures of James: from the upper the Catholic lords were excluded, not in virtue of any law—for the law knew nothing of conventions—but because care had been taken to direct writs to none but Protestant peers. It was contended in the commons, that the voluntary withdrawal of James without any provision for the government of the realm during his absence, was equivalent in law to a demise of the crown; by others, that it was, in fact, an abdication of the sovereignty, and it was resolved that the throne was vacant. In the lords a protracted and angry debate took place, and the friends of James showed that they still possessed considerable influence. When the prince saw the crown sliding from his grasp, he deemed it advisable to break that silence which he had hitherto maintained, and complained of the time which had been wasted in useless debate—not (he said) that he was interested in the result—but because it detained him inactive in England, when the events passing on the continent im-

An address to the prince of Orange.  
Meeting of the convention. William and Mary proclaimed.

periously demanded his presence in Holland. He added, that if any persons intended to appoint him regent, they might spare themselves the trouble, for the regency was an office which he would never accept; adding, in allusion to a plan to make his wife the sole sovereign, that, while he was her husband, he would never be her subject. It was then agreed on, in compliance with the alleged wish of the princess, that, though William and Mary were to be equal in rank as king and queen, yet the exercise of the royal authority should be vested in William exclusively during his life.

An instrument known as the "Declaration of Right" was framed, which, after several conferences and amendments, obtained the approbation of both houses. It stated that whereas the late king James II. had assumed and exercised a power of dispensing with and suspending laws without consent of parliament; and had committed other arbitrary acts which were set forth, it was necessary to declare such conduct subversive of right. It was next resolved that William and Mary, prince and princess of Orange, should be declared king and queen of England, France, and Ireland, and of the dominions thereunto belonging, to hold the same during their lives, and the life of the survivor of them; and that the sole and full exercise of the royal power should be only in, and executed by, the prince of Orange in both their names during their joint lives; and that, after their decease, the said crown should descend to the heirs of the said princess, and, for default of such issue, to the princess Anne of Denmark and her heirs, and, in default of such issue, to the heirs of the prince of Orange.

Hitherto, Mary had been suffered to remain unnoticed in Holland; but she now received directions to come to England, and reached St. James's in the eighth week after the expulsion of her father, by her husband's order, from the same palace. Her's was undoubtedly an extraordinary situation; and curiosity was alive to watch her conduct, when she met the numerous and brilliant court which had assembled to greet her on her arrival. That conduct was not such as to do her honor. There was a levity in her manner which hurt the feelings of many even among her adherents; an affectation of gayety, which suited not a daughter taking possession of the spoils of an

exiled and affectionate father. The next morning, February 13, 1689, the two houses proceeded in state to wait on the prince and princess at Whitehall. The lords were placed on the right hand, the commons on the left, at the lower end of the banqueting-house. William and Mary, entering at the opposite end, stood under the canopy of state; and the speakers of the two houses, with the members following them, were conducted as far as the step by the usher of the black rod. The clerk then read the declaration of rights, and the marquess of Halifax made to the prince and princess the tender of the crowns of England, William and Mary proclaimed king and queen. France, and Ireland, in the name of the convention, "the representative of the nation." William replied for himself and his wife, that they thankfully accepted the offer. William and Mary were then proclaimed king and queen; but three months elapsed before they acquired possession of the Scottish crown. In Scotland the estates declared the throne vacant, and drew up an enumeration of the grievances, fourteen in number, which they had suffered under the late monarch. They then passed the act of settlement, by which the crown was vested in William and Mary, and their heirs, in strict conformity with the English act. Immediately the proclamation of the two sovereigns took place with the usual solemnities; and a deputation was named to administer the coronation oath to the king and queen. The new sovereigns received the Scotch commissioners in the banqueting-house at Whitehall, and promised in the name of the eternal God to keep every clause of the oath, and from that moment became entitled to the full exercise of the regal authority in Scotland.

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NOTE.—Hitherto I have been guided completely by the text of Dr. Lingard. In the following pages I have endeavored, by a close examination of the works of those who have treated of the history of England from the period of the Revolution, to present a truthful narrative of events down to the present time.—JAMES BURKE.

## CHAPTER XXXVII.

## William and Mary.

Insurrection in Scotland—James lands in Ireland—Battle of the Boyne—Treaty of Limerick—Death, and Character of the King.—From A. D. 1689 to 1702.

THE prince of Orange, having thus accomplished his ambitious designs, began soon to make every effort to consolidate his sway. In order to gratify the people of Scotland, the Presbyterian form of worship was established by law. In England, dissenters were freed from the necessity of taking the oath of supremacy, except in language which was easily reconcilable with their views, and were permitted to meet in their respective places of worship. The declarations against Catholic tenets remained, however, unchanged, and still continued necessary in order to enable a person to qualify for any official post. At this period some alterations took place in the details of constitutional arrangements, among which the most important was, the commencement of the system of appointing judges for life or good behaviour, instead of their being removable at the royal pleasure. The attainders of Lord Russell and Algernon Sydney were reversed soon after the Revolution.

In Scotland, an act had been passed distinctly affirming that James had forfeited the crown. That unfortunate monarch had, however, a strong party still among the Scotch, especially in the Highlands. Viscount Dundee <sup>Viscount Dun-</sup> <sup>dee.</sup> (formerly Graham of Claverhouse) raised an insurrection in his favor, and rallied round his standard a considerable force. At a place called Killiecrankie, a memorable battle took place in May, 1690, in which the adherents of James gained the advantage. As, however, Dundee was killed in the moment of victory, the Highlanders were not in a position to follow up what they had

begun; and, in a short time, the clans were induced to yield, at all events, a nominal obedience to William and Mary.

Although not in the exact order of time, perhaps it may be as well to relate here (as we are narrating the Scottish affairs of the period) the particulars of the atrocious act known in history as

The massacre of Glencoe. the massacre of Glencoe. The facts were these:—

A proclamation was issued in 1691, commanding all the Highland chieftains to give in their submission before the last day of the year. One chief, Macdonald, of Glencoe, was accidentally prevented from observing the day. He started for Inverary, but was hindered by snow from reaching the presence of the government officer in time. He was a day or two late, but was allowed to take the required oaths, and returned home. His enemies alleged that he was disaffected, and William signed an order for the destruction of the whole clan. The soldiers who were ordered to carry out this ruthless mandate, came among the Macdonalds as pretended friends. They received the hospitality of the clan for a considerable time, and did not give any indication of their intentions till the morning of the 13th February, 1692, when they attacked their unsuspecting hosts in their sleep, and slew all that came in their way. Thirty-eight persons, including Macdonald and his wife, were basely murdered. Some escaped from the glen; but many of these perished afterward by cold and hunger. No more atrocious act stains the page of history, and though it may be admitted that William did not intend that the massacre of the Macdonalds should have been accompanied by such treachery, yet his memory has never been cleared of the charge of his having signed the exterminating edict, and of his not having in any manner punished, or even condemned the conduct of, those who so barbarously violated the sacred laws of hospitality.

It was destined that Ireland should be the battle-ground in which William and James were to contend for the crown. The king of France furnished James with a fleet, with which he sailed to Ireland, where he arrived on the 22d March, 1689, and landed at Kinsale. The lord deputy Tyrconnell was a devoted adherent of James, and received him with an army of nearly 40,000 men. All Ireland declared for James with the exception of Derry and Enniskillen. Derry was besieged, but the inhabit-



ants held out till the city was relieved. In August, William sent an army of 16,000 men to Ireland, under Schomberg, who kept James in check for some time. In the summer of 1690, William himself landed in Ireland with 36,000 men, and hastened to take steps for giving battle to James. The hostile armies met on the 1st July, 1690, on the banks of the Boyne near Drogheda. A sanguinary engagement took place, in which Schomberg was killed. The soldiers on both sides fought with the most determined courage; but the Irish army was not equal, in point of numbers, to that which William commanded. Fifteen hundred of James's troops were killed before victory declared for William. James, considering his cause hopeless, fled to the south, and embarked for France, where he passed the remainder of his life.

But the Irish army, though defeated at the Boyne, retreated in good order to the centre of the island. Dublin and the entire eastern coast yielded to William; but he soon sailed for England, as news had reached him that his fleet had been defeated by that of James. His generals, however, continued to prosecute the war. In June, 1691, Athlone was taken by De Ginkle, and shortly afterward the defeat at Aughrim, where James's general, St. Ruth, and a very large number of troops were killed, gave to his cause a still gloomier aspect. Limerick, however, remained still firm to the cause of the Stuarts. When William returned from England he besieged that city, but the bravery of Sarsfield having led to the destruction of a large part of his artillery, and to the repeated repulse of the besieging forces, he again left Ireland, having abandoned the siege on the pretended plea that the excessive rains had caused disease among his troops.

But when almost all Ireland had yielded to William's generals, and the flower of the Irish army had fallen at Aughrim, Limerick was again besieged, and, after some time, capitulated, on the condition of honorable terms. According to the "Treaty of Limerick," memorable for its being soon violated by act of parliament, the king undertook to obtain for the Irish Catholics the free exercise of their religion and the peaceable enjoyment of their estates. Permission was given to those who wished to retire to France to do so, and, it is said,

that 14,000 persons availed themselves of this privilege, and with Sarsfield embarked for the continent, where such as were soldiers formed themselves into a corps, which acquired fame under the title of the "Irish Brigade."

James still indulged the hope of recovering his crown, and, having obtained a fleet from Louis, prepared to make a descent upon England. He was, however, anticipated, and his fleet was defeated with great loss in May, 1692, by Admiral Russell, off Cape La Hogue. This was the last attempt made by James to reinstate himself in the throne of his ancestors. It was not, however, till 1697, that Louis acknowledged, by the treaty of Ryswick, William as king of England.

William had frequent disputes with his parliament, on the subject of money; and at last threatened to return to Holland unless his applications for taxes were more generously met. There was also much jealousy entertained by the English respecting the foreign troops maintained by William—a feeling to which he was, after some time, obliged to yield.

It was in this reign, in the year 1693, that some merchants subscribed £1,200,000 to establish the Bank of England. It so happened that, shortly after the incorporation of the company, old coin was called in to be exchanged for new, and the rapid demand nearly broke the bank. It was, however, saved by parliamentary interference.

Queen Mary died in 1694. She possessed some good qualities; but her conduct in 1688, when she seemed totally insensi-

Death of Queen Mary. ble to the misfortunes of her father, has left a deep stain upon her memory. Her death revived the hopes of the friends of James, as many considered that William was only a king-consort, and that the death of his queen terminated his right to sovereignty. Several conspiracies were formed against him, but they were discovered. The act of settlement, which limited the crown to Protestants, was passed at this period.

In 1701, James II. died, having passed several years in religious retirement. He had spent a portion of each year with the

Death of James, and of William. monks of La Trappe, and had adopted a demeanor which showed that he felt at last reconciled to his fall from worldly greatness. His last advice to his son was an

injunction to forgive his enemies. On his death, Louis XIV. proclaimed his son king of England; for though he had acknowledged William, events had occurred which caused a renewal of hostilities between France and England. Charles of Spain having died leaving no children, bequeathed his crown to Philip, the grandson of Louis. William formed an alliance with the States of Holland and the emperor of Germany, to prevent this union of the monarchies of France and Spain, and to obtain Spain for the emperor. But the king of England did not live to carry on the war, for he soon afterward broke his collar-bone by a fall from his horse, and died, 8th March, 1702, in the 58th year of his age.

William was very unpopular with the people of Scotland, upon whom the massacre of Glencoe made a deep impression. These feelings were still more imbibed by his conduct respecting the Darien expedition. This was a project for colonizing the Isthmus of Darien, into which the people of Scotland had warmly entered about the close of the eighteenth century, and which at first received the approbation of the king and the sanction of parliament. Commercial jealousies intervened, and William was induced not only to withdraw his favor from the plan, but to assist the Spaniards in their opposition to the colonists who ventured their lives and properties in making the attempt to carry it into execution. Some of the colonists, after suffering great privations, succeeded in reaching their country, where their account of all they endured roused a feeling of resentment against England to which many writers trace the growth of the strong feeling in favor of the Stuarts which so long prevailed in Scotland.

It was in the reign of William that the standing army of England was first established by act of parliament, and under the same monarch the national debt commenced. Several distinguished literary men flourished at the period, among whom the names of Newton, Locke, and Dryden hold the highest rank.

In the delineation of the character of William, panegyric and censure have both been unsparingly used, and, as is generally the case in such circumstances, without much discrimination. Had the great author, of whose truly William's character. impartial history these pages are the continuation, carried his labors to a later period, it is likely that he would, in his fair and

honest mode of dealing with character, have allotted to the prince of Orange (as to Cromwell) some good qualities, and many bad ones. He would, no doubt, have given him credit for being to a certain extent tolerant, while his powerful pen would have lashed William's feeble, if not pretended defence of the articles of Limerick from a parliamentary abrogation which fettered the Catholics of Ireland. And, while on national grounds he would have praised William's opposition to the virtual junction of the crowns of France and Spain, he would have in strong language denounced his share in the Glencoe massacre, and his duplicity respecting the Darien project. William's manner was cold and distant, but he is said to have grown animated in battle. He was a Calvinist in creed, and therefore by no means a favorite with the Protestant clergy of England. Ambition was his ruling passion, to gratify which, instead of endeavoring to promote peace between his uncle and father-in-law, James, and the subjects of that monarch, he employed years in fomenting English discord, and at last drove into exile a king to whom he ought to have felt that he was linked by the tenderest ties of nature.

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## CHAPTER XXXIII.

### Annæ.

Anne succeeds to the throne—England joins the Grand Alliance—Victories of Marlborough—The Union of England and Scotland—Impeachment of Sacheverell—Treaty of Utrecht—Death of Anne—Her Character.—From A. D. 1702 to 1714.

ANNE, the second daughter of James II., and wife of Prince George of Denmark, succeeded William on the throne of England, in accordance with the arrangements which had been made at the time of the revolution. She was at the period of her accession thirty-eight years of age, and a member of the Church of England. She was not friendly to the policy of the whig party,

and appointed her ministers from among the tories. In her first address to parliament, she declared that her foreign policy would be guided by the same principles which had actuated her predecessor, and that she would maintain her place in the "grand alliance"—as the combination of England, Germany, and Holland against Louis XIV. was termed. Marlborough was sent with a large force to the continent, and entered on that career which has rendered his name so distinguished in the military annals of England. Marlborough commenced operations in the Netherlands, and soon succeeded in taking Liege, where he found a large amount of treasure. In 1704, he gained the memorable victory of Blenheim, in which a large portion of the French army was slain; and, having returned to England, he received the thanks of parliament, and an estate on which the queen ordered Blenheim House to be built. Marlborough soon returned to the continent, and, in 1706, defeated the French under Marshal Villeroy, at Ramillies, in a battle which was hotly contested, and in which both armies displayed considerable valor. It is said that the French lost 8000 men, and the allies 3000 in this engagement; which gave a heavy blow to French influence in the North of Europe.

In Spain, Lord Peterborough, aided by Portugal, gained some important advantages, and even drove Philip from the capital. The important fortress of Gibraltar was, in 1704, taken by Rooke and Shovel, who commanded the English fleet on the Spanish coast. This place has remained ever since in the hands of the English.

Louis, finding that he could not resist the allies, notwithstanding the ability of his generals and the bravery of his troops, made overtures, in 1706, for peace. Such, however, was the desire, on the part of England, to humble France, that the war was universally popular, and negotiation distasteful to the national mind. Hostilities were protracted, and as a consequence, the national debt received a very large increase.

In 1707, the union between England and Scotland took place. This measure principally owed its origin to the course which the Scottish parliament had begun to adopt on the subject of the succession. That body had passed a measure, the "act of security," by which it was enacted that the

Marlborough's  
victories.

Union of Eng-  
land and Scotland.

successor of Anne should not, as regarded Scotland, be the same person whom England might accept, unless Scotland obtained certain commercial privileges which were then withheld. An act for arming Scotland was passed at the same time. These steps alarmed the English ministers, and commissioners were appointed to draw up articles of union. The articles were presented to the Scottish parliament, and led to very warm debates. By these articles the two nations were declared to be united under the one government and legislature, but each was to retain its own legal forms. The Presbyterian Church was to be guaranteed to Scotland, which country was to send forty-five representatives to the British house of commons, and sixteen to the house of lords. The union was very unpopular in Scotland, (for the people regretted to see their legislature passing away from them,) but, by threats and bribery, the measure was carried, and from the 1st May, 1707, the two countries were united under the title of Great Britain.

The discontent which prevailed in Scotland was carefully observed in France, and roused the hopes of the son of James II., Chevalier de St. George. who, under the name of James III., resided at the French court. He was known also by the title of the Chevalier de St. George, and was by the English termed the Pretender. Louis assisted him with an armament, and in 1707 he sailed for Scotland, to which country many of the Scottish nobility invited him. "I hope I shall never see you again," were the parting words of the king of France, who expected that, by giving England some military affairs to attend to in Scotland, he would divert her armies from his own territories. The Stuart squadron was, however, attacked by some English ships of war under admiral Byng. Several of the French vessels were captured, and the others with difficulty got back to Dunkirk. The Chevalier escaped, and made no further attempt till 1715.

In the year 1708, Prince George of Denmark died, having been for twenty-five years married to the queen. He possessed no abilities, but his mild and unambitious temperament won for him many friends, and he passed his life without interfering with any of the political intrigues of the time. To a man of ambitious views, the period offered many temptations, and in such hands the act of settlement (to which Anne was by no means

partial) might have been altered to enable him to succeed the queen should he survive her.

About the close of the year 1709, intense popular excitement prevailed in England, in consequence of the impeachment of a clergyman named Sacheverell, who had preached a sermon containing language so violent against the whig party, then in office, that ministers resolved on a prosecution. In order to account for the great interest which this trial caused, we must first explain the state of religious feeling at that period in England.

The whig party had now been predominant from the time of the Revolution, but after the death of William III., their power began to decline, for the sentiments of Anne leaned toward the tories. By degrees the political errors into which James had fallen were passing from the minds of the people, and toryism became the popular creed. A very strong sentiment in favor of the Protestant religion gained ground throughout the kingdom, and a hostile feeling toward dissenters, to whom the whigs were inclined to be tolerant. The people and the queen held one set of opinions, while the ministers (whom the queen was anxious to have some plausible reason for dismissing) professed another.

While these clashing views were tending in no small degree to disturb public tranquillity, the flame of discord was kindled into a glow by Dr. Sacheverell, who, at St. Saviour's church in London, preached a sermon in which he plainly conveyed that the time was come when the tolerators of dissent had endangered the church, and that the people should take up arms in its defence. He was tried and found guilty, but such was his popularity that the whig ministers were afraid to punish him severely, and he shortly afterwards made a species of triumphal progress through a large portion of the kingdom.

Shortly after the trial of Dr. Sacheverell, two tories were, through court influence, introduced into the ministry. These were Harley, afterward Earl of Oxford, and St. John, afterward Lord Bolingbroke. Disputes having arisen between these two statesmen and the prime-minister Godolphin, he dismissed them, which course gave such displeasure to the queen, that she soon afterward recalled them to power, and directed them to form a ministry. At the general election which shortly took place, the

whigs were left in a considerable minority. Marlborough, about this time, was recalled through the influence of court enemies.

Negotiations for peace were soon commenced by the tory administration, who were by no means so hostile to France as their

The treaty of Utrecht. whig predecessors in office. After some resistance in the house of lords, these negotiations were supported by parliament; and, in 1713, Great Britain and Holland, without the concurrence of Germany, concluded the peace of Utrecht. The principal article in this treaty was, that Philip should be king of Spain, but neither he nor any of his descendants king of France, and that no king of France should ever inherit the crown of Spain. England was to retain Minorca and Gibraltar. Thus, after a lavish waste of life and treasure, a war was brought to an end, by which, although England added to her military name, she largely increased her national debt and obtained very inadequate advantages.

Shortly after the peace of Utrecht, Queen Anne died suddenly, (1st August, 1714,) and with her terminated the main Stuart

Death of the queen. line. The Hanoverian descendants of James I., another branch of the Stuart line, succeeded to the throne. There is every reason to believe that Anne was anxious to cause the Act of Settlement to be repealed, and to promote the restoration of her own family to the crown. It has been made plain by the publication in later times of the correspondence of Bolingbroke, that he and Oxford, though they became hostile to each other, carried on communications for this purpose with the court of France. The queen's death, however, put an end to the project.

Anne was not remarkable for large capabilities of mind, or (though well looking) for great beauty of person. Her disposition

Her character. was vacillating, and she was easily governed by the wily favorites who attended her court.

One of these, a Mrs. Masham, obtained complete power over her, and, by her advice, principally caused the rise of the tory administration of 1710. Though hostile to the Catholics, Anne disliked still more the thoughts of the Hanoverian succession, because she considered the whigs to be but cold friends of the Protestant church. Her reign is distinguished for the military achievements which British arms accomplished on the continent



under Marlborough, and still more by the literary genius of a period which has been denominated the Augustan age of English literature, during which the talents of Pope, Swift, Addison, Steele, and many other distinguished ornaments of the world of letters flourished. It is a dark stain on the memory of Anne that it was during her reign the penal laws against the Irish Catholics first began to develop that spirit of systematic persecution which so deeply wounded the best interests of Ireland, and left a social scar which it will take more time to heal completely, than to obliterate from history the recollection of the glories of Blenheim or of Ramillies.

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## CHAPTER XXXIX.

### George the First.

Accession of George the First—Insurrection in Scotland—South Sea Bubble—  
Death of the King.—A. D. 1714 to 1727.

GEORGE, elector of Hanover and first British monarch of the house of Brunswick, was descended maternally from James I., whose only daughter, Elizabeth, married Frederick of Bohemia, the father of Sophia, electress of Hanover, of whom George was the son. As the Act of Settlement, passed during William's reign, limited the crown to Sophia of Hanover, and her Protestant heirs, George, whose mother had lately died, became by force of that statute, king of England, and soon arrived to take possession of the throne. He had reached his fifty-fourth year, and had displayed a fair amount of ability, though of by no means shining mental qualities.

He commenced his reign by showing the Tories that he considered them hostile to the Hanoverian succession, and he accordingly dismissed them from his councils and called the Whigs to office under the earl of Halifax, appointing Marlborough commander-in-chief of the army. The house of commons prepared articles of impeachment against Oxford, Bolingbroke, and others

of their party. Bolingbroke fled to France, but Oxford remained to stand his trial. As there were serious differences between the lords and commons on the subject of his guilt, he was acquitted; a result perhaps partly attributable to the circumstance that Oxford was very much liked by the people.

The popular feeling against the whig administration encouraged the tories to choose this period for making an attempt to place the Chevalier on the throne, and by restoring the Stuarts, to overthrow the whigs, whose feelings were all upon the Hanoverian side. Accordingly, in September, 1715, the Earl of Mar raised the banner of the Stuarts in Scotland, and was joined by 10,000 Highlanders. At the same time, the earl of Derwentwater and some other noblemen took up arms in Northumberland, and having received reinforcements from Scotland, proceeded toward the South and endeavored to rouse the people of England against George I. The adherents of the Stuart cause (who were called Jacobites) were obliged to surrender to the government troops at Preston, in Lancashire. At the same time, the earl of Mar came to an engagement at Sheriffmuir in Scotland, with the Duke of Argyle, on which occasion neither army obtained a victory.

To France, Mar looked with an anxious eye; but Louis XIV. was now dead, and the regent Orleans, wishing to cultivate friendly relations with George I., refused to assist in the attempt to place a Stuart on the English throne. The Chevalier sailed for Scotland alone in December, 1715, but in a short time it became apparent that his cause could not be sustained, and he returned to France, accompanied by the earl of Mar, while the troops which had served under that general, dispersed. The earl of Derwentwater and many others of various ranks in society, were executed for appearing in arms; many families lost their estates; and several persons of a high position in society were sent from Great Britain in exile to America.

Although the attempt against the throne was defeated, still there soon arose considerable popular discontent and ministers felt this to such an extent that, in 1716, they carried the "Septennial Act," which increased the duration of parliament from three to seven years. The king soon afterward paid a visit to his German dominions, which were threatened by Charles of Sweden

On his return he arrested the Swedish ambassador, who was proved to be implicated in a fresh attempt on behalf of the Stuart dynasty.

In 1719, the king of Spain made an attempt to regain the portion of Italy which formerly had belonged to that country, and England interfered to prevent his success by despatching Admiral Byng to the Mediterranean, who gained a decided victory over the Spanish fleet. France soon afterward joined in the war against Spain. George I. paid another visit to Germany at this time, and entered into a treaty with the queen of Sweden—Charles II. having been killed in battle. An alliance was soon formed, which included England, France, Germany, and Spain, and the king returned to Great Britain.

It was about this period that the remarkable delusion known as the "South Sea Bubble" began to influence the public mind. A Scotchman named Law, who had risen to importance in France by holding out to the people of that country promises of great national wealth, came to England and started a joint-stock company, which professed to trade to the South Sea, but which offered to shareholders profits much larger than could be expected from ordinary commerce. A large number of persons entered into the speculation, and the shares rose to a very high price. After some time other similarly visionary plans were projected, but the shares began to fall, and many who had ventured their money were ruined. The public discontent rose to such a height that the government had to interfere. A committee was appointed to consider and report on claims, and an arrangement was made by the help of the Bank of England and the East India Company, by means of which the sufferers were appeased, though several were losers to a large extent.

Another conspiracy was entered into about this period in favor of the Stuarts, in which Bishop Atterbury and several other persons of distinction were implicated. Many arrests took place, and some executions, but tranquillity was soon restored.

Sir Robert Walpole was now prime-minister, and maintained himself in power for twenty years. During the latter part of the reign of George I., public attention was principally occupied with preparations for naval and military armaments, which the king endeavored to collect, for

the purpose of opposing Austria and Spain. In June, 1727, George left England again to visit Germany, and on this occasion returned no more; for during the journey he was seized with paralysis, and died at Osnabruck, on the 11th July, in the 68th year of his age, and thirteenth of his reign, leaving two children, a son and a daughter, to survive him.

George I. possessed no great qualifications. He did not understand the state of parties in England, and consequently often fell into political mistakes. He was even ignorant of the English language, and, by disregarding popular feeling, created much hostility to his measures. In looking back, however, on this reign, we recognise the names of some of the most distinguished ornaments of literature, including Addison, Pope, and several other masters in English composition. This too was the period when, in Ireland, the talents of Swift shone most conspicuously, for it was in 1724 that he, by the publication of the famous "Drapier's Letters," added the character of patriot to that of an eminent literary man. In this reign died Sir Isaac Newton at an advanced age; and the same period saw the determination of the career of the once illustrious Marlborough.

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## CHAPTER XL.

### George the Second.

War with Spain—England supports the cause of Maria Theresa—Charles Edward lands in Scotland—Battles of Prestonpans and of Culloden—Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle—War between England and France renewed—Surrender of Quebec—War in the East Indies—Death of the King.—From A. D. 1727 to 1760.

As soon as intelligence arrived from the continent that George I. was no more, his son, then at Richmond, was proclaimed king as George II. Sir Robert Walpole was minister, and was, together with his colleagues, retained in power. The king and queen were crowned at Westminster Abbey, on the 11th October, 1727.

A contest with Spain, which lasted for a considerable period, was one of the principal circumstances attending the reign of George II. This war took its rise from some efforts made by Spain to check the trade between England and the Spanish colonies of America. British ships were searched by the Spaniards on the high seas, which so irritated the English people, that war was resolved upon, though Walpole was reluctant to enter into the contest. Two fleets were despatched, one to the coast of Spain, and another to America. The latter, under the command of Admiral Vernon, succeeded in taking Portobello, a town of considerable importance in the West Indies. Reinforcements were sent to Vernon, but as disputes arose between him and the commander of the troops which were sent out, no more victories were obtained. Carthagena was bombarded, but without success, and a large number of British soldiers perished in the attempt. A third fleet, commanded by Admiral Anson, sailed to Spanish America to assist Vernon; but Anson lost several ships, and, being unable to render effective aid to his brother admiral, he cruised along the eastern coast of South America and took several prizes. He even crossed the Pacific to China and refitted his ships at Canton. Returning thence, he fell in with a Spanish galleon (the *Manilla*) which he took, and found on board treasure to the amount of £300,000, with which he came back to England, where he was received with welcome, on account of the money he brought to the public treasury. Anson was the first navigator who sailed round the world.

Our attention must now be turned to the European continent, which was embroiled in war in consequence of the rival claims for the empire of Germany. When the emperor, Charles VI., died, his daughter, Maria Theresa, queen of Hungary, was entitled to his throne by right of inheritance. She was opposed by several princes, one of whom, the elector of Bavaria, was crowned emperor as Charles VII., and received the support of France. George II., considering that the increase of French influence in Germany would endanger his Hanoverian dominions, took part with Maria Theresa, and found the people of England willing to support him in his views. Sir Robert Walpole, however, held a different opinion, and refusing to be a party to the war, he ceased to be minister in 1742, hav-

ing held office for more than twenty years. He was a man of great ability and a vigorous minister, but his official career was stained throughout by the systematic corruption, by means of which he made himself master of the house of commons. He was, on his retirement from power, created earl of Orford.

In 1743, George II. joined the army which fought for Maria Theresa, and appeared in person at the battle of Dettingen, which was the last occasion on which a king of England entered the field. The British and Hanoverian troops compelled the French to retreat, but the advantage was not followed up. Soon afterward Charles VII. died; but, in order to prevent the grand-duke of Tuscany, the husband of Maria Theresa, from being elected emperor, the French continued to prosecute the war. Count Saxe, a general of great ability, commanded the French army, and the duke of Cumberland, son of George II., led the British and Hanoverian forces. Tournay was besieged by Saxe, and, in order to save that city, the British army advanced to Fontenoy, where, May, 1745, a fierce battle, at which Louis XV., the king of France, was present, took place, and the French gained the victory, principally in consequence of the courage of the "Irish Brigade." The duke of Cumberland lost 7000 men on this occasion. Soon afterward, however, the grand-duke of Tuscany was elected emperor of Germany.

In 1745 another attempt was made by the Stuarts to regain the British throne. The son of James II. had married, in 1719, the princess Clementina Sobieski, grand-daughter of the great John Sobieski, king of Poland. They had two sons, the elder of whom, Charles Edward, resolved in his twenty-fifth year to make an effort for his family. He was encouraged by the ill success which the arms of George had met with on the continent, and by the political feuds which had gained strength in England. In 1744 he was declared by a proclamation, which his father, then at Rome, issued, regent of the British islands, and he immediately took steps to carry into effect the designs he had formed. France furnished a fleet, but it was driven back by storm, and was so closely watched by the English admiral, Norris, who commanded a superior armament, that it was detained in the French port. In June, 1745, Charles Edward sailed for Scotland with a few friends, and landed on the

coast of Inverness, where he was soon joined by several Highland chieftains at the head of their respective clans. In August he took the field with a considerable force, and, having proclaimed his father king of Great Britain, he marched to Edinburgh, of which he obtained possession without opposition.

George II. had sent orders to Sir John Cope, commander of the troops in Scotland, to advance against Charles, but the line of march he took was one which left the road to Edinburgh open. Cope returned to the neighborhood of the Scottish capital, and at Prestonpans a battle was fought, on <sup>The victory of Charles at Prestonpans.</sup> the 21st September, between him and Charles, in which the latter gained the victory. He did not, however, follow up his advantage with rapidity, but lost several weeks in the parade of royalty at Holyrood House. It is probable that he acted thus in consequence of the expectation of troops from France. Some reinforcements came from that country, and several Highland chieftains who had kept aloof at first, now joined the Stuart prince, who entered England in November, crossing the border with 5000 men. He easily took Carlisle, and marched, unchecked, through the North of England as far as Derby. Here he learned that George II. was at the head of a large army, which was encamped near London, and which was each day increasing in number. The duke of Cumberland came over with 6000 Dutch soldiers, and, as the people of England gave no assistance to the Stuart cause—only 200 having joined the standard of Charles—it now became necessary to adopt some decisive course of operations. The young prince proposed to advance on London, which would, he considered, give his friends in the metropolis courage to declare for him. But the opinion among most of Charles's officers was, that by returning to Scotland he could increase his army, and take the field in the following spring with troops refreshed by rest. The latter opinion prevailed, and, on the 6th December, the retreat to Scotland commenced. Though the duke of Cumberland, with some regiments of cavalry, endeavored to overtake the Stuart army, he did not succeed, and Charles not only returned safely to Scotland, but was soon joined by a large body of new adherents. In January, 1746, he engaged General Hawtrey at Falkirk, and, having de-

feated him, marched to Inverness, where he rested with his forces.

The duke of Cumberland, having soon arrived in Scotland, prepared to take the field without delay, as he was at the head of a large army. He remained at Edinburgh for a short time, and in February marched to Aberdeen, where he received reinforcements, and soon moved against Charles, who drew up his troops at Culloden, near Inverness, and offered battle to the duke. They engaged on the 16th April, 1746. Charles had 8000 men; but the duke had the advantage in numbers, and obtained a complete victory over the Stuart forces. The conquerors stained their arms by the indiscriminate and remorseless slaughter of the vanquished, and, contrary to the practice of civilized war, spared not even the wounded, who lay disabled on the field. Charles, after wandering for several months in the Highlands, escaped to France, though a large reward (£30,000) was offered for his capture. It is most honorable to the Highlanders, to many of whom he made himself known, that they did not betray him, as he reposed confidence in their fidelity to his cause.

When the civil war had thus been brought to a close, several noblemen were tried for high-treason, and executed, among whom were Lords Kilmarnock, Balmerino, and Lovat. Many also of the humbler classes were put to death in England and Scotland, and for several months the Highlands were subjected to all the cruelties which an unrestrained soldiery could inflict. After some time, however, the government began to conciliate the Highlanders. The power which the chieftains of clans possessed over their followers was brought by degrees within constitutional limits, and the people of Scotland never afterward showed any tendency to revive the Stuart cause.

During the events which we have been considering, the war continued with unabated vigor on the continent. The French obtained numerous victories by land; but the British navy triumphed in many important engagements, especially in a memorable action off Cape Finisterre, in which Admirals Anson and Warren defeated the French, and took a large amount of treasure. Other naval victories were obtained by Commodore Fox and



Admiral Hawke. War continued till 1748, when peace was concluded at Aix-la-Chapelle. The war had lasted nine years, and both England and France had sustained considerable loss. It was respectively agreed upon that all conquests should be restored, and that both nations should return to the condition in which they stood before the war. This protracted contest, so fruitless in results, added £30,000,000 to the national debt of Great Britain.

<sup>\*</sup>The peace of  
Aix-la-Chapelle—  
1748.

For some years after the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, England enjoyed peace with foreign nations and tranquillity at home. In 1750, the prince of Wales died, leaving a son, who afterward ascended the throne as George III. In the same year the new style (a correction of the calendar to the amount of eleven days, founded on a calculation made by Pope Gregory) was adopted in England by act of parliament. For a considerable time the honorable Henry Pelham was prime-minister, and it was at this period that William Pitt, afterward the earl of Chatham, began to take a prominent part in public affairs.

The nation now devoted much attention to colonization, and principally from this cause sprang the wars which disturbed the closing years of the reign of George II. and the commencement of that of his grandson. In 1756, war broke out between England and France, in consequence of disputes which took place on the subject of the western boundary of the North American colonies. The French drew a line of forts, from their possessions in Canada, along the country, behind the English colonies, from the St. Lawrence to the Mississippi, so as to prevent the British colonists from obtaining too extensive a territory in America. This conduct was, of course, resented by England, and the forts were attacked. The native Indians took part with the French, and caused several disasters to the British troops. Some very severe engagements took place, in one of which (the attack on Ticonderoga) there was great loss of life. General Braddock, an inexperienced officer, made an attack on the French, on the banks of the Ohio; but, falling into an ambuscade, he and seven hundred of his men were killed, and the artillery and baggage fell into the hands of the enemy.

War renewed be-  
tween France and  
England.

After some time, however, the English soldiers became better acquainted with the country, and, having taken possession of

several of the forts, proceeded to prepare for an attack on Canada. The troops under General Wolfe took Quebec in 1759, but he was killed during the assault. The French were commanded by general Montcalm, an experienced and able officer, and the approaches to Quebec were strongly fortified. Wolfe, leading his men forward, received a bullet in the breast, and fell. The battle continued, and, after a short time, Wolfe heard the words, "They run." "Who run?" asked the dying soldier, and, learning that it was the enemy, he exclaimed, "Then I die happy," and expired. The town soon capitulated. After some time, Montreal was taken; and the conquest of Canada was soon completed.

We must go back somewhat in time, in order to consider the progress made by British arms in the East Indies, where war raged with violence for a considerable time. At this period, although the East India Company had been a long time formed, the French possessions in the Indies were very extensive. When war broke out between England and France, India became one of the scenes of the contest. Colonel Clive (afterward Lord Clive) commanded the British troops, and gained so many important victories that to him is attributed the consolidation of the political power of England in the East. His victory at Plassey, in June, 1756, over the combined forces of France and of the native princes, mainly contributed to the downfall of French influence in India, and, after a severe struggle, France lost almost all her Eastern possessions.

It was during this war that the awful tragedy took place in Calcutta, of the suffocation of one hundred and twenty-three persons in a dungeon called the "Black Hole." The native prince of Bengal, Surajah Dowlah, had besieged Calcutta, which was the chief seat of English commerce, and succeeded in taking that important place. Contrary to a promise of kind treatment, one hundred and forty-six prisoners were thrown one evening into a narrow cell, only eighteen feet square, and badly ventilated. The sentinel told the prisoners that he dared not awaken his prince till morning; and, during the night, they all died of suffocation, with the exception of twenty-three persons. This brutal act roused the anger of the English: Clive soon retook Calcutta, and, pursuing the native forces, gained over them and the French

the memorable victory of Plassey, to which we have above referred. Surajah Dowlah, who had been guilty of such inhuman cruelty to the English prisoners, was overtaken in flight, and put to death.

While the British colonies in each hemisphere were thus the scenes of most important contests, England was also engaged in war upon the European continent. She formed an alliance with Frederick the Great, king of Prussia, against the combined forces of France, Russia, Austria, and Poland, with a view to protect Hanover. The duke of Cumberland was appointed commander of the British forces on the continent, but met with many reverses, and, for a time, the French obtained possession of the Hanoverian territories. Frederick of Prussia, however, soon won back the electorate for England, and in return for his services he received considerable sums of money from the British revenue. These subsidies largely increased the national debt, as the taxes were insufficient for the numerous demands on the public treasury. The details of the war on the continent possess very little interest in connection with English history, it being principally as elector of Hanover that George II. took part in the contest. At sea, Great Britain at this period maintained her high character, in consequence of the numerous victories gained by Hawke, Rodney, and other distinguished admirals. So jealous were the English people of their maritime fame, that in 1757, Admiral John Byng was shot for not having (in the language of the charge) "done his utmost" against the enemy in a naval engagement near Minorca. As Byng was acquitted of cowardice, he was recommended to mercy; but the feeling against him was so strong that the sentence was carried into execution at Portsmouth, though great efforts were made to save him.

Among other naval engagements, which took place about this time, was one between Captain Elliott and the French commodore Thurot, who had attacked and taken Carrickfergus in the North of Ireland. Thurot, hearing that a large force was advancing, returned on board ship, and set sail. He was met by Elliott, and, after a severe engagement near the Irish coast, in which Thurot was killed, the French were defeated, and their ships taken.

George II. died suddenly, on the 25th October, 1760, in consequence of the bursting of the left ventricle of the heart. He was fond of war, which was one of the reasons why England was at this time so deeply plunged into debt. His reign, though not marked by the same literary glory which has rendered the two previous reigns so conspicuous in letters, could boast of many learned men and able writers. It was during this reign that Fielding, Smollett, and Richardson gave prominence to works of fiction; that Thomson, Akenside, Collins, Young, and Gray acquired celebrity as poets, and that Johnson commenced his great literary career. Robertson and Hume partly belong to the same reign—the former, the author of several classically written, but by no means truthful, histories, and the latter best known as the author of “The History of England,” a work which, on account of the graces of style, obtained a high character, but the errors of which have been refuted by the learning of Dr. Lingard. It was at this period that Wesley and Whitefield founded the sect known as Methodists. Periodical literature on the present system, took its rise in 1731, when the *Gentleman’s Magazine* commenced; and it was during the reign of George II. that newspapers began to enter distinctly on the discussion of public affairs.

In Ireland, the penal laws against the Catholics continued during this reign with unabated rigor, and the transactions in that kingdom do not present much which demands attentive consideration. In 1753, a contest took place between the crown and the Irish house of commons on a financial subject, and from this, dates the rise of the parliamentary party, which was led by Henry Flood, who entered the house in 1759, and afterward by Grattan, and other distinguished men, and which caused such important changes in public affairs. The Irish people took no part in the struggle of 1745. Their known partiality to the Stuarts led the government to fear that they would give assistance to Charles Edward, and the lord lieutenant (Lord Chesterfield) prudently sought to conciliate the Catholics; but, when the danger passed away, they were left in the same servitude as before.

In 1755 the greater part of the city of Lisbon was destroyed

by an earthquake, on which occasion England sent £100,000 to alleviate the sufferings of the surviving population.

George II. had two sons, the prince of Wales and the duke of Cumberland. The former having died, his son became king, as George III. He had also five daughters, one of whom married the prince of Orange, and another the king of Denmark.

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## CHAPTER XLI.

### George the Third.

The Accession of the King—War between England and France continued—Treaty of Paris—John Wilkes—Policy of England toward her American Colonies—Stamp Act—Hostilities commenced between England and the Colonies—Declaration of American Independence—Peace between England and the United States declared—Efforts to repeal the Penal Laws—Riots in consequence—The Impeachment of Hastings—England joins the war against France—The success of the British Arms in Spain—War with the United States—England again joins the Allies against Napoleon—Battle of Waterloo—Death, and Character of George the Third.—From A. D. 1760 to 1820.

GEORGE III. ascended the throne under circumstances which promised a long and popular reign. He was only twenty-two years of age, and was the first English king of the line of Brunswick who had been born in England. Shortly after his accession he married the Princess Charlotte of Mecklenburgh Strelitz. In the first speech which he delivered to his parliament, he said, that having been "born and educated in England, he gloried in the name of Briton," and promised "that he would make it his constant study to guard the welfare of the people, over whom he was called upon to reign." He professed an anxiety for peace, but hoped that such supplies would be granted as would enable the crown to prosecute the war in a manner which would lead to its being brought to a close on honorable conditions. Parliament voted a large sum, and, to meet the interest on a new loan, an ad-

ditional tax was placed upon beer, which had the effect of causing a great amount of popular discontent.

The king had been educated under the care of Lord Bute, a Scotch nobleman of tory, and even of Jacobite, tendencies. He possessed a great influence over the mind of his pupil, who, when he became monarch, appointed him joint secretary of state with Mr. Pitt. That statesman, however, held very different views from those of his colleague on many important subjects. Lord Bute was in favor of peace, but Pitt considered that a warlike policy was demanded by the interests of Britain. On learning that France was about to receive aid from Spain, Pitt advocated a declaration of war against the latter country, but, being overruled in his opinion, he resigned. The king conferred on him a pension of £3000 a year, and created his wife a peeress, under the title of baroness of Chatham. It was not till some years afterward that Pitt, as earl of Chatham, became a peer. Negotiations soon commenced, but they were unsuccessful, and not only did war continue between France and England, but Spain commenced hostilities, as Pitt had foretold. England, however, proved a match for the new combination, as her navy was in first-rate condition, and she took from Spain Havana, Manilla, and the Philippine Islands. In Portugal, also, which had been invaded by Spain, England triumphed over the Spanish troops, and drove them into their own country. In Germany, the marquis of Granby commanded the British troops, and succeeded in gaining many advantages. Notwithstanding the success which had attended British arms, both at sea and on land, ministers found it so difficult to provide the supplies necessary for the support of so many armaments, that negotiations were again entered upon, and a peace, known as the "Treaty of Paris," was concluded in 1763. By this treaty, England surrendered many of the conquests which she had made during the war, among which Martinique, Guadaloupe, Havana, and other places of importance. She retained Canada, Louisiana, Cape Breton, Senegal, Grenada, Dominica, St. Vincent's, Tobago, numerous large tracts of the Coromandel coast in the East Indies, Minorea, (in the Mediterranean,) and East and West Florida. This war (called by historians the "Seven Years' War") had caused an addition of sixty millions

sterling to the national debt, which was now almost one hundred and forty millions.

In England, at this period, the whigs were now beginning to lose the power they had possessed under the successive administrations of Walpole, Pelham, Newcastle, and Pitt.

As long as the Stuart claims were likely to be re- The decline of the whig power.

vived, the tories could not gain much influence with the people; but as no attempt was made by the exiled family after that in 1745, which terminated in a manner so disastrous to their cause, the lapse of time effaced from the popular mind those feelings which had given strength to the whig party. It is also to be observed that as George II. and the prince of Wales had very serious differences and became totally estranged from each other, the family of the latter were not likely to be on terms of close intimacy with the party from which the king's advisers were chosen. Lord Bute had instilled into the mind of his royal pupil high prerogative notions, and thus we will find that George III. showed, throughout his lengthened reign, a marked tendency in favor of the views respecting the power of the crown, which form the principal element in the opinions of tory statesmen. But Lord Bute was personally unpopular, and the peace of 1763 was disliked by the nation because England thereby surrendered so much which her armies and fleets had won. A change, therefore, took place in the administration, Mr. Grenville succeeding to the post of prime-minister; but there was no alteration in policy.

At this period the writers who discussed national affairs in newspapers and other periodical publications, began to assume a tone which gave great offence to ministers. Among those who dealt most severely with the administration, was John Wilkes, member for Ailesbury, and editor of a paper called the *North Briton*. Wilkes, in the 45th number of his periodical, went so far as to impeach the veracity of the king. A The prosecution of John Wilkes. general warrant was issued against the editor, printers, and publishers of the "North Briton," and by force of this, a king's messenger entered the house of Wilkes and apprehended him. He was examined, his papers were seized, and he was committed to the Tower, but was soon released on the ground of his privilege as a member of parliament. The paper complained of

was burned by the hands of the hangman; and a riot took place on the occasion, for Wilkes was very popular. He brought an action against the secretary of state for seizing his person, and obtained damages—the judge, Chief-justice Pratt, laying it down as law that general warrants were illegal. Wilkes was, however, soon afterward expelled from the house of commons, as he was outlawed for not appearing to an indictment, and retired to France.

In the year 1765, Mr. Grenville, prime-minister, brought in a bill to impose a tax on the North American colonies, in the form of a stamp duty, and from this circumstance arose that discontent which (though partly allayed for a time in 1766) increased, till in a few years afterward the colonies declared themselves independent. We now, therefore, find ourselves entering on that period when one of the most important struggles in history occurred, and it will be necessary to examine with care the progress of the contest. The stamp act was founded on the principle that as the expenses of the war had been increased by the defence of the American colonies, the colonists ought to pay portion of the national debt. The bill was passed into law, and caused great dissatisfaction in America, the colonists contending that, as they were not represented in the British parliament, and thus had no share in voting the supplies, they should not be called upon to contribute to the British revenue. Their indignation rose to such a height, that they resolved to resist the operation of the act, especially as they observed that their cause was advocated by Pitt, and other distinguished members of the British legislature. Several of the colonial states assembled, and passed resolutions in which they protested against the assumed right of England to tax them. Those who were sent out with the stamped paper received such treatment that the act could not be enforced. In the following session the act was repealed, but unfortunately the germ of discord was left, for a reservation (afterward acted upon) was made of the right of England to tax her colonies.

The repeal of the stamp act was one of the measures of Lord Rockingham, a whig nobleman, who had become minister, Mr. Grenville having resigned in consequence of a personal difference with the king, which arose from the omission of the name of the king's mother in a bill for appointing a regency in the case



of any serious illness of the sovereign. Lord Rockingham, however, did not remain long in power, and was succeeded by the duke of Grafton as premier, and Pitt (who was now created earl of Chatham) as lord privy seal; but the popularity of Pitt was somewhat on the wane, and, his health having declined, he retired from office. It was during his last administration that Mr. Townsend, one of the ministers, proposed the imposition of taxes on tea, glass, and some other articles imported into America from Great Britain, which measure kindled afresh a flame of indignation throughout the North American colonies.

In 1768, Wilkes returned to England, though he was still an outlaw, and, having surrendered, was fined and imprisoned. Such was his popularity, that he was elected member of parliament for Middlessex. He was, however, expelled from the house, on the ground that having been solemnly censured by the preceding parliament, he was disqualified for life. Wilkes was repeatedly elected; but as the house would not let him sit, violent tumults took place, and Wilkes, though a very immoral writer, became the idol of the people, on account of the representative principle with which he was identified. He was elected alderman, and even became lord mayor of London. In 1776 he was allowed to take his seat in the house, and soon afterward a motion was carried to erase from the journals of parliament the record of the various decisions against his being permitted to act as a member. Though by no means of an estimable character, he was, through his boldness, the cause of some important principles of civil liberty being preserved.

In 1769, the famous letters of "Junius" appeared in the columns of one of the newspapers. These productions have always been ranked among the finest compositions in the English language. They were levelled against ministers, and were so severe that for one of them (a letter to the king) the printer was prosecuted. The authorship of these remarkable letters has never been ascertained, but there are very strong proofs that they were written by Sir Philip Francis.

In 1770, Lord North, son of the earl of Guilford, (but not himself a peer,) became prime-minister, which position he occupied for twelve years. It was during his administration that the

contest took place which made the North American colonies an independent power—the rise, progress, and termination of which it now becomes our duty to relate.

We have already stated that when, in 1766, the stamp act was repealed, the British legislature declared that they possessed the right to impose taxes on the North American colonies, and that in 1767, this principle was sought to be carried into operation by Taxes repealed, taxes on tea, glass, and other commodities. The except that on tea. indignation to which this course of action gave rise among the colonists was so great that England again yielded, but unfortunately again only yielded partially. All the taxes were repealed, in 1769, except that on tea, which was retained in order to carry out the principle of the right to tax. The amount of the duty (three pence per pound) was a mere trifle, but the colonies resolved to resist the principle of taxation, and in their minds the exact sum to be paid was of no importance. In fact, it so happened that, on account of a certain trade regulation which at this time came into operation, in the nature of a drawback, the duty did not affect the price to be paid by the American consumer. But the resentment felt by the Americans was so deep that in many of the states a resolution was adopted of not using any commodities imported from England.

From 1770 to 1773, the anti-British feeling gained ground in America. The principal scene of discontent was Boston, in the state of Massachusetts; and, in order to overcome the growing The destruction of tea at Boston. sentiment against England, the East India Company shipped several cargoes of tea principally for Boston, to be sold there at a very low price. But so intense was the feeling of the Americans that when the ships, laden with tea, arrived in Boston harbor, they were boarded and the tea was thrown into the water. When the tidings of this proceeding reached England, an act was passed which prohibited all commercial intercourse with the port of Boston, and by another measure the legislative assembly of the state of Massachusetts was declared to be abolished. These acts were passed in the spring of 1774, and had the effect of rousing those who hitherto had not been so prominent as the inhabitants of Boston in opposition to England; and, in the autumn of 1774, a congress of representatives from several states assembled in Philadelphia, passed reso-

lutions against the course adopted by Great Britain, and declared against commercial intercourse with England until the statutes complained of should be repealed.

England might now have conciliated the colonies by repealing the three-penny tea-duty act, and the statutes which had been aimed at Boston. Her most distinguished senators advised such a policy, and foremost among them was Edmund Burke, an Irishman, who had now risen to eminence, and who delivered, in 1774 and 1775, some of his greatest orations. But ministers could not submit to the humiliation of yielding; and, having resolved on attempting to gain their object by force of arms, refused to hearken to any proposal short of American subjection. As the colonists were equally resolved not to concede, there was of course no alternative but war, and accordingly in spring, 1775, hostilities commenced.

The commencement of hostilities between England and the American colonies.

The first military encounter between the royalists and the Americans took place at Lexington, near Boston, in April, 1775, on which occasion the latter gained the advantage. A much more important engagement took place on the 7th June, in the same year, at Bunker's Hill, also near Boston. The Americans inflicted severe injury on the British army; but the latter maintained their position. The war soon spread, and even Canada was invaded, but without success, by the Americans, who in an attack on Quebec, lost Montgomery, an Irish soldier, one of the ablest of the American generals.

George Washington was appointed in June, 1775, to command the American forces, and the war began to assume an aspect which caused the British ministers to offer pardon to those who would lay down their arms. As, however, the Americans wanted something more than mere pardon, the offer was rejected with ridicule. The deputies from the states continued to meet, and, having abandoned all hope of peace on honorable terms, that body, in a solemn address known in history as the "Declaration of Independence" announced to the world, on the 4th July, 1776, that the North American colonies were free and separate states, and were absolved from all allegiance to the British crown.

Declaration of Independence.

The war was now prosecuted with vigor on both sides. Boston

was evacuated by the British soldiers, who sailed thence to Halifax in Nova Scotia. Fresh troops were sent out from England, and the British generals, Howe, Clinton, and others, gained several important advantages. It was of course a considerable time before the Americans could become so disciplined as to be on an equality with the well-trained troops from England. But the colonists, or, as historians term them after the declaration of independence, the republicans, patiently endured many hardships and sufferings rather than yield. On several occasions they succeeded in obtaining some very decided advantages over the English; and, in December, 1777, they compelled a considerable force under general Burgoyne to surrender at Saratoga.

In England the progress of the American war was of course watched with anxious interest, and the parliamentary debates displayed a growing strength on the part of the opposition. Chatham

Death of Chatham. was now dead; having, to his last breath, recommended peace and conciliation. He did not, however, advocate the principle that America should be an independent power. The last time he spoke in parliament he fainted, and, being carried home, died in a few weeks. Fox and Burke were now the leading members of the opposition, and when the news of the defeat at Saratoga reached England, the former proposed that the war should be discontinued. The motion was unsuccessful, but received the support of 165 members.

The cause of the Americans continued to succeed, and, in 1778, ministers sent out commissioners to treat of peace. But the republicans were now conscious of their strength, and refused to entertain any proposals which were not based on the acknowledgment of their independence and the withdrawal of the British

Peace between England and American colonies declared. troops. The English government would not then consent to these terms, and the commissioners returned, having been treated by the Americans with the same haughtiness which, in 1775, had been shown by England toward the American commissioners, who in that year had come to England to endeavor to prevent war. In 1778, Franklin, the American philosopher, was sent to France, which country soon acknowledged the independence of America, and sent out troops under La Fayette to assist the republicans. Soon afterward, Spain and Holland adopted the same course, so that Eng-

land had to contend with determined enemies, both in the Old and in the New World, and it was now apparent that the Americans must succeed. In 1781, Lord Cornwallis was defeated at Yorktown, in Virginia, by Washington, which event terminated active hostilities. A motion for peace was carried in the English house of commons early in 1782. Lord North resigned, and the marquis of Rockingham became prime-minister, with Fox as one of the secretaries of state. Preparations for peace were made without delay; but in April, 1782, Admiral Rodney engaged the French fleet near Dominica, and gained a complete victory. This action had the effect of enabling ministers to obtain peace on terms somewhat consistent with national honor. In February of 1783, Lord Shelbourne being prime-minister, a treaty was concluded at Paris, between England and the United States of America, which henceforth ranked as one of the independent powers of the world.

There was one event during the war which caused a very deep feeling of resentment on the part of the English. This was the execution of Major André, a young British officer, who was taken within the American lines, and, not being in his uniform, he was tried on the charge of being a spy, and was hung.

In order to complete the narrative of the contest with America, we have brought the reader down to the year 1783, and, therefore, must now retrace our steps a little to examine some important events of an earlier date.

In 1778, some mitigation took place in the severity of the laws against Catholics in England, but the feelings of the Scottish people were so strong against Catholicity, that riots occurred in Edinburgh on the subject of religion, and the relaxation of the penal code was not extended to Scotland. A society, called the Protestant Association, was formed in England, for the purpose of endeavoring to cause the repeal of the recent act in favor of the Catholics. At the head of this confederacy was Lord George Gordon, a son of the duke of Gordon, and a member of the house of commons. A large mob assembled in St. George's Fields, near London, in June, 1780, to accompany Lord George Gordon to the house of commons with a petition for the repeal of the tolerating statute, which

Efforts to repeal the penal laws against Catholics: riots, &c.

in their bigotry they condemned. The petition was rejected, and the mob proceeded to destroy the Catholic churches in the metropolis, and the houses not only of Catholics, but of those who were friendly to toleration. On this occasion the library of Lord Chief-justice Mansfield was sacrificed to the fury of the mob, who proceeded to attack Newgate and other prisons, to liberate those who were confined in them. For several days the rioters had possession of the greater portion of London, but at length they were put down by the military, whom the king had ordered out, and several were killed. Many were tried and executed. Lord George Gordon was tried for high-treason, but was acquitted on the ground of insanity. He was afterward, however, imprisoned for libel, and died in jail.

The events which occurred in Ireland, during the period of which we have been writing, were of great national importance.

Affairs in Ire-  
land. In 1779, by the exertions of Flood, Grattan, and other popular leaders, the commercial restrictions which had interfered with the trade of Ireland were removed. A powerful military association, the Irish Volunteers, had been formed, under the command of the duke of Leinster, for the defence of the kingdom from the threatened invasion of the French. The Volunteers soon turned their attention to the questions which had long been the sources of difference between their country and Great Britain. They first obtained free trade, and in 1782 they gained the recognition by England of the parliamentary independence of Ireland. The details of this great national movement belong to the history of Ireland, and would be unsuited to the pages of this volume, even did our allotted limits permit.

During the early part of the reign of George III., manufactures began to excite much national attention. James Watt, a Scotchman, so much improved the steam-engine that he is almost entitled to the honor of the discovery of this great instrument of social amelioration. The spinning-jenny was invented by James Hargreaves, and afterward the spinning-frame by Arkwright. At this period, Captain Cook, the navigator, made several geographical discoveries. Many of the best authors in the English language wrote at this period, among whom were Edmund Burke, Johnson, Goldsmith, Cowper, and others. Several painters of

eminence gave an impetus to the fine arts, the principal of whom were Sir Joshua Reynolds, and Barry, the latter a native of Cork.

Lord Shelbourne was prime-minister at the time when the independence of America was acknowledged; he having been called to that post on the death of Lord Rockingham. As, however, his views on some subjects Lord Shelbourne prime-minister. differed widely from those of several members of the whig party, Fox and others resigned; and it was on this occasion that the younger Pitt first entered official life, being appointed chancellor of the exchequer, (though only twenty-two,) on account of the talents which he had displayed in the house of commons. Lord Shelbourne was censured by parliament for having made peace with France and Spain on worse terms than were necessary, and he resigned. In the April of 1783, the Coalition ministry was formed, of which the duke of Portland was the head. Fox and North, though for a long time so violently opposed, had joined their forces in opposition, and now they became colleagues in office, each taking the place of one of the secretaries of state. Pitt was succeeded in the post of chancellor of the exchequer by Lord George Cavendish; the first lord of the admiralty being Keppel, an admiral, who, some years before this, had been tried by court-martial for not having with sufficient boldness encountered the French at sea, of which charge, however, he was honorably acquitted.

It was in 1782 that the French and Spaniards besieged Gibraltar. The attack was made from the sea by forty-eight ships of the line, and by several floating batteries; while Defence of Gibraltar. at the same time a large force—which had long besieged the place—assailed the fortress from the land. The place was defended with great courage by General Elliott, the governor, and the troops under his command, and the enemy was repulsed.

The Coalition ministry was destined to be but of short duration. In the November of 1783, Fox introduced a bill placing the government of India under the control of seven directors, chosen by the house of commons. This measure was much disliked by the king, who even interfered personally, by promises and threats, to prevent it from passing into a law. The bill,

however, passed the house of commons, but was lost in the house of lords, and the king sent orders to the ministers to deliver up the seals of office, and added, that he did not wish for a personal interview. He immediately appointed Pitt prime-minister, in which position he continued, without intermission, for eighteen years.

Pitt commenced his administration under the disadvantage of being opposed in parliament by a considerable majority, composed of the followers of Fox and North. The minister Pitt prime-minister. was frequently defeated, but as he possessed the favor of the king, and was popular with the nation, he remained in office. At last, the strength of the opposition began to decrease, and the king dissolved parliament. The new house proved favorable to ministers, who thenceforth possessed considerable power. They now proposed, and carried, an India bill, and a bill to restore the Scotch estates forfeited by the transactions of 1745.

In 1785, Pitt introduced a measure for parliamentary reform, but it was defeated. In 1786 the sinking-fund was established, which was a plan for laying aside any surplus revenue which there might be each year, and, placing the same out at interest, the entire to be afterward applied toward the reduction of the national debt. This course was adopted for several years, but was ultimately abandoned as being financially unsound. In the same year, an insane woman, named Margaret Nicholson, made an unsuccessful attempt to assassinate the king. She was sent to Bethlehem lunatic asylum, to be kept in restraint.

At this period the personal affairs of the prince of Wales, now twenty-four years of age, excited much attention. His extravagance caused him to incur a large amount of debt, which was paid by parliament. He married a Catholic lady, named Fitzherbert, which was contrary to the royal marriage act. He stooped to the denial (through Fox, who was ignorant of the truth) of the marriage, but there is no doubt that it took place. A work recently published by Lord Holland, places the matter beyond any question. The prince of Wales attached himself in politics to the party of which Fox was the leader.

Certain subjects respecting the trade between England and



Ireland occupied the attention of both kingdoms at this time. Pitt introduced a measure, purporting to establish commercial reciprocity between the countries. The plan did not meet with the approbation of the popular leaders in Ireland. Flood and Grattan opposed it as being injurious to their country, and it was abandoned. Having mentioned the name of Flood again, it may be proper here to state that he was, from 1783 to his death, 1791, a member of the British house of commons as well as of the Irish. He spoke, however, very seldom in England.

In 1786, Warren Hastings was impeached by the house of commons for "high crimes and misdemeanors," alleged to have been committed by him as governor-general of India. The leader in the prosecution was Edmund Burke, with whom were associated Fox, Sheridan, and other distinguished members of the house. Pitt was at first inclined to defend Hastings, but was forced by public opinion to join in the impeachment. The speeches delivered by the managers in opening the charges are among the most eloquent in the English language. The trial took place before the peers, in Westminster Hall, and was conducted with great pomp and solemnity. The proceedings lasted for seven years, and terminated in the acquittal of Hastings.

In 1787 the first attempt was made to mitigate the horrors of the slave trade. The act, which was passed during this session, only went so far as to prevent the overcrowding of slave-ships. Strange to say, even this partial alleviation of human suffering met with opposition. The bill was, however, passed into law, and forms the first chapter of that code which the exertions of Clarkson, Wilberforce, and other friends of the rights of the negro, placed upon the statute-book. It is pleasing to reflect, that on this great topic (though differing somewhat in its details) Pitt and Fox merged the disputes of party, and joined in reprobating the slave system. Considerable impetus was given to the agitation of the subject by a trial which took place in Westminster Hall, in which a negro, who had come to England, was claimed as property, and the claim was disallowed.

In 1788, George III. became deranged in his intellects, and it became necessary that some other person should exercise royal

George becomes  
deranged. authority. The course most consistent with the constitution seemed, that the prince of Wales should be invested with the regency; but Pitt feared that such a step would cause his own expulsion from office, as Fox was the friend and companion of the prince. Accordingly, when the subject came before parliament, violent debates took place; and, as the Irish parliament adopted Fox's view, which was, that the prince (to whom Pitt would only give a limited regency) should have supreme power, the difficulty of the question was getting very complicated, when the king suddenly recovered, and the consideration of the subject was postponed to a period twenty-two years later. Most constitutional writers agree that the course proposed by Fox, Burke, and by the Irish parliament, and which was adopted in 1811, was the more correct.

The French revolution, the war in India, and the troubled state of Ireland must occupy our attention in examining the close of the last century; and we will endeavor in the next section to place before the reader the most prominent points, as far as these subjects are connected with the history of England.

The French revolution commenced in 1789; but that event, though from the beginning the subject of close attention in Great Britain, did not involve England till 1792. In that year, the feeling became very general in England that France should be restrained in her revolutionary career, especially as she offered aid to all the discontented nations. Edmund Burke was prominent in the expression of these sentiments, both in pamphlets and in speeches; and it was a difference of opinion on the French revolution which caused a separation between him and Fox. The latter statesman and Sheridan were opposed to war; but the general voice of the nation seems to have been against them. Early in 1793 the execution of the French king hurried matters forward, and Pitt soon announced that England had formed alliances with the leading powers of Northern Europe, and was about to enter on war with France.

In England, some parties showed an anxiety to avail themselves of the interest which the French revolution had given to the question of parliamentary reform, and several motions were

made in parliament on the subject. But Pitt was now opposed to any measure of the kind, and the reformers made no progress in the house. A prosecution was set on foot against a person named Hardy, and some other members of one of the reform societies; but they were defended with great eloquence by Erskine, and acquitted. In Scotland, however, the government obtained verdicts against Mr. Muir, a barrister, and Mr. Palmer, an Unitarian clergyman, and they were banished. In Birmingham, the feeling against French principles was so strong that the mob destroyed the library of Dr. Priestley, who had written in defence of the revolution. The cruelty shown by the French to the clergy, many of whom fled for refuge to England, added considerably to the general feeling.

In India, war had been prosecuted for several years against Tippoo Saib, (son of the well-known Hyder Aly,) one of the principal of the native princes. About this period a treaty was concluded by Lord Cornwallis at Seringapatam, the capital of Mysore.

The war against France began in Holland, the duke of York taking the command. At first the French sustained some reverses; but they subsequently succeeded in driving the English army out of the Netherlands. The allies gave by no means that co-operation which England had Progress of war against France. expected, though she paid a large portion of their expenses. At sea, England maintained her supremacy. Lord Howe defeated the French fleet near Brest, several of the colonial possessions of France were taken, and the French commercial shipping sustained severe losses.

In 1795 the people of England began to show symptoms of an inclination for peace, and displayed a strong feeling against the ministers who continued to prosecute the war. The king became less popular, and, on one occasion, his carriage was attacked. Negotiations were entered on, but they were broken off, because France insisted on retaining Belgium. It was Napoleon Bonaparte. about this period that Napoleon Bonaparte, a native of Corsica, began to be distinguished. In 1793 he had served at the siege of Toulon, a French city, which, for a considerable time, resisted the republican arms. His abilities soon made him conspicuous, and, in 1796, he led the army of the republic into

Northern Italy, which he conquered from Austria; with which power he entered into a treaty known as the treaty of Campo Formio. Austria was thus drawn from the alliance with England, whose difficulties were at the same time increased by a declaration of war against her by Spain.

In 1795 the prince of Wales married his cousin, the Princess Caroline, daughter of the duke of Brunswick, which marriage afterward led to unhappiness between the parties themselves, and to long-continued public excitement. An addition was made to the income of the prince of Wales, and an arrangement entered into for the payment of his debts. The Princess Charlotte, daughter of the prince and princess of Wales, was born in 1796.

Early in 1797 the opinion rapidly gained ground that France would invade England, and every political feeling was for the time merged in the determination to defend the country. A run on the bank of England took place; cash payments were, by leave of the privy council, suspended, and were not resumed for many years. To add to the excitement of the public mind, mutiny took place on board the fleet in the channel. Government granted the requests of the sailors. The seamen at the Nore then made demands as to pay and other matters, which were refused as being deemed unreasonable, whereupon they moored their vessels across the Thames in order to check commerce. Government did not yield, but took strong measures. In a short time the mutineers submitted; and Parker and several other ringleaders were executed.

The English obtained numerous victories at sea in 1797. It was in this year that Admiral Jervis and Commodore Nelson defeated the Spanish fleet off Cape St. Vincent, and that Admiral Duncan attacked with success the Dutch fleet near Camperdown, on the coast of Holland, and took many of the enemy's ships.

In 1798 the French Directory (anxious to be rid of the presence of a popular general) sent Napoleon at the head of an expedition to Egypt, for the purpose of commencing an attack on British power in the East Indies. Napoleon proceeded through the Mediterranean, and, having taken Malta, he passed over to Egypt, where he landed his troops. Nelson, however, attacked the fleet on the 1st August, at one of

Napoleon sent to  
EGYPT.

the mouths of the Nile, and gained one of the most complete naval victories on record. Napoleon was stopped in his eastern career by Sir Sydney Smith, who forced the French to retreat from St. Jean d'Acre. Napoleon soon left his army, and returned to France; for he considered that the time had come for a change in the form of the government of that country, as the Directory had begun to show considerable incapacity. He soon placed himself at the head of affairs under the title of First Consul, and offered to make peace with England; but, as she demanded the restoration of the French monarchy, the negotiations did not succeed. He then turned his attention to win back from the northern powers several conquests which they had made in Italy during his absence from Europe.

In 1799, the duke of York again commanded an army which landed in Holland to oppose the French, but was again unsuccessful in his military operations, and soon returned to England. In Egypt, Sir Sydney Smith made a <sup>Battle of Alexandria.</sup> treaty with the French generals, agreeing that the French army should leave Egypt without being molested. Ministers, however, refused to ratify this treaty and hostilities were resumed in Egypt, in which France gained the advantage. In the following year, General Abercromby was sent out with an army, and gained an important battle near Alexandria. Abercromby, however, was killed, and his successor in command, General Hutchinson, soon entered into a treaty with the French, who were permitted to return to France.

While the French were in Egypt, Napoleon communicated his plans to Tippoo Saib, who prepared to attack the English in India. General Harris besieged Seringapatam, which was taken by storm. Tippoo Saib was killed during <sup>War in India.</sup> the assault, and his vast treasures fell into the hands of the English. Lord Mornington (afterwards marquis of Wellesley) was at this time governor of India, and his younger brother, afterwards the duke of Wellington, fought at the siege of Seringapatam.

Napoleon, having by military successes, unsurpassed in history, not only regained what France had lost, but added largely to her conquests, England found that French influence was becoming so formidable in the north of Europe that some step should be taken

to protect English commerce. A fleet was accordingly sent, under Sir Hyde Parker and Nelson, to attack the Danes, and a severe contest took place off Copenhagen. After a battle of several hours' duration an armistice was agreed upon. On the death of Paul, emperor of Russia, who was assassinated in 1801, England entered into a treaty with several of the northern powers.

At this time Napoleon was making great preparations for the invasion of England, and collected a large fleet at Boulogne.

Napoleon prepares to invade England. Lord Nelson was sent to attack this fleet, but having destroyed several vessels he desisted, as his loss was becoming considerable. Discontent at the continuation of hostilities was now very general in both countries, and preparations for peace were commenced. Pitt was not inclined to be a party to the treaty, and he resigned. The king refused to grant emancipation, which Pitt had promised to the Catholics of Ireland, and this was the alleged cause of his resignation; but the real cause was his aversion to being the medium of making peace with France. Mr. Addington became minister, and, in 1801, a treaty recognising Napoleon as First Consul was entered upon, which was definitively signed at Amiens in March, 1802.

In 1801, a man named Hatfield shot at George III. in the theatre. Being insane, he was not put to death, but placed in a madhouse.

In Ireland, during the period we have been describing, events of considerable national importance occurred. It had unfortu-

Ireland at this period. nately happened, that the settlement of the political affairs of that country, in 1782, did not include Catholic emancipation or parliamentary reform; and accordingly a great deal of popular discontent arose. The French revolution, by causing a wide spread feeling in favor of extensive changes in political arrangements, aroused in Ireland the hope of a speedy adjustment of grievances. In 1791, a society was formed, called "The United Irishmen," for the purpose of seeking to obtain a reform of the legislature, and for a time this society (though strong language was spoken at its meetings) kept within the limits of the law. In 1793, several concessions were made to the Catholics, the most important of which were, the right to vote at parliamentary elections, to practise at the bar, and to take the degree of Bachelor of Arts in the University of Dublin.

In 1794, an active correspondence took place between the French government and the United Irishmen, which, as France had been victorious wherever she could land her troops, caused so much alarm in England, that Lord Fitzwilliam was sent over as viceroy with instructions to make further concessions to the Catholics. So great, however, was the influence of the Irish Protestants over Pitt, that they persuaded him to recall Lord Fitzwilliam and to appoint Lord Camden, a nobleman of very different views. The United Irishmen exasperated by this course of action, prosecuted with vigor their correspondence with France, and, in December, 1796, a French fleet having troops on board, commanded by General Hoche, arrived in Bantry Bay in the south of Ireland. There was not, however, any co-operation on the part of the Irish people, preparations not having been made, and the French fleet returned to France.

In 1797, no forces were sent by the French to Ireland, as their fleet met with so severe a defeat at Camperdown. The Irish people suffered great hardships during this period, from the circumstance of soldiers being sent to various districts, and quartered on the inhabitants without payment. Any murmur against this treatment was visited with the most cruel punishments, and in many cases with death. The en-rolling of members of the society of United Irishmen went on with activity until March, 1798, when several of the leaders were arrested in Dublin, having been betrayed by one of their own sworn confederates named Thomas Reynolds. Several were executed, but the United Irishmen did not abandon their intention of rising, and a general insurrection took place on the 23d May, 1798.

Lord Cornwallis was now viceroy; for, when the state of the country assumed a warlike aspect, Lord Camden (a civilian) suggested that a nobleman accustomed to military affairs should be sent over. Lord Edward Fitzgerald was arrested, and, being mortally wounded in the attempt to take him prisoner, soon died in jail. Still, such was the confidence of the United Irishmen in their resources that they rose in various parts of the country, and in some counties with considerable temporary success. Their principal advantages were obtained in Wexford: on the 20th June, they were defeated at a place called

Vinegar Hill, in that county, by General Lake, and the insurrection was soon considered to be at an end.

In the August of the same year, General Humbert landed with 900 French soldiers at Killala, on the west coast of Ireland, and obtained the superiority in an engagement with General Lake, near Castlebar. They advanced into the country, but, at a place called Ballinamuck, they were met by a very large force under Lord Cornwallis, and surrendered. The French were treated as prisoners of war, but many of the Irish who joined them were executed. An amnesty was, however, soon proclaimed, and the country saw the termination of one of the most sanguinary struggles in the history of these islands. There is no doubt that it sprang from misgovernment; but it is the painful duty of an impartial writer to state, that, during the insurrection, both sides perpetrated fearful cruelties, with the details of which we shall not stain these pages.

In 1799, ministers proposed a Legislative Union with Ireland; but, such was the force of popular feeling in the latter country, that the measure was defeated. It was, however, <sup>The Legislative Union.</sup> passed into law in 1800, by the extensive use of the open and undisguised bribery of the members of the Irish parliament. The bill was opposed in Ireland by Grattan, Plunket, Bushe, and many other eloquent men; and in England by Fox, Sheridan, Grey, and other leading senators. The opposition, however, to the measure failed, and on the 1st January, 1801, the act came into operation, by force of which the Irish parliament ceased to exist, and the two islands acquired the name of "The United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland."

The peace between France and England was of very short duration. The resumption of hostilities was caused by the refusal of England to give up Malta, which she had taken in 1800, and which by the treaty was to have been surrendered to the Knights of St. John. England objected to carry out this part of the treaty because, in her opinion, it would be dangerous to abandon Malta till France had complied with certain disputed demands. War was therefore resumed in May, 1803.

In 1802, a conspiracy against the life of the king had been discovered in London, the principal conspirator being a captain



Despard, who with six associates was tried on the charge of high treason, found guilty, and executed.

In 1803, an insurrection was planned in Ireland under the leadership of Robert Emmett. It broke out in the streets of Dublin in July, and the chief justice, Lord Kilwarden, was murdered. His nephew and daughter were with him, of whom the former was killed, but the latter was permitted to escape. The military dispersed the insurgents, and Emmett, with the other leaders, was tried and executed. Emmett was a young man of talent, and possessed many good qualities, so that the early death to which his fatal rashness led, excited the regret even of many who were opposed to his views. He was not a party to the murder of Lord Kilwarden (those who perpetrated that act being beyond his control); but he did not deny that he had conspired against the government.

The war recommenced in 1803, England as usual obtaining important advantages at sea, and France on land. Napoleon made extensive preparations for the invasion of England, which roused the nation to such a state of excitement that all classes united their efforts to prepare for the defence of the country. The fleet under Nelson guarded the coasts, and Napoleon did not carry his designs into execution.

In 1804, Napoleon became emperor of the French. His successes on the continent are not equalled in history; but the detail of them does not belong to these pages. It is sufficient for our purpose to state, that possessing a wonderful military genius he overthrew the armies of Austria and Prussia, dictated terms to Russia, and, in short, placed all Europe, with the exception of England, at his feet.

Pitt returned to office in 1804, and remained minister till his death, in 1806. His efforts to check the progress of Napoleon led to a coalition between England and several of the continental powers. But the arms of France triumphed throughout Europe. The defeat of the Austrians at Ulm, of the Prussians at Jena, and of the combined forces of Russia and Austria at Austerlitz, broke up the coalition, made Napoleon dictator of Europe, and preyed so much on the mind of Pitt that his health gave way, and he died in January, 1806. He was only forty-seven years of age, but his frame was exhausted

by the toils of official life, he having been a minister for nearly the entire of his adult years.

In 1805, Lord Melville (formerly Mr. Dundas,) one of the ministers, was impeached for malpractices in his office at the Admiralty. He was acquitted of the charge of appropriating the public money, but was not cleared of that of conniving with some of his subordinates in temporarily falsifying the public accounts.

While throughout the continent of Europe the arms of France were triumphant, she sustained some severe reverses at sea. On Battle of Trafalgar. the 21st October, 1805, Nelson fought the celebrated battle of Trafalgar, off the Spanish coast, and defeated the combined fleets of France and Spain. In this battle Nelson was killed. His remains were brought to England, and honored with a public funeral at St. Paul's. The navies of France and Spain were almost completely destroyed in this memorable action.

Pitt's administration was succeeded by a ministry of which Lord Grenville was the head, and Fox and Sheridan members. It also contained several other eminent men, and was called the ministry of "All the Talents." During this administration, the slave trade was abolished, and a measure friendly to the Catholic claims was introduced. The king would not consent to the latter; and as the ministry, though they withdrew the bill, refused to comply with the request of the sovereign that they would promise never to propose it again, they were obliged to resign and were succeeded [25th March, 1807,] by the duke of Portland at the Death of Fox. head of a toy administration. Fox had died in the previous autumn, having, like his distinguished rival Pitt, sunk under the toil and anxiety of party conflicts.

In the north of Europe, Napoleon continued to prosecute war and to subjugate any nation which sought to oppose his sway. In 1807, he entered into a treaty, at a place called Tilsit with Russia, by which that country agreed to become his ally and to act on certain proclamations known as the "Berlin Decrees," which Napoleon, when in Prussia, had issued from the capital of that kingdom, and which had for their object the exclusion of British commerce from the continental ports.

The treaty of Tilsit caused England to fear that all the northern nations would be drawn into a similar acquiescence in the Berlin

Decrees, and, accordingly, ministers resolved to deprive one at least of those nations of the power of doing injury. With this view a fleet was sent to Copenhagen to seize and bring to England the Danish fleet (though Denmark was neutral), lest it should be engaged to forward at sea the designs of France. This event had the effect of injuring the character of England on the continent, and of thus lessening her moral power.

In 1808, the Peninsular war commenced, and from this year, may, therefore, be dated the commencement of Napoleon's fall. His insatiable ambition had roused against him the anger of humbled nations; and in Spain that spark was first struck which, being kindled into a flame, finally consumed his power. Having compelled the Spanish royal family to abdicate, he placed his brother Joseph upon their throne, which so incensed the people of Spain that they rose against the new king, and he fled from Madrid. England saw that an opportunity had at length arisen on the continent which might be turned to profitable account, and accordingly a treaty was entered into, in consequence of which an army was sent to the Peninsula, in 1808, under Sir Arthur Wellesley, afterwards duke of Wellington.

The first battle which Wellesley fought was with Marshal Junot, whom he repulsed on the 21st August, 1808, at Vimiera, in Portugal, of which country the French were masters. A convention took place, at a place called Cintra, and the French were permitted to sail for France in British ships. This convention was most unpopular in England, where it was considered that no time should have been lost in pushing on into the country after the success at Vimiera, and the English generals were recalled. As Wellesley had advised the prompt course, his recall has always been considered unfair; but he had enemies who influenced those who recalled him.

Sir John Moore was sent out to take the command of the army, but the French now had time to pour fresh troops into Spain. Napoleon came from Paris without delay, and Moore learning that the emperor was advancing against him with 40,000 men, retreated with difficulty from Salamanca to Corunna, on the north-west coast. Marshal Soult with the French followed him, and after a severe battle, 16th January,

1809, in which Moore was killed, the British troops succeeded in embarking, and thus terminated the first act of the eventful drama of which the Peninsula was the scene.

In 1809, the English government being anxious to secure the navigation of the river Scheldt, sent 100,000 men to Holland, under the command of the earl of Chatham (elder brother of the deceased William Pitt), who was quite unacquainted with war. The expedition was attended with disaster, for the troops were landed on a most unhealthy island, Walcheren, where great numbers perished by disease. The remainder returned to England without accomplishing their object, and the entire matter became the subject of much angry discussion in parliament.

A duel took place in this year between Lord Castlereagh and Mr. Canning, in consequence of some ministerial disputes. Neither party was wounded, but both resigned office. Mr. Perceval became prime minister, and the Marquis of Wellesley secretary for foreign affairs.

In 1810, a Mr. Jones was imprisoned for publishing an attack on the House of Commons, which course was condemned by Sir Francis Burdett as illegal, for which he was committed to the tower for the session. His arrest had to be accomplished by military force. Great excitement took place in London in consequence of these events, which caused political animosities to become very violent.

Towards the end of 1810, the king lost his reason, an event which was hastened by grief for the death of his favorite daughter Amelia. The prince of Wales was appointed regent with limited powers, which limitation was to cease if the king did not recover in 1812. As the monarch's recovery did not take place, the prince became regent with full sovereign power; and, therefore, though the king lived till 1820, yet, as far as relates to his personal responsibility, with the year 1810 terminated the reign of George III.

We must retrace a little, in order to record the progress of affairs in the Peninsula, whither an army under Sir Arthur Wellesley was sent in 1809, in order to make another effort against the power of Napoleon, who was at that time in Austria, making arrangements for a marriage with the daughter of the emperor, for he had divorced his wife

The King loses his reason.

The success of Wellington in Spain.

Josephine. The French army under Soult was driven out of Portugal by Wellesley, who rapidly advanced towards Madrid. He was attacked by King Joseph and Marshal Victor at Talavera, in July, 1809, and gained the advantage. His loss, however, was so great that he retreated into Portugal. England welcomed with enthusiasm the intelligence of the success of Wellesley, who was elevated to the peerage by the title of Wellington.

In 1810, Marshal Massena led the French troops against Wellington. Several important places fell before the army of France; but in September, Massena received a severe repulse on the heights of Busaco, where he attacked Wellington. After this engagement the English retired to a strongly fortified position at Torres Vedras, and the French retreated to winter quarters.

In 1811, hostilities continued with vigour and with varied success. General Beresford gained an important victory over Soult, at Albuera; but Wellington failed in his attack on Badajos. In 1812, Wellington took by storm Ciudad Roderigo and Badajos, and having gained a hard fought battle over Marshal Marmont, at Salamanca, he took possession of Madrid. Hearing, however, that an immense force was approaching, he retired for the winter towards Portugal.

In 1813, Wellington continued to triumph in Spain. On the 27th June he gained an important victory over Marshal Jourdan, at Vittoria; and, after a few months more of hard fighting, he led his victorious army over the Pyrenees, and planted the standard of the United Kingdom in France.

While Wellington was overthrowing the power of Napoleon in the south of Europe, events were occurring in the north which tended to the same result. In 1812, Alexander, emperor of Russia, began to act in opposition to the decrees <sup>Napoleon invades</sup> against British merchandise, and thus provoked <sup>Russia.</sup> Napoleon to hostilities. He advanced against Russia with half a million of troops, and, having gained some important advantages, he entered Moscow. The Russians, however, destroyed that city by fire in order to deprive the French army of shelter, and Napoleon was compelled, in October, to commence his march to the south. During this march, nearly three-quarters of his army perished in the snow.

Resolved, however, still to try to keep Europe in subjugation to

him, he hastened to Paris; and, having reinforced his army, he advanced again to the north in order to oppose the emperor of Russia, who, being now joined by the king of Prussia, threatened to invade France. Such, however, was still the dread which the northern powers entertained of Napoleon's power, that they offered to conclude a treaty with him if he would consent to restore what he had conquered since 1805. He refused, and his father-in-law, the emperor of Austria, joined the allies, whose army was now nearly half a million, while that of Napoleon did not exceed three hundred thousand. Several engagements took place, but the most important was the battle of Leipsic (18th October, 1813), in which Napoleon was defeated with the loss of nearly 40,000 men. Napoleon again recruited his army, but he could not withstand the overwhelming numbers of the allies, who, with an immense force, entered France in January, 1814. They still offered to allow Napoleon to remain sovereign of France, as it was before the Revolution, but he refused, and the allies soon entered Paris.

No time was lost in making arrangements for the government of France. Napoleon was declared to be no longer sovereign of that country. The Sovereignty of the island of Elba in the Mediterranean was granted him with a large annual allowance. He soon left France for his little kingdom, and the Bourbons again mounted the French throne. It was in 1814, just before peace, that the battle of Toulouse was fought between the French and English, but without important result to either army.

While in the old world Napoleon was hastening to his fall, the new world was the scene of a war between England and America, which arose from a claim put forward by the former, to search the ships of the latter to find English sailors, and also from certain "Orders in Council" by which England sought to compensate for the Berlin Decrees to the injury of the trade of neutral nations. These orders were revoked, but America persisted through a sense of having suffered wrong. Several engagements took place with different success, in the last of which (that near New Orleans) the Americans obtained a complete victory. A sea-fight took place during this war off Boston, in which the American ship *Chesapeake* was beaten and taken by an English ship, the *Shannon*. In 1814, peace

was signed between America and England, a peace which, though sometimes threatened to be interrupted, has now remained unbroken for forty years.

In May, 1812, Mr. Perceval, the prime minister, was shot in the lobby of the House of Commons by a man named Bellingham, who was executed in a few days, but of whose insanity the clearest proofs were afterwards brought forward. Lord Liverpool became prime minister soon after this event. Great discontent prevailed throughout the nation at this period, for a considerable depression in manufactures had been caused by the obstruction of the commerce of neutral states. The aristocratic constitution of parliament excited much discussion, and a reform bill was loudly demanded. The prince regent was unpopular for his conduct in seeking to fasten a charge of criminal conduct upon his consort, from whom he was separated, which was the theme of the disapprobation of all but the mere flatterers of the court. In Ireland, the Catholics were organizing committees for the purpose of strengthening their cause. Prosecutions took place against certain parties who had been elected as delegates to central Catholic boards. In the first of these the government failed; but succeeded in the second, principally, as has been proved, by the packing of the jury who tried the case.

We must now return to the continent and glance at the startling events of 1815, when Napoleon re-appeared in France, and, having for a moment remounted the imperial throne, sank to the condition of being for the rest of his life a captive exile.

When Napoleon left France for Elba, several of the European sovereigns visited England, where they met with a very enthusiastic reception. A grant of £400,000 was voted to Wellington, who had already received £100,000. A dukedom and the thanks of parliament also rewarded his services. Preparations were then made for a congress of the representatives of the various states of Europe, and they accordingly assembled at Vienna, in October, 1814, Great Britain being represented by Lord Londonderry.

The arrangement of the several international questions respecting boundaries in Europe and the possession of colonies, progressed at Vienna till March, 1815, when the congress was thrown into confusion by the startling intelligence that Napoleon had escaped

Napoleon returns from Elba. Such was still the popularity of the name of Napoleon in France, that in a few days he entered Paris in triumph, Louis XVIII. having fled to Ghent. Napoleon caused the votes of the nation to be taken by ballot on the question of his restoration, and had a million and a half of votes, the number against him being less than half a million. He raised an immense army with wonderful rapidity and in a month was at the head of more than half a million of soldiers.

No time was lost by England and her continental allies in taking steps to prevent Napoleon from maintaining himself in his position. Wellington and the Prussian general Blucher, with their Russian and Austrian allies, assembled in Belgium and on the Upper Rhine a force amounting to nearly a million, and proclaimed war against Napoleon. He appeared in Belgium with amazing celerity and, on the 16th June, 1815, compelled the Prussians under Blucher to retire before him at Ligny. On the same day Marshal Ney encountered, at Quatre Bras, Wellington and the duke of Brunswick, in which engagement the latter lost his life. The battle, however, did not result in a decisive victory for either army.

On Sunday the 18th June, 1815, was fought the memorable battle of Waterloo (twelve miles from Brussels), which decided the con-  
Battle of Water-  
loo. test. Napoleon was anxious to attack Wellington before he was joined by Blucher, and made several charges on the British lines which were met with undaunted courage. For several hours the British soldiers resisted all the efforts of French valor to drive them from their position. At two points, Le Haye Sainte and Hougoumont, the slaughter on both sides was awful. For some time it seemed doubtful whether the French army, or the army of the United Kingdom would succeed; but toward evening uncertainty was terminated by the arrival of Blucher, who poured a terrible cannonade on the right flank of the French, while the charge of the guards harassed them in front, so that they were totally overthrown. The Prussians pursued them, and during the flight the French loss was very great.

Napoleon hastened to Paris but could not maintain himself on his throne. The French parliament refused even to agree to his resigning in favor of his son (since dead), and he fled to the coast and prepared to escape to America. The British men-of-



war, however, watched him closely, and he surrendered to Captain Maitland of the *Bellerophon*. He was conducted to the coast of England, and when he learned that he was to be sent to St. Helena as a prisoner for life, he remonstrated against this treatment, for he declared that as he had thrown himself on the protection of British laws he should not be treated so harshly. His protest however, was unavailing, and he was sent to St. Helena, where he died in 1821.

Thus fell Napoleon, one of the most remarkable characters in the history of the world. His conduct on several occasions must be condemned; but there is much in his career which calls for praise. He certainly saved France from a renewal of the "Reign of Terror," to which the weakness of the Directory was manifestly leading in 1799. He was a munificent patron of arts and sciences, and promulgated an excellent code of laws. Had his offers of peace been met in the proper spirit he would have turned to social ameliorations. But every attempt at negotiation was repulsed; so the world was visited with protracted wars, which terminated in placing an enormous national debt on England. And yet Napoleon's ashes have been borne from their island grave and placed in a French mausoleum. Napoleon's dynasty occupies the imperial throne of France, and the armies and fleets of France, and of the United Kingdom are joined in opposition to that power from which Napoleon first received the blow which eventually prostrated him. Such are the fluctuations of human affairs.

When the allied armies entered Paris, they stained their victory by the execution of some of Napoleon's generals, and amongst them of Marshall Ney whose safety was guaranteed by treaty. A statue to Ney has lately been erected in Paris.

In 1816, a British armament under Lord Exmouth bombarded Algiers, and compelled the Dey to enter into a treaty, binding himself to avoid the repetition of his cruelties toward prisoners taken by his ships.

In 1817, the Princess Charlotte died, after having given birth to a still-born son. She was daughter of the prince of Wales, and possessed beauty, virtue, and accomplishments. She had been married in 1817 to Prince Leopard, uncle to the present queen

and now king of the Belgians. The princess was universally regretted.

During the closing years of the reign of George III., great discontent prevailed throughout England. The corn laws were enacted, and parliamentary reform was resisted; so that tumults took place, in one of which, at Peterloo near Manchester, several persons were killed by the military. In 1819, the bank of England resumed cash payments by act of parliament; but, as a great run on the bank took place, the payments in gold were suspended again for four years.

George III. died on the 29th of January, 1820. His queen had died in 1819, and his son the duke of Kent, father of Queen Victoria, on the 23d January, 1820. The character of George III. was strictly moral in all domestic relations, but in public affairs he committed many faults. His obstinate adherence to the laws which excluded Catholics from their rights, proves how deeply his mind was tinged with intolerant doctrines. His reign was marked with many important changes in social life, especially the application of the wonderful agencies of steam. In literature, this reign produced many of the greatest ornaments in all departments. Byron, Moore, Campbell, Scott, Southey, Wordsworth, and others in poetry; Burke, Pitt, Fox, Sheridan, O'Connell, Curran, Grattan, Canning, Plunket, Bushe, and others in oratory; Davy and others in physical science; Dugald Stewart and others in philosophy; Scott in prose fiction: all gave a great impetus to the development of mind. Painting and sculpture found able representatives in Reynolds, Chantrey, Lawrence, Flaxman, and other eminent men. We cannot dwell longer on the great names which adorned this reign; but the student will find them more fully set forth in another part of our volume.

## CHAPTER XLII.

## George the Fourth.

Accession of George IV—Proceedings against Queen Caroline—Coronation of the king—He visits Ireland—Revolt in Greece—Catholic Emancipation—Death of the king.—From A. D. 1820 to 1830.

GEORGE IV. ascended the throne at a time when intense political excitement pervaded the community. The anxiety of the people on the subject of parliamentary reform had led to a widespread feeling against the aristocracy. The course, however, which some who were opposed to ministers adopted, tended rather to strengthen than to weaken the government. Shortly after the king's accession, a plot to assassinate the ministers was discovered. The conspirators, of whom one Thistlewood was the leader, were arrested at a house in Cato street, near the Regent's Park, London; and five, having been convicted of treason, were executed. An insurrection took place about the same time near Glasgow, but it was soon put down by the military, and some of the insurgents suffered the penalty of the law.

At this period, public attention became absorbed by the differences which existed between the king and his consort, Queen Caroline. For many years they had lived separate; and she had, in 1816, obtained permission Proceedings against Queen Caroline. to travel on the continent. Rumors against her honor were circulated, and her name was erased from the liturgy. She resolved to return to England and confront her accusers, and accordingly in June, 1820, she arrived in London, and demanded to be treated as queen consort. This was refused by his majesty, who laid before parliament documents which related to her conduct abroad, and requested the legislature to consider them with care.

Lord Liverpool, the prime minister, brought forward a "Bill of Pains and Penalties," having for its object, to deprive the queen of her rights as such, and also to divorce her from the king

Witnesses were examined in support of the measure, but such was the ability displayed by the counsel for the queen, Messrs. (since lords) Brougham and Denman, and so great was the popular feeling in her favor, that ministers withdrew the bill, a course which expediency also pointed out as prudent, for the supporters of the measure in parliament decreased at each division. The abandonment of the bill was of course hailed with exultation by the queen's friends, and was approved of by the public in general.

In 1820, Henry Grattan, who for more than forty years had occupied the foremost position as advocate of the emancipation of the Catholics and of the rights of his countrymen, died in London, whither he had travelled at a very advanced period of life for the purpose of recording another vote in favor of religious liberty. He was buried in Westminster Abbey. As an orator, and as a pure-minded statesman, this distinguished Irishman will always be remembered with honor.

Death of Grattan.

The session of 1821 opened with a motion by another eloquent Irishman, the late lord Plunket, in favor of the Catholic claims. A bill on this subject passed the Commons, but was lost in the Lords. The details, however, of this measure did not please the Catholics, as it contained some clauses of a compromising character.

The coronation of George IV. took place with great splendor in July, 1821. The queen made an attempt to enter Westminster Abbey during the ceremony, but her entrance was prevented by orders of the king. This circumstance preyed deeply upon her mind, her health sank, and she soon died. A great riot took place at her funeral, the people insisting that it should pass through London. Caroline of Brunswick has been described by some as a suffering angel, by others as a degraded woman who did not receive sufficient punishment. The truth, as in most cases, lies between these extremes, and the fairest verdict, founded on an examination of the evidence of her friends and foes, seems to be, that she was not guilty of the crime laid to her charge; but that, partly on account of the customs of her country, and partly on account of her natural disposition, to which we may add a wish to annoy her persecuting husband, she allowed herself to be betrayed on some occasions into conduct the levity of which strict morality must in justice blame.

Coronation of the king.

On the 5th May, 1821, Napoleon Bonaparte died at St. Helena, where he had been a prisoner for five years.

In August, 1821, George IV. visited Ireland, where he was well received, being the first English monarch who landed in that island as a peaceful visitor. Soon afterwards the king went for a time to Hanover, and in the following year visited Scotland, where his reception was of a very enthusiastic character. While the king was in Scotland, Lord Londonderry (formerly Lord Castlereagh) committed suicide at his residence in Kent, and was succeeded as foreign secretary by George Canning, a great parliamentary orator and a statesman of enlightened views.

George IV. visits Ireland.

This was a period of distress and of much agrarian disturbance in Ireland. The people of England showed, by large subscriptions, a generous sympathy for the suffering Irish, but the severe measures which (instead of trying conciliation) parliament, guided by Lord Londonderry, had adopted, tended much to increase the discontent which prevailed in Ireland.

In 1822, Mr. Canning, seconded by Mr. Plunket, proposed that Catholic peers should sit in parliament. This measure was not opposed by Lord Londonderry and passed the Commons, but it was rejected by the Lords.

A good deal of attention was directed at this period to Spain, where a struggle took place between the people and the king. The latter was aided by France. England, as a government, took no part in the contest, but many Englishmen proceeded to Spain, as private individuals and fought on the side of the people. This course was, however, soon checked by a proclamation. The Spanish colonies in South America revolted at this time, and their independence was acknowledged by England.

In 1824, Greece revolted against Turkey, and the contest excited considerable attention in England. A committee was formed in London to aid the Greeks with money. Lord Byron, the poet, then abroad, proceeded to Greece to render personal assistance, but he was shortly afterwards attacked with a fever, and died at Missolonghi. The cause of the Greeks met with varied success. It was not till 1827, that the European powers interfered to stop the war which raged fiercely between the Turks and Greeks. At length it became ap-

Revolt of Greece.  
Battle of Navarino.

parent that the latter could not, alone, succeed in effecting their liberation, and a communication was addressed by England, France, and Russia to Turkey, advising a cessation of hostilities. This advice was disregarded, and a combined Turkish and Egyptian fleet assembled in the harbor of Navarino, the intent being to sail from that to the Morea, and subdue the Greeks with a large force. The English, French, and Russian fleets (the first under Admiral Codrington) blockaded that of the Turks at Navarino, but did not commence any attack (for war had not been proclaimed against Turkey) until the Turks fired first. A fierce battle then took place (18th October, 1827), which, in a few hours, ended in the total destruction of the Turkish fleet. Considerable discussion took place in England about the battle of Navarino, which even the next royal speech termed an "untoward event;" but there was a good deal of party spirit involved in the dispute. The victory at Navarino, however, saved Greece; for war immediately broke out between Russia and Turkey, and to confront her northern enemy, the latter had to withdraw her troops from Greece, which soon became, and has since continued to be, an independent state.

During the time of which we have been writing, England was the scene of great mercantile speculations, followed by considerable embarrassments. The duties on almost all goods passing between England and Ireland was repealed, and the currency of the two countries assimilated. Mr. Huskisson, president of the Board of Trade, originated several important mercantile measures. Several joint-stock companies were formed, trade was brisk and *seemed* safe. But, in 1825 and 1826, a reaction took place; several banks stopped payment, and bankruptcy became very general. After some time, however, confidence was restored, and the monetary embarrassments of the country passed away.

In 1826, a treaty was signed between the British in India and the Burmese, which terminated a war that had for some time been waged in the East. A short time before this, a treaty had been concluded between England and the Ashantees, a powerful tribe on the coast of Africa.

In January, 1827, the duke of York died, and the duke of Clarence, afterwards William IV. became heir to the throne. Lord Liverpool fell ill in the spring of the same year, and soon

died. Canning became prime minister, but Wellington, Peel, Eldon, and other tories refused to act with him, and, though he formed a ministry by the aid of Lords Anglesey, Palmerston, and Lyndhurst, his mental anxiety <sup>Death of Canning.</sup> was so great that his health gave way, and he died in September, 1827. Catholics owe much to the memory of Canning, for though his views on Emancipation by no means went far enough, yet he pioneered the way for the great constitutional victory of 1829. He began life as a tory, but gradually shook off partisan views, and this liberal tendency alienated those in 1827, who in 1829 followed his example. He was a classical and elegant orator.

Lord Goderich (formerly Mr. Robinson) succeeded Canning, but his administration, though including the duke of Wellington, was so weak that he resigned, and the latter became prime minister in January, 1828, with Mr. (afterwards Sir Robert) Peel as Home Secretary. During this administration numerous important changes, respecting police and the punishment of offences, were brought forward by Mr. Peel. The great glory, however, of this administration was the Emancipation of the Catholics; the consideration of which subject we have hitherto avoided, in order that we might together narrate the agitation of the question and the victory with which that agitation was crowned.

From the commencement of the century the subject of Catholic Emancipation had been frequently brought before parliament; but, though introduced with the eloquence with <sup>Catholic emanci-</sup> which Grattan, Plunket, and other friends of <sup>pation.</sup> liberty of conscience adorned the topic, and though frequently seeming to be nearly won, as the majorities against it became very small; and though the most gifted writers of the age advocated the measure in newspapers, reviews, and pamphlets, still the obstinacy of the crown prevented success. An insidious half-measure could have been obtained, but it would have been clogged with conditions, giving the English government a *veto*, or prohibitory power, in the appointment of Catholic bishops. Some Catholics advocated the *veto*, but the more manly section opposed it. The Catholics in Ireland had "boards" and "committees," but they could not make a sufficient impression on English opinion, and above all on that of the ministry, to effect the desired change. There was a hope that George IV. would repay

with religious liberty that too enthusiastic welcome with which Ireland greeted him, when his personal safety could not be guaranteed in the streets of London. This hope was encouraged by the appointment of the marquis of Wellesley to the viceroyalty, in 1822, as that nobleman was friendly to the Catholics.

Liberty of conscience, however, was still obstinately withheld, and in 1823-4, the Catholic Association began to develop the strength of the Catholics of Ireland. This body was under the guidance of Daniel O'Connell, who had long, at the bar, displayed first-rate abilities, and who was a practical patriot, the eloquent champion of the principles of civil and religious liberty. Richard Sheil, also a barrister and a distinguished orator, was likewise an active member of the association, which numbered in its ranks many other able men. In 1825, an act was passed to suppress the association; but, by a dexterous evasion of the statute, the most important functions of the body were continued (though the detail of its history is not suited to our limits), and, in 1828, the association gained a great victory, by causing the election of O'Connell to the seat in the House of Commons for Clare, which had been vacated by Mr. Fitzgerald, on being appointed president of the Board of Trade. In this year the Test and Corporation Acts were repealed, on the motion of Lord John Russell.

The session of 1829 opened with a speech recommending the settlement of the Catholic claims, and this, though the marquis of Anglesey, who had succeeded Lord Wellesley, had been recalled because he had written to the most Rev. Dr. Curtis, the Catholic primate, advising the continuance of the agitation. The Emancipation bill was soon brought in by ministers, and

The bill passed. having been carried after many stormy debates, received the signature of the reluctant sovereign on the 13th April, 1829. The Catholic Association had been voluntarily dissolved soon after the arrival in Ireland of the king's speech, which threatened its suppression by an act which, as it was coupled with the promise of emancipation, was rapidly passed. O'Connell refused, of course, to take the old oaths, and the House of Commons would not let him sit on taking the new ones. He was, however, returned for Clare without opposition, and soon entered parliament, the doors of which his own untiring energy had opened to the Catholics of the United Kingdom.



The session of 1830 was marked by many angry debates, principally on the subject of parliamentary reform. This topic, however, belongs to the next reign, and this <sup>Death of the king.</sup> we now approach; for, on the 26th June, 1830, the king died of ossification of the heart.

George IV. possessed talent, but not virtue. His life was profligate, and his treatment of his wife (even before there was any excuse for suspicion) cruel and unkind. In power he abandoned the lofty principles of Fox, which he had formerly professed. His conduct to the Catholics was most insincere. It must be admitted that he had a taste for literature and the fine arts, and that many social improvements took place while he occupied the throne.

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## CHAPTER XLIII.

### William the Fourth.

His accession to the Throne—Affairs in France—The state of Ireland—Death of the King—Chief events of his Reign.—From A. D. 1830 to 1837.

THE duke of Clarence ascended the throne as William IV. He did not dismiss the ministers, although they were becoming very unpopular and were losing much of their parliamentary strength. Parliament was soon, according to constitutional custom, dissolved, and the usual excitement which attends a general election was greatly increased in consequence of the effect which was produced in England by <sup>Affairs in France.</sup> the startling events in France. In that country the people had arisen against Charles X., who had issued proclamations which interfered with national freedom. The king was dethroned and proceeded to England, and afterwards to Bohemia, where after some years he died. The duke of Orleans was made king, and took the title of Louis Philippe. The details of the "Revolution of the Three Days" belong of course to the history of France, but

the event exercised a marked influence on the political affairs of Europe. The first effect of the French Revolution on the continent was displayed in Belgium, which separated from Holland, and became an independent state under King Leopold, the same prince who had been the husband of the princess Charlotte of England.

The result of the general election of 1830 was favorable to ministers, and when parliament assembled in November, their unpopularity was still further developed in consequence of a declaration of the duke of Wellington against reform. So great was the excitement in London on the subject, that the king did not venture to go into the city to dine with the lord mayor, as fears were entertained of an attack on the ministers, who would, of course, be expected to accompany him. Shortly afterwards, ministers were defeated in the House of Commons, on a question of finance, and resigned. Earl Grey became prime minister. Mr. Brougham was made lord chancellor, and the other offices of the state were also filled by advocates of parliamentary reform. After passing a bill, which appointed the duchess of Kent regent, should the king die before the princess Victoria became eighteen years of age, the parliament adjourned till February, 1831.

It was in 1830 that the first English railway, that between Liverpool and Manchester, was opened. The event was hailed as the commencement of a new era in the commercial history of the nation; but the ceremony of the opening was saddened by the accidental death of Mr. Huskisson, who, having incautiously placed himself in the way of one of the trains, was run over, and so severely injured that he died in a few hours.

At this period the Poles made an attempt to shake off the yoke of Russia, and in the struggle which took place they gave evidence of possessing the most heroic courage. They were, however, overwhelmed by the immense armies of the emperor Nicholas. Many of them afterwards took refuge in England, and were treated with much kindness and attention.

When parliament assembled in February, 1831, both parties prepared for a great struggle on the question of reform, and it so happened that at the same time the public mind was considerably

excited by a systematic destruction of agricultural produce and machinery in the south of England by fire. In March, Lord John Russell introduced the Reform Bill, which disfranchised a large number of the boroughs whose members were returned by the influence of private individuals, and enfranchised several large towns which hitherto had been unrepresented. The tories (who now took the name of conservatives) opposed the measure with all their energies; and, after a very lengthened discussion, they succeeded in defeating it by a majority of eight.

The ministers advised the king to dissolve parliament, which he accordingly did; and by this step greatly pleased the people. Parliament reassembled in a few weeks, when it appeared that the elections had added largely to the strength of the reformers. Ministers introduced the Reform Bill without delay; but though it now passed the House of Commons, it was defeated in the House of Lords. Popular discontent rose to a pitch of great excitement. In London the houses of Wellington and other opponents of reform were attacked, and disturbances of a very serious nature took place in Derby, Nottingham, and other places. In Bristol, the rioters set fire to the town, and for a time overcame the civil and military forces, but were finally put down after many lives had been lost on both sides.

Parliament having been prorogued, met again in December, and the bill was introduced for the third time and passed through the House of Commons. The Lords also read the measure twice, but the majority on the second reading was so small that ministers feared a defeat on the third reading, and prayed the king to create new peers. He refused, and Earl Grey resigned. An attempt was made to form a tory administration but without success, and the whigs returned to office in a few days. The king wrote letters to the opposition peers urging the cessation of hostility to the measure. This course prevented the necessity of creating peers; the bill passed, and received the royal assent on the 7th June, 1832. Reform bills for Ireland and Scotland were also soon passed.

In this year the cholera, having ravaged Europe, attacked the United Kingdom and carried off a large number of the inhabitants. It was the first time that the disease, in the Asiatic form,

had invaded England, and the greatest alarm pervaded the population during the prevalence of the plague, which began to disappear as the year advanced towards winter.

In 1833, the state of Ireland occupied a large portion of public attention. That country had been the scenes of several disturbances, and many conflicts had taken place in the attempt to continue the collection of tithes, which the people considered it unjust that they, being Catholics, should pay to the clergy of another religion. There was also at this period a very strong feeling displayed in favor of the repeal of the Union of 1800. O'Connell had organized several political associations, and some state prosecutions had taken place. The government brought in a bill which empowered the lord lieutenant to place disturbed districts under martial law. The bill passed after many angry debates, O'Connell calling on ministers to deal with the Protestant church instead of suspending the constitution. After the Coercion Bill had passed, a measure was carried for lessening by ten the number of Irish Protestant bishops, and a million sterling was voted for the relief of those clergymen who had been unable to collect their tithes.

O'Connell brought forward the subject of the repeal of the Union in parliament early in 1834, on which occasion a lengthy debate took place. The motion was negatived by a very large majority, and an address to the king in favor of the Union was adopted by parliament, with a pledge that measures tending to benefit Ireland would be brought forward. The Protestant church establishment was the next Irish question discussed, but ministers were divided on this subject; some advocated the appropriation of a portion of the revenues of that church to national purposes, others opposed that proposition. Amongst the latter were Lord Stanley, Sir James Graham, the duke of Richmond, and Lord Ripon, and these ministers resigned. The "Appropriation Clause" of a measure respecting the Irish church, brought forward by Mr. Ward, was, however, not supported by the remaining ministers until a committee should examine and report, and the proposition failed.

Ministers soon found themselves in a difficulty respecting the renewal of the Irish Coercion Act, which had been only passed for one year, and their dissensions on this subject led to the re-

signation of Earl Gray, Lord Althorp, and others. The tories, however, did not yet come in, for a whig administration was again formed, of which Lord Melbourne was the head, under whom Lord Althorp returned to office, and a modified Coercion Bill was proposed and carried.

On the 1st of August, 1834, the act which had been proposed and carried by Lord Stanley in 1833, having for its object the abolition of slavery in the British colonies, came into operation. Those who at that time were slaves were subjected to an apprenticeship for ten years.

In 1834 an important statute was passed on the subject of poor laws, by which a government commission was established in order to exercise a supervision over the local boards throughout the country. The measure also rendered it necessary for paupers to enter the poor-houses and put an end to the system of out-door relief, which had caused the poor-rates to rise in 1833 to the enormous amount of seven millions sterling.

The charter of the East India Company was renewed in 1834, but without continuing the commercial monopoly which that company had hitherto enjoyed. The trade to the East was consequently from this time thrown open to the entire mercantile community.

Both houses of parliament were destroyed by an accidental fire on the 16th October, 1834. It was with great difficulty that Westminster Hall and the Abbey were saved from the conflagration.

In November, 1834, the death of Earl Spenser caused the elevation of his son, Lord Althorp, to the House of Lords, and thus ministers lost their leader in the House of Commons. The king, whose inclinations now tended much toward the tories, took this opportunity of informing Lord Melbourne that he intended to call the duke of Wellington to his councils, as he did not feel pleased at the policy which Lord Melbourne and his colleagues were inclined to adopt, especially on the subjects of the Protestant church in Ireland. This step is generally supposed to have resulted from the advice of the queen-consort. The duke declined the post of premier, but advised the appointment of Sir Robert Peel, under whom he consented to take office. Sir Robert, who was then in Italy, was sent for, and

immediately on his arrival in London formed an administration. Finding the majority in the House of Commons too great to cope with, Sir Robert advised a dissolution of parliament.

When the legislature reassembled, ministers found that though they had gained some votes by the general election, they were still in a minority. The first trial of strength took place on the election of a speaker, when the government candidate was defeated. The great question of the time was, however, that of the Protestant church in Ireland; a subject to which painful interest had been imparted by a fearful event that had occurred in December, 1834, at Rathcormac, in the south of Ireland. A civil and military force attempted to enforce the payment of tithes due by a certain widow, whose neighbors defended her cabin. They were fired on by the soldiers, and twelve were killed. This melancholy circumstance greatly embittered the feelings of the people against tithes, and consequently against an administration which was opposed to any alteration in the Protestant church establishment. This feeling extended to parliament, and accordingly an amendment on the address was carried, and ministers having been defeated in resisting a motion to appropriate a portion of the Irish church revenues to education, Sir Robert Peel and his colleagues resigned, (8th April, 1835,) and Lord Melbourne again became prime minister, which position he continued to hold for six years.

In 1835 a measure was passed which effected considerable alterations in the English corporations, on a plan of extensive popular representation, similar to that which had already been adopted by an act of 1833, relating to Scotland. The Orange societies in Ireland also came under parliamentary discussion, and a committee having been appointed to examine the subject, it was found that these clubs were connected with the army, and that some members had evinced an inclination that the duke of Cumberland should precede the Princess Victoria in the succession. The suppression of these societies by law was, therefore, about to take place, but they were voluntarily dissolved in the beginning of 1836. Several debates took place on the subject of the Irish Protestant church, although, as the opposition was strong, no change in the law took place. Ireland, however, enjoyed at this period some years of repose, as Lord

Mulgrave, the viceroy, was of a conciliatory disposition. Catholics were appointed to high judicial and other public offices, and the people began to feel confident that extensive alterations would take place respecting the Protestant establishment.

In 1836 and 1837 political excitement had much diminished in the United Kingdom, and ministers proposed and carried several statutes relating to the commutation of tithes in England to a payment of money based on a corn-rent charge, the marriage of dissenters by their own ministers, a national registry of births, marriages, and deaths, the reduction of the stamp duty on newspapers, and other important subjects. Respecting Ireland the principal debates arose respecting tithes, corporation reform, and the system of national education which had been adopted by government in 1833. On these topics some very angry discussions took place.

In 1837, (20th June,) the king died of ossification of the heart, and was succeeded by his niece, her present majesty, who as she had completed her eighteenth year, became sovereign without any regency being necessary. Death of the king.

William IV. was better suited by nature for the position of a private gentleman than to rule over a great empire, especially during a period (such as 1831-32) of political excitement. He possessed many good qualities, but was deficient in mental powers. His easy and affable manners pleased those who had intercourse with him, and his having been in the navy tended in no small degree to increase his popularity with the people. Queen Adelaide, by whom he had no issue, survived the king some years.

During the reigns of George IV. and William IV. the public mind tended more to the development of social improvements than to great literary achievements. Scott, who Events of his reign. died in 1832, held the first place as a writer, but his beautiful productions were unfortunately defaced by much bitterness toward the Catholic religion. Moore continued to write much, but he had already produced his greatest works. Several other distinguished authors adorned this period, for whose names the student is referred to our literary chapter. Periodical literature acquired great popularity at this period, the best writers contributing to the current publications. The London University was established in 1825. In all the departments of practical

knowledge great progress was made, and, both on land and sea, locomotion by steam was rapidly superseding former modes of travelling.

During the reign of William IV. the continent was much disturbed, but as England avoided foreign war, the disputes throughout Europe do not call for a detailed notice at our hands. It will be well, however, to glance at the leading points.

France, after the revolution of 1830, was for a long time the scene of civil commotions, partly arising from the attempt of the duchess de Berri to obtain the crown for her son, the grandchild of Charles X., and partly from the discontent of the republican party, who could not but feel, as they beheld Louis Philippe assuming very large powers, that as far as their principles were concerned, the blood which flowed during the "three days" had been shed in vain. Several attempts were made to assassinate the king of the French, but they were unsuccessful, and those who made these attempts were put to death.

Spain was the theatre of a fierce contest between Isabella, daughter of Ferdinand VII. who died in 1833, and Don Carlos, the nearest male heir to the throne, who would have been king had not the Salic law, which excluded females from the throne, been repealed, as it had recently been by Ferdinand. England sent no army to either party, but permitted private individuals as such to take part in the contest, and accordingly a force called the British Legion was equipped and fought on the side of Donna Isabella, under the command of Col. De Lacy Evans. The war continued for some years, and ended in the defeat of Don Carlos.

In Portugal, civil war raged between Don Pedro's daughter, Donna Maria (in whose favor her father had abdicated), and Don Miguel, her uncle, who had usurped the throne. Admiral Napier, who was allowed by the English government to command Donna Maria's fleet, overcame that of Don Miguel, in July, 1833, and shortly afterwards Donna Maria was proclaimed queen. The war, however, continued on land till 1834, when Don Miguel was defeated and expelled from Portugal.

No other events occurred on the continent in which the people of the United Kingdom took any important part.



## CHAPTER XLIV.

## Queen Victoria.

The accession of the Queen—Her marriage and coronation—War in the East Indies—Famine in Ireland—Literature.

THE princess Alexandrina Victoria, daughter of the duke of Kent, and, therefore, grand-daughter of George III. succeeded to the throne at the death of William IV. on the 20th June, 1837. It is not our intention to enter into any detailed narrative of the events of her majesty's reign, but simply to glance at the leading historical facts.

The coronation of her majesty took place with great splendor on the 28th June, 1838. Her majesty was married on the 10th February, 1840, to her cousin, Prince Albert of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha. There are eight children of this marriage, of whom the eldest son, Albert Edward, prince of Wales, born 9th November, 1841, is heir to the throne.

During the seventeen years which have now elapsed of her majesty's reign, England has not been at war with any European state until the present year, in which hostilities have commenced against Russia for encroachments on Turkey. Large armies and fleets have been sent out by England and by France. The first important action between the allies and the Russians took place at Alma in the Crimea (a peninsula in the north-east of the Black Sea), on the 20th September, in which the Russians were defeated, but not until the allies had suffered severely.

In the East Indies, England was engaged in war with some of the native races, and much loss of life took place both in the contest with the Affghans, whom the late Sir Charles Napier defeated, and also in the two struggles against the Sikhs, over whom Lord Gough and Lord Hardinge, in 1846, and Lord Gough, singly, in 1849, ob-

tained the notable victories which have connected the history of our army with the hard-won fields of Moodkee, Fero Shah, Aliwal, Sohraon, and Goojerat. India has been tranquil for some years.

In 1840, England joined several of the European powers in assisting Turkey against Mehemet Ali, the Turkish viceroy in Egypt. Admirals Napier and Stopford added fresh glory to our navy in this war, at Acre, on the coast of Syria. An arrangement between the sultan and Mehemet Ali soon took place, and peace ensued.

In the internal affairs of these countries the leading facts have been the struggle for the reform of corporations in Ireland, terminating in 1840; the agitation, under O'Connell, for the repeal of the Legislative Union; the Irish State Trials of 1844, the repeal of the Corn Laws, in 1846; the disturbed state of the public mind both in England and Ireland, consequent on the French Revolution of 1848; and the restoration of the English Catholic Hierarchy, in 1850, which led to the enactment of the Ecclesiastical Titles' Act of 1851, forbidding any except Protestant prelates to assume territorial titles as bishops. Political parties have been rather evenly balanced since her majesty's accession. Lord Melbourne (whig) remained in office till 1841. Sir Robert Peel (conservative) was minister from 1841 to 1846. Lord John Russell (whig) was in power from 1846 to 1852. Lord Derby (extreme tory) next held the reins for a short time, but was obliged to yield to the combined forces of whigs and moderate conservatives who, under Lord Aberdeen, form the present coalition administration. Several public characters have died during her majesty's reign, of whom the most distinguished were Daniel O'Connell, who died at Genoa in 1847, Sir Robert Peel, who died in London in 1850, and the duke of Wellington, who died at Walmer Castle in 1852.

The famine in Ireland, which, commencing with the partial loss of the potato crop in 1845, increased fearfully in 1846, and spread such misery throughout that country, and which (combined with emigration) threw back the population more than two millions, is the gloomiest chapter in the annals of the present reign. During the last few years, however, the condition of Ireland has been improving. The Incumbered Estates Act has transferred a large portion of the land from those

Leading events  
of this period.

Famine in Ire-  
land.


who had not the power to improve it to those who have. The competition for small holdings, which often led to such fearful crimes, has diminished. A better mode of agriculture has gained ground; and the soil, fertile by nature, has been rendered even more productive by skill.

In literature, her majesty's reign has not yet added any very distinguished name to the roll of classical authors. Books have indeed been published in great number, and nearly every department of letters has been respectably Literature. represented. In history the most voluminous author has been Alison, whose work, "Europe from 1789 to 1815," has been much and deservedly admired. It is, however, a good deal disfigured by sectarian partiality. Macaulay's History, being incomplete, ought not yet to be judged; the style is beautiful, but there will be much to amend in future volumes before the work can be accepted (especially by Catholics) as an accurate delineation of the period described. Works of fiction have poured from the press by the thousand each year, but very few standard novels have been produced. Several poetical volumes of considerable merit have appeared, but the sublimity of a Byron, the gorgeous brilliancy of a Moore, or the terse vigor of a Campbell have not as yet adorned the poetry of Victoria's reign.

In all the arrangements of social life there has been great progress. The Exhibition of 1851 in London and that which the liberality of Mr. Dargan originated in Ireland, in Social improve-  
ments in England  
and Ireland. 1853, gave great impetus to manufacturing industry. Science has won great victories. The Electric Telegraph conveys intelligence hundred of miles in a few seconds. Popular education has spread extensively, and literary societies have arisen among the people in all directions, the success of which was considerably increased by the Temperance movement, which especially in Ireland under Father Matthew, made such progress. The reduction of postage in 1840 to one penny, also exercised a most important effect on education. In 1845, Sir Robert Peel established three new colleges in Ireland, but as their system was condemned by the pope and the Catholic bishops, a new collegiate institution, "The Catholic University of Ireland" has been founded by subscriptions among Catholics, and is now commene-

ing a career which will, no doubt, advance the interests of Catholicity, and increase the diffusion of sound literature.

Let us, in conclusion, hope that the Russian ambition being soon effectually checked, peace based on just and honorable terms may soon return, and that the sword being sheathed, and the cannon silent, the people may go forward to win those social triumphs which bring no sorrow in their train, and which, if less dazzling, are more enduring than the most brilliant achievements of arms.



THE END.

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